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## FOR PROSPERITY OR PENURY: A COMPARISON OF LARGE AND SMALL ENGLISH AUGUSTINIAN HOUSES AND THEIR LAY PATRONS IN LATE-MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

BY

NICK NICHOLS\*

*The status, feudal ties, and generosity of the founder and hereditary patrons of a religious house played a role in the monastery's prosperity. The author argues that although smaller Augustinian priories may have been less expensive to establish and maintain than larger ones of their monastic brethren, it was not always the case that the patrons of smaller priories were of lower social status and/or that they were less active in these priories. As is seen with the Augustinian monasteries in the Diocese of Worcester, the patrons of smaller monasteries frequently were of high social position and played an active role in the monasteries under their patronage.*

**Keywords:** Augustinian canons; benefaction; Diocese of Worcester; patronage

Medieval monasteries depended on the grants of those outside their walls to survive. Most often, laymen made gifts to the religious to procure the spiritual benefits of the prayers that the monastic brothers offered to God on their behalf. Of the benefactors to a particular religious house, one had prominence above the rest—the

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founder, who, at his establishment of the religious house became its patron. Patronage brought with it responsibilities and privileges, and many patrons took their responsibilities seriously and took advantage of their privileges frequently.<sup>1</sup> When the patron died, his family often sought to bury him in the house of his founding, and the right of patronage passed to his heir. Thus, the connection with a priory or abbey reflected an ongoing, multigenerational relationship. As with a family business in the modern world, the importance of monastic patronage to the heirs of the founder varied greatly depending on the successor to the title. For some monasteries, the hereditary patrons continued to bestow gifts and privileges on their family house. For others, the relationships cooled, and the protection and services rendered by the patrons faded as well.

The role of patrons and their involvement with monasteries have received reasonable treatment in recent monastic scholarship. Although it is generally true that patrons enjoyed a similar status across the orders, the nonexempt orders were the most likely to have their patrons involved in the activities of the monastery.<sup>2</sup> As such, this article focuses on the order that enjoyed the least exemption from outside influences—the Augustinian canons—although it should be noted that this article does not assert that the canons were in a markedly different situation than the other orders concerning their interaction with their patrons.<sup>3</sup> This study focuses on the Augustinian canons in the Diocese of Worcester, a diocese that has substantial extant written records and represents something of a cross-section of the order. Although there are many questions that can be asked in addressing the question of patronage, the essential

<sup>1</sup>See Janet Burton, *The Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000–1300* (New York, 1994), pp. 210–32. The involvement of patrons with their monasteries, although fluid in practice, was nonetheless bound by fairly well-understood parameters. Generally, the patrons, the heirs of the founders of the monastery, were responsible for the well-being of their religious houses—frequently benefaction, for defending the convent's rights and freedoms when they could. They also received numerous privileges to which others were not privy, particularly hospitality and occasionally the right to appoint a member of the community.

<sup>2</sup>Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons: England and Wales, c. 1300–1540* (Woodbridge, UK, 2007), p. 22.

<sup>3</sup>In fact, Stöber asserts that “the overall developments in monastic patronage . . . are valid for all religious orders,” but she does note that one distinct characteristic is that the Augustinians were an overwhelmingly lay-founded order. This fact must be weighed in the overall direction of the religious houses moving into the hands of the Crown as the medieval period wore on. Stöber, *Late Medieval*, pp. 35–36, 44–46.



question of this article is whether a notable difference exists in the interaction between large and small Augustinian monasteries and their patrons. In other words, did the larger monasteries prosper or suffer in ways that the smaller monasteries did not because of their patrons?

### **The Status of the Founders and Patrons of Augustinian Monasteries in the Diocese of Worcester**

It often has been asserted that one major reason for the rapid expansion of the Augustinian canons in England was that it was relatively inexpensive to found a house of regular canons as opposed to one of another order.<sup>4</sup> This relatively low cost to found a house of regular canons often is used to establish that they were more accessible to the lower nobility and gentry in England, and thus that the lesser nobility tended to establish them.<sup>5</sup> It may be that, as the twelfth century turned into the thirteenth, the lower nobility and landed gentry began founding Augustinian houses, but most of the houses of canons in England were indeed founded by major magnates and upper nobility, particularly those established in the early- to mid-twelfth century. The connections of the order with St. Anselm (archbishop of Canterbury), King Henry I and his court, King Henry II, and several powerful bishops in the twelfth century ensured that many early houses were founded by several of the greater noble families of the twelfth century.

Among the houses in the Diocese of Worcester that compose the focus of this article, the founders and patrons were frequently men of

<sup>4</sup>It is true that there was no statutory minimum number of regular canons in a house of Augustinians like the Cistercians, but it also is true that most early houses of canons were located in the cities and towns of southern England, not in the isolated wilderness of the Cistercian monks. Thus, inarable land was not a satisfactory landed endowment for the canons, as it frequently was for the Cistercians. See R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, UK, 1970); David Postles, "The Austin Canons in English Towns, c.1100-1350," *Historical Research*, 66 (1993), 1-20; John Compton Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London, 1950).

<sup>5</sup>Stöber, *Late Medieval*, pp. 10, 35-49. Stöber's claims, however, that the canons were of overwhelmingly lay patronage when compared with the Benedictine houses seem to fall short, especially when she illustrates how both the Cluniac and Cistercian houses were of overwhelmingly lay patronage as well. Perhaps this is more indicative of an overall chronological trend in foundation and patronage rather than one that can be attributed to the cost of founding a house of regular canons.

high position.<sup>6</sup> The four largest houses in the diocese were all founded by men of the upper nobility and were tied closely to either Henry I or Henry II. Henry I founded Cirencester Abbey, the wealthiest house of the order at the Dissolution. Henry granted a sizable endowment, particularly rich in spiritual property, at the foundation of the abbey in 1131.<sup>7</sup> Geoffrey de Clinton—Henry’s chamberlain, treasurer, and one of his “new men”—founded Kenilworth Priory in 1122. At the foundation, Geoffrey lavishly endowed the priory with lands, churches, and the tithes on everything that came into Kenilworth Castle.<sup>8</sup> Miles of Gloucester, later earl of Hereford, founded the priory of Lanthony by Gloucester in 1136. The house, founded with canons taken from Llanthony Prima in Wales during the warfare of Stephen’s reign, came to be a powerful force in Gloucester throughout the medieval period and enjoyed the ongoing patronage and favor of the earls of Hereford. The abbey of St. Augustine in Bristol was the last large house in the diocese to be founded, which occurred in about 1142 through the support of Robert Fitzharding, a powerful citizen of Bristol and source of the Lords Berkeley. Henry II supported, patronized, and protected the abbey in the twelfth century, followed by the Lords Berkeley for the rest of the medieval period.

The smaller monasteries in the diocese were founded by powerful men as well. Henry de Newburgh, first earl of Warwick, founded the small priory of St. Sepulchre Warwick in 1119. Although slimly endowed, it was the first house of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in England.<sup>9</sup> Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, founded the priory of St. Oswald in Gloucester around 1150. He converted the secular canons to Augustinians and held the priory as a particular possession of the archbishop of York throughout its existence. Peter de Corbezon, later Peter de Studley, founded Studley Priory, which is the

<sup>6</sup>Kenilworth Priory will be considered in this article because of its prominent place and geographical proximity to the diocese and other houses in it, although its proper locale was the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

<sup>7</sup>Charles Derek Ross and Mary Devine, eds., *The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, Gloucestershire*, 3 vols. (London, 1964–77), 1: no. 28. The abbey’s roots can be traced back to 1117, but Serlo was appointed the first abbot in 1131—the date typically used as its foundation.

<sup>8</sup>William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (hereafter *Monasticon*), ed. John Caley, Henry Ellis, and Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1817–30), 6:220, and Alan and Philip Tennant, *Brailles History: Episodes from a Forgotten Past*, 5 (2005).

<sup>9</sup>*Monasticon*, 6:602–03. *Sancti Sepulchri Warwici, quae erat prima domus et aliis superior per Anglium, Walliam, Scotiam, et Hiberniam, usque ad iteratum destructionem hierosolomitana.*

only house not founded or patronized by a powerful family in the region. However, the patronage of the priory changed hands, falling to the Cantilupes in the thirteenth century, then later to the Zouche family. As will be seen, this change of patronage had significant effects for the priory. There also were two other small monasteries in the diocese—Horsley Priory, which was a dependent cell of Bruton in Somerset, and Dodford Priory, a very small Augustinian house in Warwickshire. Dodford poses an interesting puzzle, as it was, as much as can be discerned, founded by Henry II, although it received almost no benefaction or support throughout its existence and ultimately wound up as a cell of Halesowen, a nearby Premonstratensian house.

It seems that the prosperity of a monastery was not directly proportional to the status of its founder. Although wealthy and powerful men founded the larger monasteries in the diocese, not all priories founded by such men were large and wealthy. Although an influential patron aided benefaction, he did not necessarily guarantee a prosperous future for a religious house.

Although the specific duties expected of patrons were unclear, especially in the twelfth century, the material prosperity of a monastery was generally seen as the responsibility of the founder and patrons.<sup>10</sup> Benefaction, the most well-known and most easily traceable interaction between a monastery and its patron, gives a key to the importance of a patron's status in the success or failure of a house of monks or canons. A founder only became a founder of a monastery when he took the deliberate step of granting possessions to a group of canons or monks living under a rule, thus providing a source of income for the community.<sup>11</sup> It often was the case, but certainly not absolute, that the descendants of a founder, who were the patrons by inheritance, would continue the practice of almsgiving and thereby take their place as active patrons of a given monastery.<sup>12</sup> Thus, a brief exploration of the patterns of benefaction of the patronal families is in order.

<sup>10</sup>See Stöber, *Late Medieval*, pp. 24–25.

<sup>11</sup>As Stöber has said, "whatever the motive . . . the foundation of a religious house in medieval England and Wales was never accidental." Stöber, *Late Medieval*, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup>Thompson has argued that each successive generation of patrons had to continue as benefactors of monasteries if they were to be included in the daily Masses sung for the founders, although the monks always remembered the founder. This provided impetus for the patrons to continue in benefaction and thus endear themselves to the monks or canons in each generation. Benjamin Thompson, "Monasteries and Their Patrons at Foundation and Dissolution," *TRHS*, 6th ser., 1 (1994), 103–25, here 111–12.



## Benefaction

There were three potential “types” of patrons in medieval England—royal, lay, and episcopal—and all three varieties of patrons were represented in the Diocese of Worcester. There were two royal foundations—Cirencester Abbey and Dodford Priory.<sup>13</sup> These two foundations are polar opposites in almost every way. Cirencester was granted a very sizable endowment at its foundation. Henry I gave the canons all the tenure of Regenbald, the dean of Cirencester and noted pluralist. This grant included an interest in nineteen churches and other miscellaneous income sources as well as lands in Gloucestershire, Bristol, Berkshire, and Somerset. These grants totaled more than £350 of annual income for the canons.<sup>14</sup> The canons enjoyed the ongoing support of the Crown, mostly in the form of confirmation of its possessions. Some of the later kings, however, did actually make new grants to the abbey.<sup>15</sup> The canons did not receive much local patronage alongside their grants from the king. Their cartulary is filled with acquisitions of properties in Cirencester, Gloucestershire, Berkshire, and Wiltshire, but the priory purchased most of those—several in violation of the Statute of Mortmain. Few of them were grants in free alms to the abbey.

In stark contrast, Dodford’s possessions were slim indeed. Dodford’s income recorded in the *Taxatio* was a very meager £4 17s.<sup>16</sup> Royal patronage was neither a financial boon for Dodford

<sup>13</sup>Although there is little evidence surviving for Dodford, a most important charter of Edward IV that authorized the merging of the house with Halesowen identified Dodford as *fundationis inclitorum progenitorum nostrorum, nostrique patronatus pleno jure existens* (a foundation existing by the full right of patronage of our illustrious ancestors and of us). This is very strong language that seems to be beyond simple claim to patronage. Dugdale also asserted that Henry II founded the house. *Monasticon*, 6:944–45.

<sup>14</sup>Although it cannot be established that this was the actual income in the early-twelfth century, this was the reported income for these properties at the 1254 Valuation of Norwich, which is recorded in the cartulary of the house. This amount was approximately 90 percent of the canons’ total income at the time. Ross, *Cirencester Cartulary*, 2: no. 459.

<sup>15</sup>Among these grants were the “seven hundreds of Cirencester and the town of Minety” granted to the abbey by Richard I. This grant, as discussed in more detail later, gave the abbey expansive rights in the region and generated substantial conflict between the townsmen of Cirencester and the canons well into the fifteenth century. Ross, *Cirencester Cartulary*, 1:nos. 31–35.

<sup>16</sup>Thomas Astle, Samuel Ayscough, and John Caley, eds., *Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa A.D. 1291* (London, 1802), p. 231.

during the lifetime of their founder nor inspired patronage of the king's descendants and the local nobility.<sup>17</sup> In Dodford's case, there is little evidence for ongoing benefaction from anyone.

The lone example of episcopal patronage—St. Oswald's Gloucester—also was not a prosperous monastery.<sup>18</sup> Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, founded the house for regular canons in about 1150. The archbishop recognized that his original endowment to the canons was insufficient for the regular life and promised future benefaction to the house.<sup>19</sup> This further endowment was slow in coming, if it ever came, as in 1291, the income of the house amounted to some £23, and at the Dissolution it was approximately £90.<sup>20</sup> The house did receive local benefaction in the later Middle Ages; many of its acquisitions in the later medieval period were small properties in and around Gloucester given by local families of nominal societal importance.<sup>21</sup>

Of the houses with lay patrons, two larger houses deserve mention. The priory of Lanthony by Gloucester initially was granted relatively little by the founder, Miles of Gloucester, in 1136. After Miles was named earl of Hereford, he gave the manor of Hempstead in Gloucester to the priory "in view of the honor of the office attained."<sup>22</sup> The priory, which passed to the Bohuns, the hereditary earls of Hereford, continued to enjoy the benefaction from the pow-

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Although the *Taxatio* is not the most reliable assessment, it is clear that Dodford was very small indeed. In c. 1465, when it was assumed into Halesowen Abbey, its income was still only c. £7. It also sought exemption from a levy early in the fourteenth century of 44s 6d. See R. A. Wilson, ed., *The Register of Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, 1308–1313* (London, 1927), p. 168.

<sup>17</sup>See the aforementioned charter of Edward IV, wherein the poverty of the house is seen as insoluble. *Monasticon*, 6:944–45.

<sup>18</sup>This stands in relief to several of the other houses founded by ecclesiastical powers in the medieval period—the most notable is Plympton. See Allison Fizzard, "The Augustinian Canons of Plympton Priory and Their Place in English Church and Society, 1121–c. 1400" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1999).

<sup>19</sup>Janet Burton, ed., *English Episcopal Acta York 1070–1154* (London, 1988), no. 117.

<sup>20</sup>See *Taxatio*, p. 233 and John Caley and Joseph Hunter, eds., *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henry VIII Auctoritate Regia Institus*, 6 vols. (London, 1810–34), 2:487.

<sup>21</sup>See the many entries in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* in the fourteenth century for the monastery.

<sup>22</sup>That is, *iamque consulatus honorem adeptus*. *Monasticon*, 6:137. See also Anne M. Geddes, "The Priory of Lanthony by Gloucester: An Augustinian House in an English Town, 1136–1401" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1997), p. 46.

erful family throughout the medieval period.<sup>23</sup> The second of the larger houses founded by lay nobility was St. Augustine's Bristol, the favorite foundation of the Berkeleys, who came into the possession of the abbey through marriage with Helen, the daughter of abbey founder Fitzharding. Fitzharding, in conjunction with the future Henry II, liberally endowed the house with lands and churches in and around Bristol, and the succeeding generations of Berkeleys continued to make grants to the house throughout the twelfth century.<sup>24</sup> The Berkeleys also maintained patronage of the abbey throughout the entire medieval period, something few lay families were able to sustain.<sup>25</sup> These two well-endowed houses echoed the status of their patrons, both of whom were powerful baronial families in the west of England in the Middle Ages.

The two small priories founded by the laity in the Diocese of Worcester present interesting examples in the fortunes of a monastery changing with the political fortunes of patrons. Although Henry de Newburgh, first earl of Warwick, was a major nobleman and closely connected with the first Anglo-Norman kings, he seems to have given little care to the endowment of the house of canons he began near to the time of his death. His son, Roger, completed the foundation, but its properties were minimal. This may very well be a direct result of the loss of many of Roger's lands to de Clinton, whose promotion by Henry I caused great problems for the earls of Warwick in the 1120s.<sup>26</sup> When the earls reclaimed most of their dignity in the middle of the twelfth century, it seems that St. Sepulchre had been forgotten or was no longer the favored house of the earls. Later earls of Warwick, including the Beauchamps, chose the collegiate church of St. Mary Warwick as their favorite house, as the magnificent Beauchamp chapel attests even today, leaving the priory of St. Sepulchre to fend for itself. In this instance, the political connections of the founder

<sup>23</sup>For details of these, see Geddes, "The Priory of Lanthony," and David Walker, *Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201*, [Camden 4th Ser., vol. 1, pt. 1], (London, 1964).

<sup>24</sup>David Walker, ed., *The Cartulary of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, [Gloucestershire Record Ser. 10], (Gloucester, UK, 1998). Most of the entries in the first half of the cartulary are charters relating to the Henry/Fitzharding/Berkeley grants.

<sup>25</sup>See Stöber, *Late Medieval*, pp. 209-50, for a useful chart detailing the patrons of English religious houses.

<sup>26</sup>See David Crouch, "Geoffrey de Clinton and Roger, Earl of Warwick: New Men and Magnates in the Reign of Henry I," *IHR*, 55 (1982), 113-24.



and patron seem intimately connected to the benefaction granted to a monastery in their patronage.

The other small monastery founded by a layman in the diocese was Studley Priory. Endowed modestly by founder Peter de Corbezon, later styled Peter de Studley, the canons enjoyed several small possessions and close ties to the castle of Studley.<sup>27</sup> The patronage passed to the Cantilupe family in the thirteenth century, and the fortunes of the monastery improved somewhat, but on the cessation of that family, the priory came under the patronage of Eudo la Zouche, who seems to have paid little attention to it, as it struggled significantly throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It is clear that in virtually every case, the benefaction of a priory or abbey depended on the founder and his descendants as hereditary patrons. But, beyond the gifts of a single family, the feudal grouping of a particular baron might elect to endow a house jointly.<sup>28</sup> This phenomenon can be clearly identified at Lanthony Priory,<sup>29</sup> where the earls of Hereford and their retainers were responsible for the overwhelming proportion of grants to the priory in the twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries.<sup>30</sup> Until 1220, when the Bohuns became the earls of Hereford and Essex, the canons were closely connected to the earls and their families, and not with the town of Gloucester or the other surrounding nobles. However, with the move of the earl's *caput* from Gloucestershire to Essex in 1236, the priory's ties to the earls of Hereford ceased almost entirely. The earls, who were generous patrons of the monastery, brought in their wake a large number of other benefactors, who may very well have been granting possessions to the priory only because of their desire to show their allegiance to the earls.

<sup>27</sup>*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1327-1341, pp. 60-61. See also the discussion of the Corbezon family as subordinates to the earls of Warwick in this contentious period in Crouch, "Geoffrey de Clinton."

<sup>28</sup>See Emma Cownie, "Gloucester Abbey 1066-1135: An Illustration of Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England," *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Bates and Anne Curry (London, 1994), pp. 143-57, here pp. 148-49. Cownie also cites the work of Christopher Harper-Bill and others who have identified this phenomenon. Cownie's own words are somewhat ambiguous, but she indicates that solidarity evident in gift-giving tended to be on an honorial basis and was somewhat uncommon in England, tending to exist in new foundations. The house under her consideration was uncommon in its pre-Conquest foundation and honorial benefaction.

<sup>29</sup>See Geddes, "Lanthony Priory," pp. 64-69.

<sup>30</sup>Geddes, "Lanthony Priory," pp. 69-79.

The patronage of Kenilworth Priory also seems to bear this out. De Clinton, sheriff of Warwickshire—who was elevated by Henry I as a foil to the disloyal Roger, earl of Warwick—brought many gifts to the priory from the estates surrounding the priory. However, it may be the case that, rather than inspiring benefaction from the men in his fee, Geoffrey simply bought their lands and gave them to the priory.<sup>31</sup> In any case, these two larger houses also demonstrate how a monastery might benefit substantially from close connections to men in power and their retinue.

It seems that the houses with prominent and local patrons tended to benefit materially from the prestige of that patron through the gifts of the patronal family and the benefaction of those in their honor, something that priories with lesser nobles or nonlocal families as patrons could not do. The close ties of Lanthony with the Bohuns and St. Augustine's Bristol with the Berkeleys are excellent examples of this. Royal and episcopal houses, by contrast, may have received sufficient benefaction at their foundation, but they did not attract the same local patronage as monasteries with local lords as patrons. This phenomenon may not be directly proportional to a priory's size, however, but may owe more to the timing of the foundation and the relative strength and prosperity of the patrons at the time of the founding of the monastery and in the second and third generations after the founding. If the fortunes of the founding family changed soon after a house was established, then it is likely that the fortunes of the priory changed with it. So, a key distinction in the patronage of larger and smaller priories may not be so much the status of the founders, but the fortunes of the founder's descendents in the first few generations after the establishment of the house. The priories whose patronage changed hands over the course of their existence can demonstrate such a reality.

As previously mentioned, Lanthony Priory's connections with the Bohun family were deep, which led to great prosperity for the monastery in the twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries. However, when the earls of Hereford moved their family center away from the area of the priory, their patronage dwindled. In the thirteenth century the priory turned instead to the citizens of Gloucester for its support and thrived even with essentially absentee patrons.<sup>32</sup> It was not until

<sup>31</sup>See Crouch, "Geoffrey de Clinton," pp. 113–24; R. W. Southern, "Henry I," in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 214–18.

<sup>32</sup>Geddes, "Lanthony Priory," pp. 341–50.

the late-fourteenth century that the patrons again began to be significant players in the affairs of the priory. When Humphrey de Bohun VII died in 1373, his possessions were divided between his daughters—Eleanor, who married Thomas, earl of Buckingham; and Mary, who married Henry, earl of Derby. The patronage of the monastery fell to Mary and thus Henry by default, but Thomas was desirous of it, and the parties struck an agreement whereby Thomas held the priory for the term of Henry's life. During his time as patron, Thomas took an active interest in the priory, and the canons worked to strengthen their relationship with him.<sup>33</sup> On some twenty-five occasions in the late-fourteenth century the canons received the support of Thomas as their patron.<sup>34</sup> Richard II killed Thomas in 1397, and the priory was transferred to Henry at that time. Succeeding Richard, Henry ascended to the throne in 1399 as Henry IV, and thus the priory ended up with royal patrons. Thus, the fortunes of the priory and the benefits of such patronage fluctuated with the interests and success of the family of the earls of Hereford until the family failed and Lanthony passed seamlessly into the king's hands. In this case, it was the rising status of the family that had a negative effect on the priory. This stands in contrast to the canons of St. Sepulchre Warwick, who, as mentioned earlier, saw their fortunes decline with the decline of the earls of Warwick. After the first earl of Warwick founded the priory, they received almost nothing from his descendants, probably partly because of their rough treatment from Henry I.

Another priory represents well how the fortunes of a priory might fluctuate with changes of patronage. The priory of Studley changed hands between laymen at least twice in its existence. Although the precise date is unclear, around the beginning of the thirteenth century, the patronage of the priory passed from Peter de Corbezon, son of the founder, to William de Cantilupe.<sup>35</sup> The Cantilupes were generous benefactors to the priory, as several charters indicate,<sup>36</sup> and the thirteenth century seemed to mark something of a high point for the priory. When the Cantilupe line ended with George III Cantilupe in

<sup>33</sup>Geddes, "Lanthony Priory," pp. 375–78.

<sup>34</sup>Geddes, "Lanthony Priory," pp. 379–84. Most significant of these were the times when Thomas aided the priory in maintaining its estates in Ireland.

<sup>35</sup>*Monasticon* has listed this as occurring in the time of Bishop William Wittelsey, which cannot be correct, as he acceded to the see of Worcester in 1363. If the Corbezon family only held the priory for two generations, then it would be likely that this transpired c. 1200.

<sup>36</sup>*Monasticon*, 6:185–86.



1273, his estates were divided between his sisters—Joan, who married Henry Hastings, and Millicent, who married Eudo la Zouche. Joan and Henry received many of George's estates, including his estates in Aston, whereas Millicent and Eudo received, among other possessions, the patronage of Studley Priory.<sup>37</sup> The priory had appropriated the church of Aston Cantlowe in about 1253, by confirmation of Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester.<sup>38</sup> However, shortly after the change in patronage, the priory had to reacquire the advowson of church, exchanging lands for the church from John de Hastings.<sup>39</sup> It seems that there was unclear identification of what each heir received at the distribution of the Cantilupe estates, or there was some collusive act that led to Hastings seizing control of the church. The end result was that the canons lost the church. It was eventually appropriated to Maxstoke Priory, another Augustinian house, and the canons of Studley had to take extraordinary measures to try to reacquire the church in the fourteenth and fifteenth century—acts of fraud that nearly resulted in the charge of heresy.<sup>40</sup> The failed oversight by the Zouche family, coupled with poor leadership in the priory, caused the canons to lose a valuable possession in the later medieval period.<sup>41</sup>

There was more to patronage than benefaction, however, and beyond the granting of income-generating properties to the priories, the patrons played active roles in the lives of the canons on many fronts. All monasteries sought out freedoms from the many hands that reached into the pockets of medieval institutions. In seeking freedom and protection from the taxation and burdens placed on monasteries, the patrons often were powerful advocates for the religious in their patronage.

<sup>37</sup>*Calendar of Close Rolls* (hereafter *CCR*), Edw I, 1272–79, pp. 114–15, 259.

<sup>38</sup>Philippa M. Hoskin, ed., *English Episcopal Acta 13, Worcester 1218–1268* (Oxford, 1997), no. 150.

<sup>39</sup>*Calendar of Patent Rolls* (hereafter *CPR*), Edw I, 1292–1301, p. 210.

<sup>40</sup>See Nick Nichols, "The Augustinian Canons and Their Parish Churches, a Key to Their Identity," in *The Regular Canons in the British Isles in Later Medieval England*, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Turnhout, forthcoming).

<sup>41</sup>For details of the poor leadership in Studley Priory in the fourteenth century, see Ernest Harold Pearce, ed., *The Register of Thomas de Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, 1317–1327* (London, 1930).

## Rights and Grants to Priors

One benefit sought and acquired by the canons from their patrons was to hold their temporalities when the abbey or priory was vacant. Three houses of canons acquired this costly but valuable freedom, which relatively few monasteries in England enjoyed. Cirencester sought and received this privilege on December 10, 1306. The Patent Rolls record the agreement that “in times of voidance the prior and convent have the custody of the abbey, saving to the king knight’s fees held of the abbey and advowsons of churches that fall in during the voidance.”<sup>42</sup> The entry goes on to stipulate the other terms of the agreement—namely, that the convent owed £100 for every voidance lasting three months or less “and if longer, further sums at the rate of £100 for every three months.”<sup>43</sup> No outsider was allowed to take any more than a simple seisin of the property of the abbey, carry anything away from the abbey, or place anyone to stay at the abbey. Cirencester defended this right quite frequently and vociferously, seeking the assistance of Edward II and Edward III five times in defense of the privilege. This privilege proved very beneficial during a voidance during the reign of Richard II when the king allowed the abbey to pay a maximum of £100, even though the voidance was longer than three months, as it was not the fault of the abbot that his election and confirmation took significant time.<sup>44</sup>

Kenilworth, too, struck a similar agreement with the king, who was by this time the likely patron of the monastery.<sup>45</sup> On March 4, 1386, Richard II confirmed a charter dated March 10, 1331, stating that the prior and convent should have the temporalities of the monastery at the rate of £117 2s 8d per year at every voidance.<sup>46</sup> Most interesting of all about this entry was that the agreement was made “in consideration of the great losses sustained by the said prior and convent on

<sup>42</sup>CPR, Edw I, 1301–07, p. 486. The agreement is recorded in full in the cartulary of the house. Little can be added to the agreement as it is found in the Patent Rolls. Ross, *Cirencester Cartulary*, 1:69–71.

<sup>43</sup>CPR, Edw I, 1301–07, p. 486.

<sup>44</sup>CPR, Ric II, 1391–96, p. 418. On one other occasion, Edward VI forgave the payment altogether. CPR, Edw VI, 1461–67, p. 325. It may be that this was a payment to the king for several pardons issued by him to people who failed to show to answer debts owed to the abbey that totaled £320. See CPR, Edw VI, 1461–67, pp. 3, 6, 253.

<sup>45</sup>Stöber, *Late Medieval*, appendix. It is unclear exactly when the priory of Kenilworth escheated to the king.

<sup>46</sup>CPR, Ric II, 1381–85, p. 544.

account of the frequent visits of the king and his father" (Edward II and III).<sup>47</sup>

Lanthony Priory, too, was allowed the right to keep its own temporalities during a vacancy, but its patron, Humphrey de Bohun, granted this right, not the king. The close rolls of Edward II record that Humphrey de Bohun,

sometime earl of Hereford and Essex and constable of England, granted by charter for him and his heirs to the subprior of that house (Lanthony) for the time being that, on the cession, decease or deposition of the prior, the subprior with one man of the earl's, by the earl or his heirs to him joined, should have the keeping of the priory and all thereto pertaining until the prior elect should be confirmed.<sup>48</sup>

The subprior and convent also were granted the right to choose a new prior without license of the earl or his heirs, but after he was selected, he would be presented to the earl or his heirs.<sup>49</sup> This seemingly lucrative right of Lanthony Priory reveals just how important the patronage of a priory could be.

Although the smaller monasteries in the diocese did not garner such lucrative rights, some of them did receive material benefits beyond benefaction from their patrons. The priory of St. Oswald in Gloucester provides an interesting case study about the power of patronage as it related to jurisdiction.<sup>50</sup> The priory was peculiar to the archbishop of York, and it was for many years in the thirteenth and fourteenth century embroiled in disputes among the bishops of Worcester; the archbishops of Canterbury, especially John Peckham and Robert Winchelsey; the archbishop of York; and the king. On numerous occasions after the death of Walter Giffard, archbishop of York, in 1279, the bishops of Worcester and archbishops of Canterbury attempted to visit the priory, but the priory resisted, claiming it was not in their jurisdictions.<sup>51</sup> In 1280 Peckham tried to

<sup>47</sup>*CPR*, Ric II, 1381-85, p. 544.

<sup>48</sup>*CCR*, Edw III, 1360-64, pp. 373-34.

<sup>49</sup>In Lanthony's case, freedom of election was significant, as the earls had indeed interfered with the canons' elections in the past. See Geddes, "Lanthony Priory," pp. 95-100.

<sup>50</sup>The Augustinians almost universally lacked exemption from the diocese, and thus issues of jurisdiction were of greater significance to them than perhaps to any other order.

<sup>51</sup>Godfrey Giffard, brother of Walter Giffard, was bishop of Worcester until 1301, and much of the sharpest controversy occurred during his tenure, although after his brother's death.



visit the priory, although he had not attempted to do so during Giffard's tenure at York.<sup>52</sup> Although the particular issue among the priory, Peckham, and Giffard faded after several sharp conflicts, the confrontations among St. Oswald's, Giffard, and Archbishops Peckham and Winchelsey continued to escalate until the canons called on their patron, Thomas Corbridge, archbishop of York, who turned to King Edward I, who in turn claimed the priory as a royal free chapel.<sup>53</sup> The king indicated that only the archbishop of York had any claim on the church regarding visitation, and that Winchelsey, in pursuing visitation and excommunicating the prior and the canons, had violated that privilege, even though the canons had appealed to Rome.<sup>54</sup> The king's intervention eventually freed St. Oswald's from the battle over visitation once and for all, but not before much grief was brought to the house.<sup>55</sup> In this instance, a powerful patron brought much-needed protection to a small and beleaguered priory.

A second, smaller priory also received protection from its patrons, although it was much less dramatic than that sparked by events at St. Oswald's Gloucester. Studley Priory was granted protection of its lands in the forest of Fakenham. It was to be free from the meddling of all foresters, verderers, and bailiffs in the forest; it would have its

<sup>52</sup>This notably came to a head in 1279, when Walter Giffard, archbishop of York and brother of Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester, died. The next year, Peckham tried to visit the priory, although he had not done so during Giffard's tenure at York. See Francis Neville Davis and Decima L. Douie, eds., *The Register of John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1279-1292*, 2 vols. (London, 1968-69), p. 244; J. W. Willis-Bund, ed., *Episcopal Registers, Diocese of Worcester*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1902), p. 122.

<sup>53</sup>Thompson refers to a comment in the register of Thomas Corbridge that Edward and his predecessors had aided the convent prior to this time. Thompson, "Jurisdictions," p. 145. The Close Rolls do not mention that St. Oswald's is a free chapel until May 1303. The Close Rolls reveal the extent of the action that Giffard had taken against the priory. In an entry dated October 28, 1300, Edward I wrote to the bishop that he knew "that the bishop had publicly and inhumanly prohibited . . . anyone from buying or selling bread, wine, ale, or any victuals necessary for maintenance from or to the prior and canons . . . under pain of excommunication." He went on to state his surprise at such an action, as it was an insult to the Crown. He also forbade Giffard from reissuing such an injunction and ordered him "to cause to be revoked speedily any (like sentences) that he may have made or any sentences of excommunication that he may have pronounced" because of such a decree. *CCR*, Edw I, 1296-1302, p. 411.

<sup>54</sup>*CCR*, Edw I, 1296-1302, p. 411.

<sup>55</sup>The Close Rolls contain several mandates to both the bishops of Worcester and the archbishops of Canterbury, one of which actually threatens a summons of the archbishop if he did not desist from taking actions against the priory. Apparently, the actions of the bishops had cost the priory as much as £200—a sizable sum for any monastery, especially one the size of St. Oswald's. *CCR*, Edw I, 1302-07, p. 191.

own foresters and did not answer to the king's foresters or bailiffs; and it was free from the burden of hospitality to any who had business in or near the woods.<sup>56</sup> This right was granted at the instigation of William de Cantilupe, the priory's patron.

Large monasteries, too, received protection from their patrons. Cirencester benefited from royal patronage throughout its existence, frequently relying on the king's defense for the protection of its rights in the town of Cirencester. It had been granted almost complete control over the seven hundreds of Cirencester and the vill of Minety by Richard I, a right for which it had to pay £100 initially and £30 per annum subsequently.<sup>57</sup> The abbey went to court numerous times to defend this right and paid mighty sums to protect it. This is clearly one right that smaller houses of canons could not possibly have attained.

Another right earned by both large and small priories because of their patrons was exemption from collecting tithes or taxes. Most of the Augustinian houses in the Diocese of Worcester served as collectors in some capacity, although a few of the smallest did not. Two houses received the right not to collect when summoned owing to the actions of their patrons. Richard II excused the priory of St. Oswald in Gloucester because it claimed to be a royal free chapel, and "it (wa)s the king's will that this time they be exempted."<sup>58</sup> During the reign of Henry V, the prior of Lanthony was excused from serving as a collector anywhere except the Diocese of Worcester. The stated reason was because the progenitors of the king founded the priory of Lanthony, and the prior had collected many times in the past.<sup>59</sup> This privilege was confirmed during the reign of Henry VI.<sup>60</sup> Edward IV reiterated this right, although he made no mention of the precedent set by Henry V.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup>*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1:264, December 22, 1241.

<sup>57</sup>Ross, *Cirencester Cartulary*, 1: nos. 31-35.

<sup>58</sup>*CCR*, Ric II, 1381-85, p. 367.

<sup>59</sup>*CPR*, Henry V, 1413-16, p. 109. See above for the story of Lanthony escheating to the king. Cirencester was granted the same privilege; see *CPR*, Henry VI, 1436-41, p. 294.

<sup>60</sup>*CPR*, Henry VI, 1429-36, p. 177.

<sup>61</sup>*CPR*, Edw IV and Henry VI, 1467-77, p. 520.

## Conclusion

It would seem that the Augustinian patrons influenced their monasteries in diverse ways. Benefaction was perhaps the greatest evident contribution of patrons to their monasteries. For some of the larger monasteries, this benefaction was not only from the hereditary patrons but also from those connected to a powerful family through feudal association or political alliance.<sup>62</sup> A wealthy patron often translated into a wealthy monastery, although such was not always the case. It would seem that benefaction beyond the founder's generation was contingent on the fortunes of the founder's family; changes in their status, positive or negative, seems to have had a measurable impact on the prosperity of the family's foundation. As for rights and privileges that could be granted by the patrons, both large and small monasteries seemed to benefit from the actions of their patrons, and it was in these interactions that royal patronage may have been most significant.

As with most studies of medieval religious houses, the larger monasteries receive most of the attention, in large part because a greater amount of evidence can be marshaled for them. However, it would seem to be the case that the smaller Augustinian houses in the Diocese of Worcester received grants and attention from their patrons similar to the larger houses—if not in scope, then at least in kind. Although their stories may be less dramatic and more obscure, it should not be concluded that the smaller priories of late-medieval England were any less important or vital to their communities and their patrons than the larger ones of their brethren.

<sup>62</sup>This also can be seen in the case of St. Augustine's Bristol and likely Kenilworth as well, although Lanthony was the house that received treatment here.



# THE NEW ELITES OF ITALIAN CATHOLICISM: 1968 AND THE NEW CATHOLIC MOVEMENTS

BY

MASSIMO FAGGIOLI\*

*After the Second Vatican Council, new movements arose within the Catholic Church. In Italy this phenomenon crossed paths with the movement called 1968 and spawned a new elite not only in the Catholic Church but also in Italian Catholicism. These movements reacted to and participated in 1968 in Italy in different ways, marking the development of a deeply rooted diversity within Italian Catholicism. These Catholic movements represented an initial step in the ongoing replacement of old clerical elites in Catholic Europe.*

**Keywords:** Catholic Action; Italian Catholicism; social movements; Second Vatican Council; social justice

## **1. A Fatherless Child in the Memory of Italian Church and Politics: 1968**

The public debate on the role of Catholicism in Italy's recent history is split into two very different and, in many respects, opposite ways of looking at the subject. Most interpreters of the history of the relationship between Italian Catholicism and the post-1968 cultural and political landscape tend to describe the directions taken by Italian Catholics in two ways—liberal, “Vatican II Catholicism” allied with radical-revolutionary leftists on one side, with “conservative Catholicism” supporting right-wing, Italian political parties of the post-cold war period on the other. However, the ideological contribution of 1968 to the culture of the Catholic Church is much more complex than these two interpretations. The series of events called 1968 played a major role in Italy not only in polarizing the new cultural impulses of the 1960s but also in stopping the successful exper-

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iments of the early 1960s and a much-needed turnover of the elites; this affected the social and political history of Italy as well as the history of Italian Catholicism.

The complexity of the ideological and cultural cleavages in the 1960s—especially the period between the end of the Second Vatican Council in 1965 and the first crisis in its aftermath (caused by Hans Küng's book *The Church*,<sup>1</sup> the *Dutch Catechism*,<sup>2</sup> and the encyclical *Humanae vitae* on contraception and its reception)—still requires much analysis. Such an analysis must include the role of the Catholic movements in Italy.

This rift around the interpretation of the role of Catholicism in Italy in the 1960s and 1970s reflects a deep cultural deficiency in the analysis of the social and political role of Catholicism in twentieth-century Italy. This situation exists partly because critics of the political role of Catholicism in Italy view the Catholic Church as a vertical institution ruled by the pope and Roman Curia, cardinals, bishops, and clergy. Others view the renewed public presence of Catholicism purely as a right-wing Catholic *revanche*. Seeing the Church as a social and political player through these lenses is still valid, but they display a sociological approach to Catholicism that requires a complementary historical approach, especially in light of the new faces of the so-called “new Catholic movements” and their role in the creation of a new Italian Catholic “leading elite.”<sup>3</sup> Via a historical point of view, the picture can be completed, illuminating the historical development of Italian Catholicism and its peculiar features, characters, and culture. Assessing the recent history of Italian Catholicism means taking into account a new category of protagonists that historians of modern Italian Catholicism have underestimated and sociologists of religion and prophets of the “postsecular age” in Italy have overestimated.

<sup>1</sup>See *La Chiesa* (Brescia, 1969); Hans Küng, *The Church*, trans. Ray Ockenden and Rosaleen Ockenden (New York, 1968); Hans Küng, *Die Kirche* (Freiburg, 1967).

<sup>2</sup>See *Il dossier del Catechismo olandese*, ed. Leo Alting von Geusau and Fernando Vittorino Joannes (Milan, 1968); *A New Catechism: Catholic Faith for Adults*, ed. Leo Alting von Geusau and Fernando Vittorino Joannes, trans. Kevin Smyth (New York, 1967).

<sup>3</sup>See Alberto Melloni, “Movimenti. De significatione verborum,” in *I movimenti nella Chiesa*, *Concilium*, March 2003, ed. Alberto Melloni, pp. 13–35; Massimo Faggioli, *Breve storia dei movimenti cattolici* (Rome, 2008; Spanish trans. *Historia y evolución de los movimientos católicos. De León XIII a Benedicto XVI*, Madrid, 2011).

This article will attempt to emphasize the role of the new Catholic movements and their rise in the period between the end of the Second Vatican Council and the 1970s in the political, ideological, and sociological framework of present-day Catholicism in Italy. This approach will offer a more nuanced view of the social and political *aggiornamento* of Italian Catholicism and the opportunity to reassess the often overlooked, changing identity of the Italian Church between 1968 and the 1990s. It also will show that the contemporary Italian Catholic elite and Catholic lay movements owe much to the endeavor of Italian Catholics to make sense of and come to terms with the difficult ideological divide in Italy during the “tumultuous 1960s.” In fact, the example of the Catholic movements and 1968 in Italy show that the relationship among the reception of the Second Vatican Council, “Catholic radicalism,” and the ideological clash in Italy is much more intricate than that usually portrayed. An examination of the ideological history of the new Catholic movements between 1968 and the beginning of the twenty-first century reveals surprising conclusions.

## 2. Catholicism and 1968 in Italy: A Shift in the History of Catholic Movements

The official historiography of the new Catholic movements tends to acritically and apologetically stress the coincidence of their origin with the Second Vatican Council, but their relationship with 1968 is much more important, ambivalent, and unexplored. Catholic 1968 should be framed in a complex context—between the end of the long nineteenth century<sup>4</sup> and the beginning of a thorough secularization of Europe, as well as between the Second Vatican Council and the 1970s. Such a categorization intends to see 1968 Catholicism in a global context, immediately after the worldwide event in the history of the Catholic Church—that is, the Second Vatican Council.<sup>5</sup>

The pontificate of Paul VI played a significant role in the history of the relations between not only the Church and the modern world but also elements within the Church—between lay movements and the ecclesiastical institution. The importance of the change in the balance

<sup>4</sup>John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA, 2008), pp. 53–92.

<sup>5</sup>See Giuseppe Alberigo, “Il concilio Vaticano II e le trasformazioni culturali in Europa,” *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, 20 (1999), pp. 383–405; *History of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, vols. 1–5 (Leuven-Bologna, 1995–2001; New York, 1995–2006).



of power within the Catholic Church cannot be overemphasized. The Second Vatican Council meant not only a debate between theologies and social and political cultures but also a turnover in the balances of power in an institution deeply marked by a multisecular stratification in the social identity of those who held power—bishops, clergy, monks and religious orders, and Catholic nobility.<sup>6</sup>

Paul VI symbolized the social dynamics of Catholics after the Second Vatican Council in his preparation of a massive turnover in the elite of the Church—that is, among the bishops, thanks to new regulations that “invited” the bishops to resign their office when they turned seventy-five.<sup>7</sup> This decision changed the face of the Italian episcopate almost overnight, but the social dynamics of the Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council went much deeper and farther. It is beyond any doubt that Catholicism after the Second Vatican Council contributed to the 1968 movement, perhaps more than has been acknowledged, and much more in Europe (France, Germany, Italy) than in North America.<sup>8</sup> Italy played a special role in the attempt to link the demands produced by the Second Vatican Council with the 1968 movement and to assess the effects of 1968 on the Catholic Church as an institution.

Judgments differ on the role of Italian Catholics in the 1968 movement. Regarding the protests at the Catholic University in Milan, which launched 1968 in Italy, the Italian historian Agostino Giovagnoli stated that “it would be an overstatement to say that the religious ele-

<sup>6</sup>See Richard P. McBrien, *The Church: The Evolution of Catholicism* (New York, 2008), pp. 345–49; Richard R. Gaillardetz, *Ecclesiology for a Global Church: A People Called and Sent* (Maryknoll, NY, 2008), pp. 132–42. For the reception of the Second Vatican Council in Italian lay movements, see Massimo Faggioli, “I movimenti cattolici internazionali nel post-concilio: il caso della recezione del Vaticano II in Italia,” in *Proceedings of the International Conference of Gazzada on the Reception of the Second Vatican Council in Italy, June 2009* (Brescia, forthcoming).

<sup>7</sup>See Giuseppe Alberigo, “Santa Sede e vescovi nello Stato unitario. Verso un episcopato italiano (1958–1985),” in *La Chiesa e il potere politico* (Turin, 1986), pp. 857–79; Alberto Melloni, “Da Giovanni XXIII alle Chiese italiane del Vaticano II,” in *Storia dell’Italia religiosa*. Vol. 3: *L’età contemporanea*, ed. Gabriele De Rosa, Tullio Gregory, and André Vauchez (Rome-Bari, 1995), pp. 361–403; Guido Verucci, “La chiesa postconciliare,” *Storia dell’Italia repubblicana* (Turin, 1995), pp. 297–382; Augusto D’Angelo, “L’episcopato italiano dalla frammentazione al profilo nazionale,” *Memoria e ricerca*, December 2003, 75–92.

<sup>8</sup>On “leftist Catholicism,” see Gerd Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of ’68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956–1976* (New York, 2007).

ment played a decisive role.”<sup>9</sup> But Salvatore Abbruzzese more convincingly affirmed in his classical study on Communion and Liberation that “this presence of Catholics within the movement of 1968 was less marginal than we might suppose.”<sup>10</sup>

The struggle for the reception/application of the Second Vatican Council met the 1968 climate and offered the opportunity for a more general attempt to renovate not just the language, symbolism, or theology of Catholicism but also the leading elites of the Church as an institution. The new conciliar *Weltanschauung* implied disposing of an old religious elite and replacing it with a new one. For the catastrophic memories of 1968 presented by mainstream Catholicism at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the period after the Second Vatican Council, brought about several changes for the Church as a whole—weaker responses of the laity toward the moral and doctrinal teaching of the pope and bishops; deterioration of the link of obedience between bishops and lay movements; a growing pluralism within Catholicism; and the beginning of the detachment of the “civil society” in the Catholic Church—the laity—from church institutions.<sup>11</sup> Italy and Italian Catholicism became the first and best field of operation for these occurrences.<sup>12</sup>

### 3. The Catholic Movements in Italy during and after 1968

The phenomenon of the new Catholic movements has much more to do with the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council than the

<sup>9</sup>“Non si può dire che la componente religiosa abbia giocato un ruolo decisivo.” Agostino Giovagnoli, “Cattolici nel Sessantotto,” in *1968 tra utopia e Vangelo. Contestazione e mondo cattolico*, ed. Agostino Giovagnoli (Rome, 2000), p. 39.

<sup>10</sup>“Cette présence des catholiques au sein du mouvement de contestation fut moins marginale qu’on pourrait le supposer.” Salvatore Abbruzzese, *Comunione e Liberazione, Identité Catholique et Disqualification du monde* (Paris, 1989), p. 117.

<sup>11</sup>See Carlo Falconi, *La contestazione nella Chiesa. Storia e documenti del movimento cattolico antiautoritario in Italia e nel mondo* (Milan, 1969); Igino Giordani, *La Chiesa della contestazione* (Rome, 1970); Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *De la mission à la protestation. L'évolution des étudiants chrétiens en France (1965-1970)* (Paris, 1973).

<sup>12</sup>On the 1970s in Italy, see Mario Cuminetti, *Il dissenso cattolico in Italia, 1965-1980* (Milan, 1983); Guido Crainz, *Il paese mancato: dal miracolo economico agli anni Ottanta* (Rome, 2003); Alberto Melloni, “L’occasione mancata. Appunti sulla chiesa italiana, 1978-2009,” in *Il Vangelo basta*, ed. Alberto Melloni (Rome, 2010); Massimo Faggioli, “Il modello Bartoletti nell’Italia mancata,” in *Cristiani d’Italia. Chiesa, società, Stato 1861-2011*, ed. Alberto Melloni (Rome, 2011), pp. 317-30.

Council itself. As it has been observed recently, "One of the most striking developments in Catholic life since the council ended has been the flourishing of 'movements' such as Opus Dei, the Neo-Catechumenate, Communion and Liberation, and so on."<sup>13</sup> This development also occurred in Italy and greatly contributed to the changing landscape of Italian Catholicism and to the relationship between Italian political culture and the Italian Church.

The role of the Catholic movements in Italy after 1968 clearly can be seen through the prism of five groups: Azione Cattolica (Catholic Action), Comunione e Liberazione (Communion and Liberation), Comunità di Sant'Egidio (Community of St. Egidio), and the Organizations of Catholic Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts (Associazione Scout Cattolici Italiani [ASCI]; Associazione Guide Italiane [AGI], later Associazione Guide e Scouts Cattolici Italiani [AGESCI]). Omitted from this analysis are Catholic movements and organizations that did not confront the cultural and political situation around 1968 and had stronger cultural and political ties with countries other than Italy (for example, Spanish-speaking movements such as Opus Dei, Legionaries of Christ, and charismatic Pentecostal groups).<sup>14</sup>

#### 4. Catholic Action

The oldest and noblest nest of Catholic laity was Catholic Action, founded in the 1920s by Pope Pius XI to educate laymen and -women in a society under threat by fascist, Nazi, and communist ideologies.<sup>15</sup> Catholic Action was the organization *par excellence* of the Catholic laity in Italy, forging connections to the Catholic Federation of University Students (FUCI) and the main organization of young Catholics (Gioventù Italiana di Azione Cattolica [GIAC]) and acting as an umbrella organization for the Catholic laity in Italy. Based in dioceses and parishes, Catholic Action enrolled its members through the

<sup>13</sup>Nicholas Lash, *Theology for Pilgrims* (Notre Dame, 2008), p. 236.

<sup>14</sup>See Faggioli, *Breve storia/Historia y evolución*. For a general overview on the postconciliar Catholic movements, see Antonio Giolo, Brunetto Salvarani, *I cattolici sono tutti uguali? Una mappa dei movimenti della Chiesa* (Genoa, 1992); Agostino Favale, *Movimenti ecclesiali contemporanei. Dimensioni storiche, teologico-spirituali ed apostoliche* (Rome, 1991); Agostino Favale, *Segni di vitalità nella chiesa. Movimenti e nuove comunità* (Rome, 2009).

<sup>15</sup>See Liliana Ferrari, *L'Azione cattolica in Italia dalle origini al pontificato di Paolo VI* (Brescia, 1982); Liliana Ferrari, *Una storia dell'Azione cattolica: gli ordinamenti statutari da Pio XI a Pio XII* (Genoa, 1989).

territorial structures of the Church. Its first leaders were Armida Barelli, Carlo Carretto, Giuseppe Lazzati, and priests Franco Costa and Emilio Guano. In 1946 Vittorino Veronese became president (with Luigi Gedda as vice president); Vittorio Bachelet served as president for the crucial period 1964–73, with Costa as the “ecclesiastical assistant” (1963–72) formally guaranteeing the obedience of the organization to the bishops and the pope. The intellectual sources of Catholic Action put this new kind of laity front and center in the attempt to renew the language of Catholic theology vis-à-vis the modern world, as seen in the writings of Jacques Maritain, the new ecclesiology overcoming the idea of the Church as a *societas perfecta*, and the cautious but attentive approach to the *nouvelle théologie*.

Catholic Action, which peaked in church influence and power in the late 1940s and 1950s, gained recognition in Second Vatican Council documents as “the organization” of Catholic laity. However, it was unable to take advantage of a canonically incipient but culturally exhausted “theology of laity.” Thus, Catholic Action started losing members to the new movements immediately after the Second Vatican Council, just when it was accomplishing much more than the rest of the Catholic laity by accepting the Second Vatican Council, its ecclesiology of the Church as a communion, and the need to reconcile the Catholic laity with a more democratic organizational model.

Catholic Action tried to take the middle path in 1968, refusing to adhere to the radical, anti-institutional stance of many Catholics and holding an open dialogue with the student movement and society at large. But at the same time Catholic Action embraced some cultural aspects of 1968, as one of its leaders remembered:

Catholic Action lived the period of 1968 with attentiveness and openness of mind; in its younger components it created a profound relationship with that movement and through many of its members it became part of that movement of ideas that was 1968.<sup>16</sup>

The effort to halt the departure of its members with a new statute (October–November 1969) was only partially successful; the new

<sup>16</sup>“L’Azione Cattolica visse con attenzione e spirito di apertura la stagione del Sessantotto; mediante le sue componenti giovanili stabilì un contatto profondo e attraverso numerose persone si può dire che fece parte di quel movimento di idee.” Angelo Bertani, “L’Azione Cattolica Italiana e la svolta del Concilio,” in *1968: fra utopia e Vangelo*, ed. Agostino Giovagnoli (Rome, 2000), pp. 79–101, here 79–80.



statute disappointed both the liberal and the conservative wings of the movement, because it underscored the institutional continuity with the past (hardly acceptable to the liberals) while stressing the role of Catholic Action in promoting "the co-responsibility of laity in the mission of the Church"<sup>17</sup> (intolerable to the conservatives). But the new attention of Catholic Action to political and social movements did not meet with universal approval, as noted by Mario Casella: "The new Statute had many supporters, but also caused dismay and disappointment, especially in the most extreme fringes of Catholic Action."<sup>18</sup>

The "religious option" ("scelta religiosa"), the adoption of a framework typical of a democratic association ("scelta democratica" and "scelta associativa"), and the end of the political and institutional ties of Catholic Action members with the Christian Democratic Party (Democrazia Cristiana) represented huge steps in the direction of a new Catholic Action identity. But it also was an option that clearly ran counter to both the 1968 movement and the new Catholic movements, as Guido Formigoni noted: "The weaknesses of the post-Vatican II renewal of the Church were closely intertwined with the need for more genuinity, naturalness, and faithfulness to the Gospel, together with an anti-hierarchical and anti-institutional mood."<sup>19</sup>

The delay in updating its theological and political culture and the attempt to stand for the obedient, old guard of the Catholic laity cost Catholic Action many of its members after 1968. Apart from this political crisis of membership, the attempts of Catholic Action to reform itself in the early 1970s were not rewarded by the Holy See, which soon started to repudiate its new theological course and sought new organizations of the new Italian laity that were more reliable than "the old guard" in the stormy period between 1968 and the mid-1970s. The clash between Catholic Action and the Vatican, especially between

<sup>17</sup>Ernesto Preziosi, *Obbedienti in piedi. La vicenda dell'Azione Cattolica in Italia* (Turin, 1996), pp. 318–25.

<sup>18</sup>"Il nuovo Statuto suscitò molti consensi, ma anche sconcerto e scontento, soprattutto nelle ali più estreme dell'ACI." Mario Casella, *L'Azione Cattolica nell'Italia contemporanea (1919–1969)* (Rome, 1992), p. 555.

<sup>19</sup>"Esigenze di genuinità, di spontaneità, di rigore evangelico, rafforzate dalla ventata antigerarchica e anti-istituzionale, si intrecciarono strettamente alle debolezze presenti nel rinnovamento conciliare della chiesa italiana. Rispetto alla contestazione verso la gerarchia e la politicizzazione la scelta religiosa andava palesemente controcorrente." Guido Formigoni, *L'Azione Cattolica Italiana* (Milan, 1988), p. 111.

1970 and 1973, was caused by Catholic Action's new approach to the social and political realm—the so-called “religious option” that was intended to give more autonomy to Italian lay Catholics about the legitimate pluralism of their political options and to distance itself from the influence of the Vatican and Italian bishops in Italian politics.<sup>20</sup>

During the 1980s and 1990s, the pontificate of John Paul II was much more explicit than that of Paul VI in indicating the need for a new and stronger accountability of the Italian laity for the Roman pope. This was a responsibility evidently no longer found in Catholic Action, split “between conscience and obedience”<sup>21</sup>—that is, between fidelity to the Church and responsibility to the new and diverse cultural and political sensibility of its members. The late reconciliation between Rome and Catholic Action in Loreto in 2004 magnified not the rehabilitation of Catholic Action in the eyes of the Roman Church, but the new obedience of Catholic Action to the Holy See and the spectacular acknowledgment by Rome of the supremacy of the more assertive style of Communion and Liberation.<sup>22</sup>

## 5. Communion and Liberation

Communion and Liberation, founded by the priest Luigi Giussani (1922–2005) in 1954 originally as Gioventù Studentesca, represented the most significant Catholic movement in Milan and soon became the most important splinter group from Catholic Action in Italy. Giussani, the founder of the most politically active Catholic movement in Italy, taught at the seminary of Venegono near Milan and at a high school in Milan (1954–64) before serving later as chair of introduction to theology at the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart in Milan.<sup>23</sup> In 1965 Giussani left Gioventù Studentesca and founded the Charles Peguy Center in Milan—the beginning of the transition to the new movement Communion and Liberation.<sup>24</sup> A charismatic leader of

<sup>20</sup>See *Azione Cattolica Italiana, Scelta religiosa e politica: documenti 1969–1988*, ed. Raffaele Cananzi (Rome, 1988).

<sup>21</sup>Vittorio De Marco, *Storia dell'Azione Cattolica negli anni Settanta* (Rome, 2007).

<sup>22</sup>See Alberto Melloni, “The Politics of the ‘Church’ in the Italy of Pope Wojtyła,” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 12 (2007), 60–85.

<sup>23</sup>The first writings of Giussani—*Riflessioni sopra un'esperienza* (1959), *Tracce d'esperienza cristiana* (1960), and *Appunti di metodo cristiano* (1964)—had been published “pro manuscripto,” and they had been republished with the title *Tracce d'esperienza cristiana* (Milan, 1972).

<sup>24</sup>Abbruzzese, *Comunione e Liberazione*, p. 105.

this new students' circle, Giussani had his disciples read Georges Bernanos, Paul Claudel, Jonathan Edwards, Jacques Maritain, Charles Peguy, and American and Russian writers. In the period after the Second Vatican Council, this intellectual eclecticism eventually led Giussani to accept Henri de Lubac's emphasis on nature and grace, in reaction to the anthropological theology of Karl Rahner and Edwaard Schillebeeckx.<sup>25</sup> Giussani's ecclesiology became increasingly autarchic, monolytical, and inclined to a quasi-identification of the Church with Christ; Communion and Liberation's understanding of Maritain is closer to the harsh judgment expressed about the Second Vatican Council in *Le paysan de la Garonne* (1967) than to the philosophy of *Humanisme integrale* (1936).<sup>26</sup> At the same time, Jaca Book, the publishing house close to Communion and Liberation, also published authors very popular in the revolt movement of 1968 such as Fidel Castro, Régis Debray, and Rosa Luxemburg.<sup>27</sup>

Evident before Communion and Liberation emerged was Catholic Action's inability to bridge the competing demands for renewal and preservation of traditions.<sup>28</sup> According to Communion and Liberation, the events of 1968 played a major role because the student movement attracted many members of Giussani's Gioventù Studentesca. It caused the most serious crisis in the history of the group. Accounts of the group's history reveal the heavy burdens of those turbulent years.<sup>29</sup> Giussani recalled these troubled times:

The development of the movement became less clear in 1963–64, until the dark moment of 1968 that triggered the consequences of the previous 5–6 years, when the bad influence of a few people had radically changed the original idea and made the center of our action not our presence in the

<sup>25</sup>See Dadder, pp. 154–71.

<sup>26</sup>See Dadder, pp. 247–65. See Jacques Maritain, *Le paysan de la Garonne: Une vieux laïc s'interroge à propos du temps présent* (Paris, 1967); Jacques Maritain, *The Peasant of the Garonne: An Old Layman Questions Himself about the Present Time*, trans. Micheal Cuddihy and Elizabeth Hughes (New York, 1968).

<sup>27</sup>See Abbruzzese, *Comunione e Liberazione*, p. 107.

<sup>28</sup>On Communion and Liberation, see also *Gli estremisti di centro: il neo-integralismo cattolico degli anni '70. Comunione e liberazione. Presentazione di David Maria Turollo*, ed. Sandro Bianchi and Angelo Turchini (Rimini-Florence, 1975); Anke Maria Dadder, *Comunione e Liberazione. Phänomenologie einer neuen geistlichen Bewegung* (Constance, 2002); Massimo Camisasca, *Comunione e Liberazione. Le origini (1954–1968)* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2001); Massimo Camisasca, *Comunione e Liberazione. La ripresa (1969–1976)* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2003); Massimo Camisasca, *Comunione e Liberazione. Il riconoscimento (1976–1984). Appendice 1985–2005* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2006).

schools, but a vague social activism. Our identity was lost. . . . The political project had taken the place of our presence; utopia had become the center. What happened between 1963 and 1968 was a process of adaptation and surrender to the environment.<sup>30</sup>

A harsh opposition to 1968 is clearly present in the ideological history of Giussani's group, although many of its members had been part of the 1968 movement, as can be seen in a speech delivered by Giussani in 1976:

The historical trajectory had already made justice of *the vanity and emptiness of the utopia of 1968*: this utopia was nothing other than a tool for a *new hegemony, even more despotic and destroying*. That is why we continue to say that we are the only representatives of the real 1968.<sup>31</sup>

Communion and Liberation owed much of its good fortune and political success to 1968. Although it rejected the eminently Marxist ideological backdrop of the students' revolt, Communion and Liberation capitalized on the anti-institutional mood that became mainstream in its culture. At the same time, Communion and Liberation contributed to the issue of the change in church leadership reacting against the crisis of authority in the Church after the Second Vatican Council with a display of ultramontanist devotion for the pope.

The political language of Communion and Liberation, in the wake of the reconstruction of the group from scratch after the shock of 1968, changed its target but not its weapon. Refusing the "people of

<sup>29</sup>See Roberto Beretta, *Il lungo autunno. Controstoria del Sessantotto cattolico* (Milan, 1998); Roberto Beretta, *Cantavamo Dio è morto. Il '68 dei cattolici* (Casale Monferrato, 2008).

<sup>30</sup>"La storia del movimento incominciò ad annepbiarsi nel '63-'64, fino alle tenebre del '68 che fece esplodere le conseguenze di quei cinque o sei anni in cui l'influsso di certe persone aveva capovolto la situazione originale e reso scopo del nostro muoverci non la presenza nella scuola, ma un progetto d'attività sociale. Così l'identità stessa della nostra presenza si smarri. . . . Il progetto aveva sostituito la presenza, l'utopia l'aveva scalzata. Ciò che avvenne dal '63-'64 fino allo scoppio del '68 fu un processo di adattamento e di cedimento all'ambiente." Luigi Giussani, "Dall'utopia alla presenza," *Dall'utopia alla presenza (1975-1978)* (Milan, 2006), pp. 49-87, here pp. 63-64.

<sup>31</sup>"La traiettoria storica aveva già sgomberato *la vanità e la vuotezza delle utopie del '68*: quello che esse avevano destato non era diventato altro che strumento *per una nuova egemonia, ancora più dispotica e livellatrice*. Perciò, già due-tre anni fa dicevamo di essere rimasti gli unici a portare avanti le parole del '68." Giussani, "Dall'utopia alla presenza," pp. 64-65, emphasis in original.



God" ecclesiology of the Second Vatican Council and the 1968 liberal culture, Communion and Liberation acted in the early 1970s as the group with the highest level of political engagement, in an Italian Catholicism unable to navigate between the newly discovered Catholic "political theology" and the tradition of church collateralism with the Christian Democratic Party:

The Italian Catholic movement is embedded in a conciliar legacy that pushes it toward a more direct engagement with the world, but at the same time employing a cautious and realist strategy, which sometimes leads to some kind of desertion. . . . Lay Catholics can escape this trap only by creating different and autonomous paths, thus initiating a diaspora that has not been studied yet.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the official and apologetic history of the movement written by a prominent member of Communion and Liberation,<sup>33</sup> the ideological origins of Communion and Liberation shared the ideological attack against the liberal state with other Catholic movements and 1968 culture, as members of the same movement have acknowledged: "*Gioventù Studentesca* expressed the same need for renewal as the students' movement did, but it judged the ways of the movement inadequate."<sup>34</sup> Communion and Liberation focused on the "culture of the presence" of Catholics in society<sup>35</sup> and rejected political engagement. According to Communion and Liberation, politics becomes radically disqualified as a field of action for Catholics, as "politics is just another trap created by the 'false rationality of the Enlightenment.'"<sup>36</sup>

While Italian Catholicism was struggling to free itself from the problematical heritage of collateralism with the Christian Democratic Party, Communion and Liberation pushed a small but important part of the Italian laity back into the "ghetto" under the flag of a new "*non*

<sup>32</sup>"Le mouvement catholique italien se trouve ainsi coincé dans un héritage conciliaire qui le pousse aux engagements dans le monde et une stratégie réaliste de 'désertion' et de prudence. Les militants catholiques ne pourront sortir de ce piège qu'en prenant des chemins autonome set diversifiés, constituant ainsi une diaspora dont l'analyse est encore loin d'être fait." Abbruzzese, *Comunione e Liberazione*, p. 127.

<sup>33</sup>See Camisasca, *La ripresa*.

<sup>34</sup>"*Gioventù Studentesca* condivise l'istanza di rinnovamento insita nel Movimento studentesco, ma giudicò inadeguata la forma di lotta scelta." Maurizio Vitali and Ambrogio Pisoni, *Comunione e Liberazione* (Milan, 1988), p. 77.

<sup>35</sup>See Italo Mancini, *Tornino i volti* (Genoa, 1988).

<sup>36</sup>"Le politique n'est qu'un des pièges de la 'fausse rationalité des Lumières.'" Abbruzzese, *Comunione e Liberazione*, p. 134.

*expedit.*" Communion and Liberation and its branches rejected the need for political mediation inside the Christian Democratic Party and bargained with grassroots politicians from every political party, to fund branches of the group that provided social services for members of Communion and Liberation and their families.

Communion and Liberation took advantage of the last years of Paul VI's pontificate and recognized the major shift in the pope's attitude toward the Second Vatican Council and the postconciliar problems, unlike others. The turning point in the success of Communion and Liberation came with John Paul II and his vision for a new Catholicism in Italy. John Paul II's preference for the "new Catholic movements" and the antiliberal (even more than anticommunist) language of Communion and Liberation developed very early in the history of his pontificate and peaked in 1982 with the pope's visit to the annual meeting of Communion and Liberation in Rimini.

The struggle against the anthropology of liberation of 1968 and John Paul II's emphasis on moral issues made Communion and Liberation a key player in the public arena of the Catholic Church in Italy during the last pontificate of the twentieth century. In 1980 Giussani affirmed, "Communion and Liberation created a new synthesis, in a dialectic, practical, cultural, and educational opposition to 1968."<sup>37</sup>

The cultural opposition of Communion and Liberation against 1968 also was an opposition to the early attempt of Italian Catholicism and some leaders of the Italian episcopate to take advantage of the end of temporal power and new freedom for the Catholic Church at the end of the "Constantine era." The success of Communion and Liberation in representing Italian Catholicism as "resilient" toward the novelty of the Second Vatican Council was rooted in the efforts of Communion and Liberation to distance itself from the message of 1968. Nevertheless, the "Jacobin-minded" language of 1968 still played a role in the propaganda of Communion and Liberation toward a renewal of the leading elites of the Church that acknowledged the social and political power of post-Catholic Italy.

<sup>37</sup>"Comunione e Liberazione è sorta proprio come una nuova sintesi, in dialettica, in opposizione culturale e pratica, culturale ed educativa con il Sessantotto." Camisasca, *La ripresa*, p. 56.

Communion and Liberation rejected 1968 because of its Marxist underpinnings and its narrow view of institutions of political, social, and religious power.<sup>38</sup> As Giussani explained in a 1981 speech: "Radicalism is just bourgeois ideology made into a penetrating and solid system. Bourgeois ideology is the extreme, final, and most coherent result of the anthropological and social views of the Enlightenment, of liberalism, and then also of Marxism."<sup>39</sup>

However, Communion and Liberation used social tactics similar to those of the 1968 leaders to affirm its presence and power in the heart of Italian Catholicism. The success of Giussani's group, which was unofficially recognized by Paul VI in 1975 and later greatly magnified by John Paul II, was paradigmatic of the crisis of the old Catholic elite (embodied by Catholic Action and especially by bishops who had a troubled relationship with Communion and Liberation) and the success of the new Catholicism represented by the movements (strengthened by a direct papal endorsement of the movements' founders).

## 6. The Community of St. Egidio

A particular community movement, distant from the cradle of Catholic Action and the other "new Catholic movements," was the 1968-inspired and Rome-based *Comunità di Sant'Egidio*. The Community of St. Egidio experienced the contestation against the Catholic Church in its early years but remained detached from the ideological mood of 1968 and the 1970s.<sup>40</sup> Like Communion and Liberation, St. Egidio emerged when a group of students wanted personal engagement in society and saw scope for such work in a changing world. It developed a particular charisma that set it apart from not only from Communion and Liberation but also every other "new Catholic movement."

<sup>38</sup>Camisasca, *La ripresa*, pp. 61–62.

<sup>39</sup>"Il radicalismo non è nient'altro che il borghesismo eretto a sistema nel modo più coerente e capillare. Il borghesismo è l'esito estremo, ultimo e più coerente, di tutta quanta l'impostazione antropologica e sociale dell'Illuminismo, del liberalismo e quindi anche del marxismo." Luigi Giussani, "Qualcosa che cambia la vita," in *Certi di alcune grandi cose (1979–1981)* (Milan, 2007), p. 427.

<sup>40</sup>See Hanspeter Oswald, *Bibel, Mystik und Politik. Die Gemeinschaft Sant'Egidio* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1996).

Now one of the most important and widely published historians on Christianity,<sup>41</sup> Andrea Riccardi founded St. Egidio in 1968 with a group of high school students of the Liceo Virgilio in the *bourgeois* heart of Rome. They intended to remake the world in the image of the Gospel, starting with charitable projects in the poor suburbs of Rome. Soon the community expanded beyond Rome, and its engagements became international when, in the 1990s, St. Egidio mediated between parties in several international conflicts (especially in Mozambique in 1992). But it began with a simple mission—to live the Gospel in the city of Rome.<sup>42</sup> This dimension was consistent with the later diplomatic engagements of the community, given that Rome has been seen since antiquity as a shared place in a world burdened by nationalisms and ethnocentrisms.

This openness to the world—and not just “internationalization”—is the most typical indication of the specific nature of St. Egidio in the landscape of the Catholic movements after the Second Vatican Council. The typical marker of postconciliar Catholic movements—the core value of fidelity to the pope—was enclosed in the Community of St. Egidio in two rather particular and uncommon elements in Italian Catholicism of the modern era, very distant from Catholic Action as well as from Communion and Liberation. On one side, the creation of an efficient and ecumenical welfare network in Rome for the poor, homeless, and immigrant populations—solidarity with the poor and other worlds<sup>43</sup>—was the Community of St. Egidio’s translation of both the ecclesiology of the Second Vatican Council and the 1968 political openness to the world, along with a political culture that did not reject liberal Catholicism, but, on the contrary, accepted the end of confessionalism and thus the cultural basis of *Risorgimento* and the modern constitutional Italian Republic. On the other side, the culture of the group (that at the beginning did not share the typical 1968 passion for politics, assemblies, and democracy inside the movement) turned to a rather cultivated and antifundamentalist biblical culture, to the study of the history of ancient tradi-

<sup>41</sup>Among Andrea Riccardi’s vast bibliography: *Il Partito romano nel secondo dopoguerra, 1945–1954* (Brescia, 1983); *Il potere del papa: da Pio XII a Paolo VI* (Rome-Bari, 1988); *Il Vaticano e Mosca 1940–1990* (Rome-Bari, 1992); *L’inverno più lungo 1943–44: Pio XII, gli ebrei e i nazisti a Roma* (Rome-Bari, 2008). In November 2011 Riccardi was appointed Italy’s minister for international cooperation and integration policies.

<sup>42</sup>See Andrea Riccardi, *Sant’Egidio, Rome et le monde. Entretiens avec Jean-Dominique Durand et Régis Ladous* (Paris, 1996), pp. 17, 20.

<sup>43</sup>See Riccardi, *Sant’Egidio, Rome et le monde*, pp. 27, 110.



tions of the first millennium of an undivided Christianity, and to ecumenism and interreligious dialogue. Riccardi repeated St. Egidio's particular relationship with 1968, defining himself as "a child of 1968"—that is, as a citizen of the world and a member of the Church who learned that everything also has a political dimension.<sup>44</sup>

In October 1986 the interreligious prayer for peace in Assisi marked the first international success of the movement, which soon became famous for its peace-building initiatives in Africa (especially Mozambique in 1994) and Eastern Europe (Albania and Kosovo in 1997–98) and to an international campaign against the death penalty. The success of the Community of St. Egidio in subsequent years represented the most remarkable example of the success of a postconciliar and post-1968 Catholic movement. Despite the "progressive" elements of its social activism and theological culture—which were quite unique for Italy—the fidelity to the pope as their bishop ("the bishop of Rome," but also the head of the Catholic Church), protected this small but active group of young activists, as Riccardi indicates: "the local Church of Rome and its bishop represent a very important reference point in such a big world."<sup>45</sup>

The balance embodied by the Community of St. Egidio between fidelity to the culture of the Second Vatican Council (with issues such as the new role of the Bible, ecumenism, and interreligious dialogue) and the traditional "Roman-windows Catholicism" (with an effective social network of members of the Roman Curia and Roman politics) said much about the outcomes of the "Roman Catholic filtering of 1968." Among the movements the Community of St. Egidio embodied a number of issues for the era—the activism of the laity and good relations with the Roman Curia; the skills in creating Catholic welfare services and cooperative relationships with government entities (in the slums surrounding Rome as well as in an Africa devastated by HIV-AIDS); the outreach to the academic community through ecumenical and interreligious international meetings with deep cultural ties to Catholic tradition; and the cautious navigation of the political demands of the Catholic Church in Italy (concerning issues of Catholic schools, abortion, and bioethics).

<sup>44</sup>Riccardi, *Sant'Egidio, Rome et le monde*, p. 32.

<sup>45</sup>"L'Église de Rome et son évêque représentent un point de référence important dans un monde si grand, mais où resurgissent les frontières." Riccardi, *Sant'Egidio, Rome et le monde*, p. 161.

The importance of this lightly institutionalized movement (sometimes dubbed “the UN of Trastevere”) lies more in its most visible national leaders than in the relatively small numbers of members scattered among cities in Italy and around the world. The informal, personal ties with the leadership of the leftist Democratic Party and the new pontificate of Benedict XVI did not seem to affect the position of the Community of St. Egidio within Italian Catholicism.

## 7. Catholic Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts Associations

From the left wing of Italian Catholicism, the associations of Catholic Boy Scouts (Associazione Scout Cattolici Italiani, ASCI) and Catholic Girl Scouts (Associazione Guide Italiane, AGI; see figure 1) represented the most receptive part of Catholic laity both to the message of the Second Vatican Council and to the culture of 1968.<sup>46</sup> Created in Italy only a few years after the British movement, thanks to Italian nobles close to the British community living in Italy, the comeback of the Catholic scout movement in Italy (which Mussolini had outlawed in 1928 to control the education of the younger generations of the Fascist state) followed the guidelines of the faithfulness of Catholic organizations to the Church of Pius XII and shaped itself after World War II along the cultural and spiritual identity of the “Franco-Belgian school” of scoutism. Close to the theological identity of the *Jounesse Ouvrière Chrétienne* and, more generally, to Catholic Action in Europe before and after World War II, the Italian Catholic scout movement advocated a special educational methodology but did not, until the 1970s, express the desire to part ways with the mainstream Catholic lay movements in Italy.<sup>47</sup> After the Second Vatican Council, the Italian Catholic scout movement represented an important part of the Italian laity because of their numbers (83,000 in 1974; almost 200,000 in the late 1990s). The male and female Italian Catholic scout organizations—which had a difficult relationship with the bishops and pope because of the inferiority complex of Catholic scouts toward Catholic Action—merged in 1974 to form the new association AGESCI (Associazione Guide e Scout Cattolici Italiani).

The sensitivity to the importance of some of the 1968 issues for the Catholic scout movement were common to both the boy and girl

<sup>46</sup>See Mario Sica, *Storia dello scoutismo in Italia* (Rome, 1973, 2006).

<sup>47</sup>See *Le scoutisme. Quel type d'hommes et quel type de femmes? Quel type de chrétiens?*, ed. Gérard Cholvy and Marie-Thérèse Cheroutre (Paris, 1994).



FIGURE 1. Scout leaders of ASCI and AGI in one of the first desegregated (male and female) formation events, early 1970s. Photograph courtesy of Archivio Fotografico ASCI, Centro Documentazione AGESCI, Rome.

scouts associations and to their leadership—the new role of the laity in the Church conceived as the “people of God”; the need for a gradual “de-militarization” of traditional boy-scout language (founded in 1907 after the Anglo-Boer wars by Robert Baden-Powell, a British general); the option for “co-education” (boys and girls educated together by a mixed staff of educators and a parish priest); the option to establish an association based on a “pledge” (engagement in the social-political reality, in the sense of Lorenzo Milani’s “I care”), functioning with democratic rules, resenting the traditional Catholic anticommunism, and accepting antifascism as a common ground, as proclaimed in the “Patto Associativo” (the “mission statement” of the AGESCI) in 1974; the assumption of a pedagogical methodology following anti-authoritarianism more from Maria Montessori than from the anti-institutionalism of 1968; and disengagement from any direct involvement of the association with party politics.

On the other side, the Catholic scout movement in Italy was important, because it embodied one of the most successful reconciliations of the culture of 1968 with Catholicism. This occurred despite the presence of some clearly conflicting elements: defying the 1968 anti-institutionalist mood concerning the role of the educator in the education process; preserving “outside life” at a time when urban sociology played a major role in shaping the ideological landscape of 1968; expressing the intention to remain faithful to the Catholic Church



(following the example of Milani); and reinforcing the Catholic Church's idea of education in its practices (such as in coeducation, lay ministry in the Church, and the secondary role of the clergy in local scout groups).

It is noteworthy that AGI (the girl scouts association) pushed much harder than ASCI (the boy scouts association) in accepting the new ideas of 1968 and in shaping the merging of the two associations, which was recognized—not without difficulties—by the Catholic Church only years later. But for the Catholic scout movement in Italy, the impact with 1968 went in multiple directions. First, 1968 and its anti-authoritarianism culture posed a cultural challenge to the educational method of "Scouting for Boys." Second, the merger typical of 1968 between the private and public dimensions of individual life provided the educational intuition of the boy-scout methodology about moral self-improvement and social-political dimension with issues regarding the "elitism" of the educational model of scoutism. Third, and most important, 1968 redefined the relationship between membership in a Catholic association and faithfulness to every aspect of the Catholic *magisterium*.<sup>48</sup>

Not by accident, between 1974 and 1975 there was a long exchange of pointed messages between the leaders of the Italian Catholic scout movement and the Italian Bishops' Conference, especially concerning the faithfulness of AGESCI to the Catholic Church and the need to avoid a direct politicization of the activities of the association. In particular, the scouting association reassured the bishops by stating the goals of the movement:

to make the educational activities of the association engaged in the big social problems close to the members' lives, even the ones that are not visible . . . We want to offer our educational activities also to the most poor and marginalized boys and girls.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup>A long, interesting series of interviews with members and leaders of the Catholic scout movement in Italy between 1967 and the early 1970s in Vincenzo Schirripa, *Giovani sulla frontiera. Guide e Scout cattolici nell'Italia repubblicana (1943–1974)* (Rome, 2006), esp. pp. 183–220.

<sup>49</sup>"Il Consiglio Generale AGESCI ribadisce quindi la volontà associativa di essere lontani da ogni settarismo, e l'impegno a lottare contro ogni violenza, comunque e dovunque avvenga, e ad offrire la possibilità di una educazione e di una presenza scout anche negli ambienti più poveri ed emarginati." Response of the members of the Consiglio Generale of AGESCI to the Permanent Board of the Conferenza Episcopale Italiana, April 27, 1975, sent after the letter of the secretary of the Conferenza



But the crisis in the relationship with the Italian bishops was soon resolved and the new association AGESCI saw a steady rise in the number of its members through the 1970s and 1980s; it reached 200,000 members in Italy in the 1990s. By then, it was known as a unique Catholic mass organization that had gained the respect of society at large and of the Church, despite an unparalleled independence from Roman Catholic hierarchies and a fairly variegated spectrum of political ideologies among its members and leaders.<sup>50</sup>

AGESCI's national events for its educators in 1986 and 1997 marked the distinctiveness of the Catholic scout association in Italy. It specialized in the education of the younger generation with a classical but updated methodology, distant from any direct involvement in national politics. Even though the cultural and theological roots of the priests Lorenzo Milani (1923–67) and Giuseppe Dossetti (1913–96) were undeniably much more “traditional” (without adherence to a traditionalist point of view) and “conservative” (without alignment with right-wing political parties) than their political reception by the progressives in Italian Catholicism of the 1970s, very evident were the cultural ties of the Italian scout movement with the progressive and socially and politically engaged Catholicism embodied by the followers of Milani and Dossetti.<sup>51</sup> The remarkable “naiveté” of AGESCI leaders concerning their relationship with the Catholic Church, which continues to regard the largest and most active Catholic association in Italy as the most independent and self-governing player in the Italian laity, explains the recent comeback of the most traditionalist part of Catholic scoutism (“Scoutes d'Europe”) in Benedict XVI's Roman Curia.<sup>52</sup>

## 8. Conclusions: The New Catholic Movements and the New Catholic Elite in Italy

The difficulties in the transformation of Italian Catholicism from the model before the Second Vatican Council often are portrayed as a

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Episcopale Italiana, Enrico Bartoletti, April 24, 1975, to the Consiglio Generale of AGESCI, in *Documenti pontifici sullo Scautismo*, ed. Giovanni Morello and Francesco Pieri (Milan, 1991), pp. 242–45, here p. 245.

<sup>50</sup>See Achille Ardigò, Costantino Cipolla, and Stefano Martelli, *Scouts oggi: diecimila rovers/scolte dell'Agesci rispondono* (Rome, 1989).

<sup>51</sup>See Laura Giuliani, *I giovani cattolici e la politica. Un'indagine su due realtà associative: AGESCI e RnS* (Milan, 2003).

<sup>52</sup>On the conservative branch of the European Catholic scout movement, see *Leggere le tracce. Guide e scouts d'Europa nella Fraternità internazionale* (Rome, 2007).

direct result of Catholics who adhered to the teachings of the Council embracing the radical left-wing political culture of 1968. This brief synthesis of the encounter between 1968 and Italian Catholic lay movements offers a different picture. The new Catholic movements and their interpretation of 1968 shaped much of the Catholicism in Italy after the Second Vatican Council. This change called 1968 was actually part of the backdrop of the “new Catholic movements” such as Communion and Liberation, which Catholic apologists now frequently identify as the Church’s best possible defense against the surrender to secularization brought about by 1968.

There was an intertwining of the reception of the Second Vatican Council with Catholics’ participation in 1968, and Italian Catholicism contributed substantially to the tumultuous 1960s and 1970s. The different identities of the Italian Church survived as long as they managed to establish a link with the bishops; the national bishops’ conference, Conferenza Episcopale Italiana; and the conference’s pastoral projects. The radical culture of Communion and Liberation and the edgy pastoral outreach of Italian Catholic scoutism became safe because they were under the tutelage of the Italian bishops.<sup>53</sup> Sant’Egidio found a powerful sponsor in the bishop of Rome. In this respect, it is clear that the ideological DNA of the new Catholic movements and their relationship with 1968 soon became secondary.

The most important outcomes of the link between the Second Vatican Council and 1968 are not just in terms of the theological and cultural change of paradigm but also in terms of the change in the elites of Italian Catholicism. The final outcome of the Council’s reception in Italy was very distant from the much imagined and dreamed-of Church led by the “Second Vatican Council bishops,” but not less distant from the idea of an Italian Catholicism as victim of the dialogue between “Second Vatican Council theologians” and liberal and Marxist groups. Even a political scientist such as Nicola Matteucci observed in 1970 that in Italian Catholicism, two types of cultures were active—the “Catholic culture” (composed of different cultural origins and markers) and the “Catholic ghetto” (composed of the great organizations built by the Catholic Church in opposition to “modern civilization”). According to Matteucci, the new Catholic movements born after 1968 did not represent the ultimate surrender to theologi-

<sup>53</sup>Vittorio De Marco, *Storia dell’Azione Cattolica negli anni Settanta* (Rome, 2007), p. 242.

cal liberalism, but they were the successors of the same old antimodern soul of the Catholic ghetto—the same intolerant culture at the service of a new, self-serving view of modernity.<sup>54</sup> There is some truth in the opinion of an admirer of American political culture such as Matteucci about the relationship between 1968 and the new Catholic movements. Among the issues of the “new Catholic movements” close to the culture of 1968, there was the emancipation of the laity from the clergy through the delegitimization of theology; the creation of a new, deinstitutionalized model of Church; and a more pluralistic and more engaged relationship with politics.<sup>55</sup> All of this was expressed in a language rife with egalitarianism, Jacobinism, and harsh criticism of the modern state.<sup>56</sup>

Thus it is not surprising that moderate reformist Catholics (mostly in Catholic Action) became more and more marginal in Catholic 1968 and after 1968. The Catholic scout association AGESCI preserved its independence and courage in experimenting with new pedagogical and social instruments, but it neither desired nor attained a “seat at the table” in the decision-making process in the Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council.<sup>57</sup> The real winners of the struggle within Italian Catholicism after 1968 were movements such as Communion and Liberation on one side and the Community of St. Egidio on the other, which embodied and represented the Rome-linked and postinstitutional face of Roman Catholicism while expressing two very different sets of styles and theological cultures.

The overall result of the rise of the Catholic movements in the last forty years—with their dramatic breakups and divisions between rad-

<sup>54</sup>Nicola Matteucci, “La cultura politica italiana: fra l’insorgenza populistica e l’età delle riforme,” *Il Mulino*, 19 (1970), 5–23 (repr. in *Sul Sessantotto. Crisi del riformismo e “insorgenza populistica” nell’Italia degli anni Sessanta*, ed. Roberto Pertici [Soveria Mannelli, 2008]).

<sup>55</sup>See Sandro Magister, *La politica vaticana e l’Italia 1943–1978* (Rome, 1979).

<sup>56</sup>See Guido Verucci, “Il 1968, il mondo cattolico italiano e la Chiesa,” *Passato e presente*, 20–21 (1989), 107–22.

<sup>57</sup>See Massimo Faggioli, “Tra chiesa territoriale e chiese personali. I movimenti ecclesiali nel post-concilio Vaticano II,” in “I movimenti nella storia del cristianesimo. Caratteristiche—variazioni—continuità.” Special issue, *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, 24, no. 3 (2003), ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Massimo Faggioli, 677–704; Massimo Faggioli, “Second Vatican Council, between Documents and Spirit: The Case of the New Catholic Movements,” in *After Vatican II: Trajectories and Hermeneutics*, ed. James Heft and John W. O’Malley (Grand Rapids, MI, forthcoming); Massimo Faggioli, *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning* (Mahwah, NJ, forthcoming).

icals and the ecclesiastical institution—was not just the newly begun “church reform” sparked by the spirit of the Second Vatican Council. It also meant the pluralist face of Italian Catholicism composed of Catholic movements that had dealt with every part of the diverse culture of 1968 and the politically dangerous 1970s—absorbing some parts and rejecting others.

The result of the movements’ desire to distance themselves from the radicalism of 1968 (the dissenting parties) and the reforms imparted by the practical interpreters of the Second Vatican Council (the laity of Catholic Action, the bishops) was the creation of a new elite inside the movements, the *homines novi*. This phenomenon of the “new Catholic movement” has already gone beyond the geographical boundaries of Italy. Understanding their cultural roots—include those of 1968—is the key to understanding their historical importance in twentieth-century Catholicism.



# CATHOLIC CACOPHONY: RICHARD NIXON, THE CHURCH, AND WELFARE REFORM

By

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*President Richard Nixon's 1969 welfare reform proposal, the Family Assistance Plan (FAP), debuted to rave reviews from conservatives (who appreciated its work requirement) and liberals (who lauded its minimum income). The two-thirds of Americans who approved of FAP included many Catholics and their bishops. However, Nixon ran out of enthusiasm, and Congress ran out of time. By 1972, the bishops had turned left, insisting on a higher income floor and a work incentive rather than a mandate, whereas many of their congregants had turned right. Nixon stopped courting the bishops and started wooing their flock, helping to ensure his re-election victory and FAP's legislative defeat.*

**Keywords:** Family Assistance Plan; McHugh, Bishop James Thomas; Moynihan, Daniel Patrick; Nixon, Richard M.; United States Catholic Conference

Although attention to the "Catholic vote" was not new in 1969, the degree to which a president courted it was. The arguments of journalists Kevin Phillips, Richard Scammon, and Ben Wattenberg—that an electoral realignment of working-class, white ethnics from Democrats to Republicans could occur if only the new president transmitted the proper political signals—fascinated Richard Nixon. Prominent among these potential Republicans were Catholics, and prominent among these political signals was welfare reform.<sup>1</sup>

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Nixon's domestic affairs adviser and product of the Irish-Catholic working class of New York, had, with

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<sup>1</sup>Robert Mason, *Richard Nixon and the Quest for a New Majority* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004), p. 117.

sociologist Nathan Glazer in *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), predicted that “religion and race would define the next stage in the evolution of the American people.” Moynihan would recall Nixon’s interest in the *New Yorker* magazine article “The Revolt of the White Lower Middle Class,” in which Pete Hamill described the resentments of the hard-working blue-collar class in New York—too poor to live in the suburbs and too proud to accept charity. By encouraging dependency and discouraging work, “welfare,” Moynihan related, “was the supercharged object of their fury.”<sup>2</sup>

Welfare reform, therefore, offered Nixon a way of confronting New Deal and Great Society liberalism while converting many disaffected liberals. If the politics came to overshadow the principle behind Nixon’s noble effort to employ the able and insure the unable, so be it. After all, it was not as if Nixon did not believe in what he was doing. If it was not for the transparent politics of wooing Catholic voters, the Quaker president privately allowed, he might even join their Church.<sup>3</sup>

Nixon would not become a Catholic, and welfare reform would not become law. But the political and policy considerations that shaped and sank his Family Assistance Plan (FAP) helped forge a legacy from which the country would not turn back.

## The Proposal

Although Nixon’s welfare reform proposal would constitute a repudiation of Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society, it originated with Johnson appointees, evolving from a task force recommendation by Richard Nathan of the Brookings Institution to an initiative by Worth Bateman, deputy assistant secretary for planning and evaluation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), and economist James Lyday of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). By March 24, 1969, the Bateman-Lyday plan had become a position paper drafted by the Urban Affairs Council Subcommittee on Welfare.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), p. 315; Daniel Patrick Moynihan, “I—Income by Right,” *New Yorker*, January 13, 1973, 34–57, here 50; Gareth Davies, *From Opportunity to Entitlement* (Lawrence, KS, 1996), p. 228.

<sup>3</sup>Mason, *Richard Nixon*, p. 154.

<sup>4</sup>Moynihan, “Income by Right,” p. 52; Joan Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered* (New York, 1994), pp. 122–23.

The so-called Family Security System (FSS), endorsed by Moynihan and HEW Secretary Robert Finch, included a negative income tax of \$1500 a year (later \$1600) for a family of four, which would increase by \$450 for each additional adult and \$300 for each additional child up to a family of seven, which would receive \$2400. Once individuals within the family were employed, the family's payment would decline 50 cents for every dollar earned, until it eventually disappeared. These families also would be eligible for food stamps. The program, to be administered by the Social Security Administration, would mandate minimum-payment levels for the blind, disabled, and aged. The FSS would enroll almost 20 million recipients, 43 percent of whom were black and 52 percent from the South. If enacted, it could end 60 percent of the nation's poverty. "That afternoon," Moynihan would recall of the presentation of the subcommittee report to Nixon, "the President was talking about a Family Security System."<sup>5</sup>

The next day, many Catholics were talking about their Church's inadequate response to the urban crisis facing the country. Speaking at the first meeting of the House of Delegates of the National Federation of Priests' Councils, Monsignor John Egan, chairman of the bishops' Subcommittee on Pastoral Ministry, criticized the Church for refusing to "get its hands dirty" to allay the nation's urban ills. Three weeks later, the bishops responded to this criticism by voting at their spring meeting to augment the staff and budget of their Social Action Department to inaugurate an urban affairs task force. Cardinal Patrick O'Boyle of Washington, DC, insisted that the bishops be spokesmen "for the principles of social justice."<sup>6</sup>

However, John Wright, bishop of Pittsburgh and chair of the Social Action Department, worried that his colleagues might go too far in addressing the needs of African Americans at the expense of the white majority. Wright advocated a revision of the department's preliminary report, preferring that the words "that moral and doctrinal heresy called racism" replace the single term *racism*; that black "self-determination" is "a strong word and should be used cautiously [and] within the limits of constitutional law"; and that the characterization

<sup>5</sup>Moynihan, "Income by Right," p. 52.

<sup>6</sup>George Dugan, "Catholics Scored on Social Issues," *New York Times*, March 26, 1969, sec. L, 28; Washington, DC, United States Catholic Conference Archives [hereafter USCCA], "Social Action Department," Minutes of the United States Catholic Conference Sixth General Meeting, April 15-19, 1969, United States Catholic Conference Papers [hereafter USCCP], p. 6.

"White Church" to describe American Catholics "appears to be in need of qualification," for "it has also been suggested that the report concern itself not only with the plight of the Negro but with that of all underprivileged minority groups." Joseph Brunini, bishop of the Diocese of Natchez-Jackson, Mississippi, tried to unite the two camps represented by O'Boyle and Wright by suggesting that "many who are relatively unconcerned about social justice will respond if it is presented to them in terms of establishing a state of social peace within the [urban] community."<sup>7</sup>

The same debate was underway in the White House. Moynihan warned Nixon on April 11 that "the press seems to be getting hold of the general outline of the FSS" and that "we will have to expect that the story will break fairly soon," so the president "should think of announcing it" within a couple of weeks. But Nixon was in no hurry. At an April 26 meeting HEW Undersecretary John Veneman, chairman of the Urban Affairs Council's Subcommittee on Welfare, briefed more than half the Cabinet on the Family Security System that he had helped devise. Under the proposal, a man with a wife and three children could collect \$1600 in cash and \$1000 in food stamps, but receive a \$300 penalty for refusing to work.<sup>8</sup>

White House aide Bryce Harlow, just back from Capitol Hill, spoke optimistically about the reception of liberals to the national minimum income. But without a stiffer work requirement, Harlow forecast that Republicans would react to FSS with "absolute horror." Even Veneman's assurance that "seventy percent of poor families were white" could not erase the politically unappealing prospect of the president distributing cash to able-bodied black men, some of whom had been screaming "Black Power" and burning their neighborhoods only a year earlier. "Among the irritating features of American life," *America* conceded after applauding a minimum income, "none is more frustrating to industrious middle-class folk than the parallel growth of welfare rolls and the gross national product."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup>"Social Action Department," p. 7.

<sup>8</sup>College Park, MD, National Archives [hereafter NA], Memorandum from Daniel Patrick Moynihan for the President and handwritten note by Richard Nixon, April 11, 1969, President's Office Files, Box 1, Folder: President's Handwriting, April 1969, Richard M. Nixon Presidential Papers [hereafter RMNPP], pp. 1-2; Moynihan, "Income by Right," p. 52.

<sup>9</sup>Moynihan, "Income by Right," pp. 52, 54; "Why Should the Poor Work?" *America*, April 26, 1969, 489.



Nixon thus instructed Secretary of Labor George Shultz to include new work provisions in the legislation. White House aide Arthur Burns advocated a minimum payment and work requirement under the existing welfare system. Finch and Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin told the Senate Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs that FSS instead would feature a minimum income and work incentive while abolishing the current program. When Shultz submitted his report to Nixon on June 10, he sided with Finch and Hardin, proposing a work incentive that would exempt the first \$720 of a recipient's earnings from taxation, then tax the remainder at 50 percent. Shultz also estimated that \$600 million would be necessary for job training, doubling the cost of the original FSS plan.<sup>10</sup>

Asked to choose between Burns's work requirement and Shultz's work incentive, Nixon opted for neither position and quietly assigned Domestic Affairs Adviser John Ehrlichman to create a hybrid. While Ehrlichman labored privately, *America* weighed in publicly, advocating "minimum federal standards" but asserting that "a welfare system should not destroy the incentive to work." The bishops continued to strike their own balance, as each archdiocese established its own urban affairs task force, which issued guidelines to advise priests on how to work toward social justice. The New York chapter, for example, endorsed "a national minimum standard of assistance for families and especially the aging poor" while acknowledging that although the "Black Power" movement deserved respect, "the majority of our white people are not ready for this."<sup>11</sup>

Ehrlichman submitted his report to Nixon on July 10. It established a national income floor, to be supplemented by the states, of \$1600 (to grow to \$2500 by 1971) for a family of four. All able-bodied heads of households except mothers with preschool children would "accept work or training" or lose their guaranteed income. All children, regardless of their parents' employment status, could receive a guaranteed income. Although eleven of his fifteen Cabinet members opposed it, Nixon, who had chaired six of the first eight meetings on welfare reform and had solicited input from inside and outside the administration, was ready to act.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Moynehan, "Income by Right," p. 54; Marjorie Hunter, "Nixon's Aides Prefer Cash to Stamps to End Hunger," *New York Times*, May 8, 1969, sec. L, 1.

<sup>11</sup>Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, p. 126; "Nixon's Welfare Option," *America*, June 14, 1969, p. 682; "Catholic Priests Issued Guidelines," *New York Times*, July 13, 1969, sec. L, 53.

<sup>12</sup>Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, pp. 128, 124.

So he presented the Ehrlichman proposal (renamed the "Family Assistance Plan" by Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird) to Congress on August 8. "We cannot simply ignore the failures of welfare or expect them to go away," said the president, noting that 3 million more people had joined the welfare rolls in the previous eight years. In a nod toward conservatives, Nixon rejected a "guaranteed income" for parents. In an appeal to liberals, he spoke only of an "incentive to work."<sup>13</sup>

Sixty-five percent of those who had heard of the Family Assistance Plan approved of it. Eighty-one percent of the communications to the White House on FAP were positive. Ninety-four percent of editorials supported it. "President Nixon's message on welfare reform is a realistic attempt to move the country toward the adoption of a more comprehensive family-centered policy responding to the needs of low-income families," James McHugh, director of the Family Life Bureau of the United States Catholic Conference (USCC), responded. "If there is one thing that just about every citizen of this country agrees upon, it is this," *America* editorialized after the speech. "The present welfare system has to go."<sup>14</sup>

But if there was "approval of its general direction," *America's* associate editor Thomas Gannon added, there were "questions about its particulars." Gannon interviewed civil rights standard-bearer John Lewis, a staffer at the National Welfare Rights Organization, and an unnamed lawyer from a "national service organization." Both attacked the plan from the left, with Lewis decrying a minimum income lower than comparable welfare payments in all but six states, and the attorney deploring the proposal's reliance on those same states to supplement the national minimum. McHugh called for "refinement, extension or modification" of the income floor. They had a lot of company, as Americans for Democratic Action, the American Friends Service Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, the International Brotherhood of Team-

<sup>13</sup>Richard Nixon, "Address to the Nation on Domestic Programs," August 8, 1969, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1969* (Washington, DC, 1970), pp. 639, 641.

<sup>14</sup>Herbert Parmet, *Richard M. Nixon: An Enigma* (New York, 2008), p. 188; USCCA, "Statement of Rev. James J. McHugh, Director of the Family Life Division of the United States Catholic Conference, Commenting on the Message of President Nixon on Welfare Reform," August 8, 1969, Box 140, Folder: USCC-U.S. Government, Family Planning, USCCR, p. 1; "Welfare, Manpower Training, Revenue Sharing," *America*, August 30, 1969, 112.

sters, and the Methodist Church lined up against FAP. “You know the libs will never forgive Richard Nixon for this,” Moynihan sneered. “And you know why? Because he’s done what they wouldn’t do, what they wouldn’t *dare* do. And they can’t stand that.”<sup>15</sup>

But many on the right could not stand it either. The bill’s federalizing of welfare, assistance to the working poor, and minimum income alienated the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Conservative Union. The conservative journal *Human Events* denounced FAP’s affront to “limited constitutional government, local self-government, private enterprise, and individual freedom.”<sup>16</sup>

So who was for it? The American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Urban Coalition, the National Council of Churches, the Synagogue Council of America, and—the Nixon administration hoped—the Catholic bishops. When FAP arrived on Capitol Hill in October 1969, so, too, did an invitation from the administration to the USCC to testify on its behalf. Monsignor Aloysius Welsh, staff director of the USCC Task Force on Urban Problems, recommended an affirmative reply. Welsh argued:

The basic question to me is the opportunity presented to go from the traditional Catholic teaching on the need for economic recognition of the *family* structure (*family wage*, *family income*) to support of the Administration’s initiative in offering it legal and political support.

Although “the latest statement of the Church’s position in the Bishops’ pastoral of November 1968 [“Human Life in Our Day”] is somewhat ambiguous, calling for a ‘family allowance,’” Welsh continued, “it does affirm the traditional, and inasmuch as the administration bill includes it for the first time, the bill should first be commended for its intent before being analyzed for specific defects.”<sup>17</sup>

The bishops accepted Welsh’s counsel. On November 12, John Cosgrove, director of the USCC Department of Social Development,

<sup>15</sup>Thomas Gannon, “The Welfare Plan: Two Washington Views,” *America*, August 30, 1969, 118–19; Parmet, *Enigma*, p. 188; Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, p. 135, emphasis in original.

<sup>16</sup>Parmet, *Enigma*, p. 188; Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, p. 135.

<sup>17</sup>Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, p. 135; USCCA, Memorandum from Msgr. Aloysius Welsh to Most Rev. Joseph Bernardin, Msgr. Francis Hurley, Msgr. George Higgins, John Cosgrove, and Rev. James McHugh, November 1969, Box 140, Folder: USCC–US Government, Poverty, 1967, July–December, USCCP, emphasis in original.

testified before the House Ways and Means Committee in favor of FAP. Quoting from "Human Life in Our Day," Cosgrove lamented the "family instability in the urban areas of the country" due in part to "our national failure to adopt comprehensive and realistic family-centered policies during the course of this century." He noted that

some of our welfare policies [have] led to the disruption of the family unit, such as the provision that financial assistance would not be granted to a family in which there was an able-bodied father or the requirement that mothers of young children must work or take job training as a *condition* for receiving welfare assistance.

He praised FAP as "a new and realistic attempt to provide a basic income for poor families" that "merits our endorsement and support." Siding with liberal critics, however, Cosgrove criticized the \$1600 minimum income as "far too low," worried that the "proposed training program is curiously isolated from any job creation program," and proposed that no one be forced to take a job under minimum wage and that no mother of a school-age child be compelled to work.<sup>18</sup>

*America* applauded Cosgrove's testimony, reservations and all, asserting that "as the bill stands now, it fails to live up to the sound philosophy that inspired it." The bishops agreed, endorsing the entire Cosgrove testimony at their February 1970 Administrative Board meeting. Despite the bishops' problems with the legislation, the USCC's James Robinson assured the OEO's Thomas Cosgrove (no relation to John Cosgrove) that, in Thomas Cosgrove's words, he "would be glad to do anything to help" in enlisting other churches in support of the bill. The president was more than happy to accept the offer.<sup>19</sup>

On March 11 the House Ways and Means Committee reported the Nixon proposal, cosponsored by committee chairman Wilbur Mills

<sup>18</sup>USCCA, "Testimony of John E. Cosgrove, Director, Department of Social Development, United States Catholic Conference," November 12, 1969, Box 140, Folder: USCC-U.S. Government, Poverty, 1967, July-December, USCCP, pp. 2, 3, 4, 13, 17, 19, 20, emphasis in original.

<sup>19</sup>Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame Archives [hereafter UNDA], Minutes, Administrative Board Meeting, United States Catholic Conference, February 1970, Box 25, Folder: USCC Administrative Board Minutes, February 1970, NCCB, Cardinal John Dearden Papers [hereafter CJDP], p. 13; NA, Memorandum from Thomas Cosgrove through Carol Khosrovi to Donald Webster, February 20, 1970, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files, Charles W. Colson, Box 63, Folder: Family Assistance Plan, RMNPP, pp. 1-2.



(D-AR), and ranking minority member John Byrnes (R-WI), without any major changes. Two days later, McHugh circulated a "Special Memorandum on Family Assistance Plan, 1970," which reiterated the bishops' endorsement of the bill but continued to press for amendments. Prophesying that the bill would pass the House but struggle in the Senate, the memo called for a massive lobbying campaign by which Catholic, interfaith, and government agencies would flood the media and contact senators via mail, telephone, or in person. "The important thing," the memo stressed, "is to get this legislation enacted as soon as possible, with the determination to improve it at every opportunity."<sup>20</sup>

Moynihan encouraged the administration to "let the USCC know how much we appreciate all this." Nixon expressed his appreciation at a Mass at the White House on April 5. The USCC reciprocated the same day, when its general secretary, Bishop Joseph Bernardin, joined R. H. Espy, general secretary of the National Council of Churches, and Rabbi Harry Siegman, executive vice president of the Synagogue Council of America, in writing to the members of the House of Representatives to urge their vote for FAP. In an appeal to conservatives they argued that "the requirement that able-bodied heads of households register for or accept jobs or job training should help shatter the myth that the aspirations and ambitions of the welfare recipients somehow differ from those of the rest of society." In a concession to liberals, they pointed to the bill's "shortcomings," including its omission of individuals and childless couples as well as its inadequate minimum income.<sup>21</sup>

FAP passed the House on April 16, 243 to 155, with 102 Republicans and 141 Democrats in the majority. An attempt by conservatives to amend the bill lost 205 to 183. The next week at their spring meeting, the bishops urged "prompt enactment of the Family

<sup>20</sup>"Family Assistance-1970 Action," *Congress and the Nation, 1969-1972* (Washington, DC, 1973), III:624; NA, Rev. James McHugh, "Special Memorandum on Family Assistance Plan," March 10, 1970, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files, Charles W. Colson, Box 63, Folder: Family Assistance Plan, RMNPP, pp. 1-5.

<sup>21</sup>NA, Memorandum from Daniel Patrick Moynihan to Donald Webster, March 13, 1970, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files, Charles W. Colson, Box 63, Folder: Family Assistance Plan, RMNPP; NA, Memorandum from Dwight Chapin to Rose Mary Woods and Connie Stuart, March 22, 1970, White House Central Files, Subject File—Religious Matters, Box 18, Folder: RM 3-1 Catholic [69/70], RMNPP; "Heads of Three Major Religious Organizations Urge Congress to Pass Welfare Reform Bill," *New York Times*, April 6, 1970, sec. L, 21.

Assistance Act or some similar family assistance program," but repeated their preference for "suitable" job training and a higher minimum income. They accepted a proposal by the Interreligious Committee against Poverty of a June 5-7 "Welfare Reform Weekend," consisting of "sermons, adult education, youth group discussions, parish bulletins, newsletters, meetings of men's and women's groups, and [publicity] through the religious press" to push for enactment of FAP or a reasonable facsimile. Calling FAP "one of the most important and urgent issues to come before the Congress in recent years," the bishops pledged an all-out effort to secure its passage.<sup>22</sup>

Moynihan continued to salute the bishops' commitment. He sent the USCC a copy of his April 22 speech before the American Newspaper Publishers Association, in which he thanked "the major religious organizations of the nation," which "without exception came together in an alliance at once singular and spectacularly effective in helping to see that what needed doing [to pass FAP] was done." In July Moynihan passed a pamphlet to Nixon from the bishops' National Conference of Catholic Charities on FAP, which "chides the bill just a bit for requiring mothers to register for work but then comes down hard for this 'landmark in social legislation'—support the bill, contact your Congressman." Noting that "no group has shown anything like the energy—devotion—to your proposal," Moynihan suggested that "if FAP passes—when it passes—I would hope you might invite a few of the bishops in for a cup of coffee." Nixon heartily concurred, scribbling on the Moynihan memo, "I think we ought to have them in anyway."<sup>23</sup>

So he did. Bernardin, John Cosgrove, Monsignor George G. Higgins of the Social Action Department, Charles Burns of the Task Force Administration, David Finks of the Division on Urban Life, Geno Baroni of the Task Force on Urban Problems, and Russell Shaw of the

<sup>22</sup>"Family Assistance-1970 Action," p. 624; "United States Catholic Conference Resolution, Welfare Reform Legislation, 1970," Box 16, Folder: Reports, 1970, CJDP, UNDA, no p.; USCCA, "The Family Assistance Program," Minutes of the United States Catholic Conference Eighth General Meeting, April 21-23, 1970, USCCP, p. 12; USCCA, Memorandum from Most Rev. Joseph Bernardin to All Catholic Dioceses, Religious Orders, Institutions, and Organizations, May, 1970, Box 140, Folder: USCC-U.S. Government, Poverty, 1970-72, USCCP, pp. 1-3.

<sup>23</sup>USCCA, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "A Moment Touched with Glory," April 22, 1970, attached to Letter from Moynihan to Most Rev. Joseph Bernardin, April 22, 1970, Box 140, Folder: USCC-U.S. Government, Poverty, 1970-72, USCCP, p. 12.

Office of Information represented the USCC at the White House on August 17.<sup>24</sup>

As the bishops' delegates were entering the front door of the White House, welfare reform was in danger of exiting the back door. Republicans and Democrats who objected to the cost of FAP as too high or too low and the work requirement as too weak or too strong threatened to bury it in the Senate Finance Committee. In a compromise negotiated between the administration and the committee on August 28, the president agreed to an amendment proposed by Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D-CT) to subject FAP to a "series of field tests" for a year before it would become fully operational. In a statement from his Western White House in San Clemente, California, Nixon pleaded for passage of the modified measure, because "the present legislation is too far advanced, the need for reform is too great."<sup>25</sup>

"The House has responded with a resounding yes," *America* reminded its readers of FAP's status on Capitol Hill. "Let the Senate stop stalling and follow suit." *Commonweal* surprisingly agreed. "In general, Mr. Nixon's priorities are not ours," the liberal journal conceded. Although they hoped that the national minimum would be higher and uniform throughout the states, the editors nonetheless concluded that FAP "represents a dramatic gain in social insurance."<sup>26</sup>

By a resounding 14 to 1 vote, however, the Senate Finance Committee sank the House-passed version of FAP. *America* regretted that although the senators could return home for the midterm elections with appealing arguments for the program's stillbirth, "the millions of poor people who would have benefitted from this modest but commendable initiative on the part of the Nixon Administration" would be the worse for it.<sup>27</sup>

Following the elections, the senators returned to Washington, and the Finance Committee passed the Ribicoff pilot program, 10 to 6, without any assurance that it would become permanent and with

<sup>24</sup>NA, Memorandum from Charles Colson to the President, August 17, 1970, President's Office Files, Box 1, Folder: President's Handwriting, August 1970–October 1970, RMNPP, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup>"Family Assistance—1970 Action," p. 624.

<sup>26</sup>"Last Chance for Welfare Reform," *America*, September 12, 1970, 138; "Family Plan," *Commonweal*, September 18, 1970, 451.

<sup>27</sup>"Setback for Welfare Reform," *America*, October 24, 1970, 306.

additional restrictions—despite its previous rejection by the U.S. Supreme Court—of a one-year residency requirement for welfare recipients and a denial of benefits to families without a “man in the house” able to support them. This version then became part of an omnibus House-passed bill, including Social Security benefit increases, veterans’ pensions, import quotas, and health insurance for catastrophic illnesses. When the omnibus bill reached the Senate floor, it faced a two-week filibuster followed by a 49 to 21 tally to remove FAP from the legislation.<sup>28</sup>

Unbowed by two years of failure on FAP, Nixon vowed to try again in his January 1971 State of the Union Address, in which he listed six legislative priorities for the new session of Congress, of which the “most important” was welfare reform. The bishops’ National Conference of Catholic Charities was among a broad coalition of organizations that began weekly meetings with Assistant HEW Secretary John Montgomery to devise a winning strategy for FAP in 1971.<sup>29</sup>

The House Ways and Means Committee attempted to meet the objections that had defeated the previous year’s bill, raising the minimum income from \$1600 to \$2400 by including the value of food stamps and inserting special provisions for families headed by women with children three years or younger, who were not required to work, as well as the working poor or unemployed yet able-bodied poor, who were required to work. The new bill provided federal benefit levels that were higher than the current levels in twenty-two states, but unlike the previous measure, it did not require those states with benefit levels higher than the federal minimum to maintain them.<sup>30</sup>

The committee changes gave the bishops considerable pause. Although still in favor of the concept of welfare reform, they remained silent as the Mills Committee did its tinkering. In April the USCC’s Robinson recommended that the bishops “stand on the statements issued on this subject last year and the testimony submitted to the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee last year.” The bishops thus refused to join the National Council of Churches and the Synagogue Council of America in a “Tri-Faith

<sup>28</sup>“Family Assistance—1970 Action,” p. 624.

<sup>29</sup>“Family Assistance—1971 Action,” *Congress and the Nation*, p. 626; “Broad Coalition Lobbies for FAP,” *Congress and the Nation*, p. 625.

<sup>30</sup>“Family Assistance—1971 Action,” p. 626.



Statement on Welfare Reform," which advocated a minimum national income "not less than the current OEO/HEW poverty line (\$3720)"; the provision of "suitable" employment (defined as a job paying at least the minimum wage); a federal job creation program; and the exemption of mothers of school-age children, as well as adult guardians of ill or disabled family members, from the work requirement.<sup>31</sup>

Robinson preferred that the bishops follow the same route that they had pursued the previous year, pressing for hearings before the committees to try to shape the bill to their liking. Robinson argued that although the bishops substantively agreed with the tri-faith statement, signing it would be tactically counterproductive. So it remained a bi-faith statement.<sup>32</sup>

John Cosgrove proposed that the bishops author a proclamation of their own, to be sent to the House Ways and Means Committee and state Catholic Conferences as well as to diocesan social action directors with a corresponding call for contacting their Congressional representatives. Cosgrove's declaration, approved by the bishops after minor revisions, called for a minimum national income "approaching" the official poverty level with a timetable for reaching it and echoed the tri-faith proposal's minimum wage requirement and work exemptions.<sup>33</sup>

The new FAP passed the House Ways and Means Committee in May and reached the House floor in June. In a letter to Speaker of the House Carl Albert (D-OK), Nixon urged passage of the bill, which he called "the most important social legislation in thirty-five years." The next day the House obliged, 288 to 132, while defeating an attempt to delete FAP from the omnibus bill, 234 to 187. A majority of Republicans and Democrats approved of both actions, sending the new bill to the old Senate Finance Committee.<sup>34</sup>

*America* again praised the House, even improbably predicting that this time the Senate would finish the job. After all, the editors quoted Veneman, a vote against FAP would be a "hard vote to explain." Robert

<sup>31</sup>USCCA, Memorandum from James Robinson to Most Rev. Joseph Bernardin, April 2, 1971, Box 140, Folder: USCC-U.S. Government, Family Planning, 1971, USCCP, pp. 1-3.

<sup>32</sup>USCCA, Memorandum from Robinson to Bernardin, April 6, 1971, Box 140, Folder: USCC-U.S. Government, Family Planning, 1971, USCCP.

<sup>33</sup>USCCA, Memorandum from John Cosgrove to Most Rev. Joseph Bernardin, April 5, 1971, Box 140, Folder: USCC-U.S. Government, Family Planning, 1971, USCCP, pp. 2-3.

<sup>34</sup>"Family Assistance—1971 Action," p. 626.

Kennedy, director of the bishops' National Conference on Catholic Charities, tried anyway, criticizing the bill's failure to require a wealthier state to continue to provide welfare benefits above the \$2400 minimum, while offering an employer no incentive to pay adequate wages to the working poor and penalizing a mother with children older than age three by forcing her to work. The bishops themselves regretted that

the Administration and the House passed bill would not include payment of the federal minimum wage. . . , the earlier bad provision that mothers who are heads of families would have mandatory referral to jobs or training if they had children six years of age or older has worsened . . . to three years of age or older. . . , [and] there are no provisions to guarantee that the States' contribution to the program could not be decreased.<sup>35</sup>

## The Defeat

With FAP under consideration by the Senate Finance Committee, Nixon announced in August that he was postponing his campaign for welfare reform for another year to concentrate on a new anti-inflation economic package. "The President's decision to sacrifice this measure to his business-oriented plan for economic recovery is tragic," *Commonweal* editorialized in the wake of the Nixon announcement.<sup>36</sup>

The president's decision also was fatal. The administration returned FAP to Capitol Hill in January 1972. Cosgrove again testified for the bishops, repeating their support for the bill yet insisting on a higher income floor, a wider range of recipients, a uniform national standard for eligibility, and a work incentive rather than a requirement. The Senate Finance Committee in September reported an alternative to FAP sponsored by its chairman, Russell Long (D-LA), which excluded from welfare benefits all families headed by able-bodied adults with children older than age six and included a "workfare" provision guaranteeing a job in a new Federal Work Administration or in the private sector as well as child care under a new Bureau of Child Care.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup>"Big Package of Welfare Reform," *America*, May 29, 1971, 557; Robert Kennedy, "Explained: One Nay Vote," *America*, June 26, 1971, 656; "Minutes of the Eleventh General Meeting," November 15-19, 1971, Box 18, Folder: NCCB General Meeting Agenda Report Documentation, November 1971, CJDP, UNDA, pp. 103-04.

<sup>36</sup>"Punishing the Poor," *Commonweal*, September 24, 1971, 471.

<sup>37</sup>USCCA, "Conference Official Asks Improvements in Family Assistance Proposals," *USCC News*, February 1, 1972, Box 140, Folder: USCC-U.S. Government, Family Planning, 1971, USCCP, 1-2.

The full Senate accepted the Long proposal, but only on a two- to four-year pilot basis alongside the House-passed administration bill and a proposal by Ribicoff that would raise the minimum income to \$2600. With only ten days remaining in the Congressional session, the House and Senate bills went to conference, where they died a quick death.<sup>38</sup>

Although members of his Cabinet and staff would not abandon welfare reform, Nixon would, not mentioning it again publicly until his January 1974 State of the Union Address. So, too, would the American Catholic bishops, whose next pastoral on the subject would not come until February 1977 at the outset of the Jimmy Carter administration. "The crisis atmosphere which surrounded welfare at the end of the 1960's has now pretty much vanished," Moynihan admitted to Laird, who had replaced Ehrlichman as domestic affairs adviser in April 1973. Indeed, a lot had changed since those heady days in early 1969 when Moynihan championed FAP, and Ehrlichman drew up the blueprint for it. The advocate was now serving as ambassador to India. The architect was now serving time.<sup>39</sup>

## The Blame

Who killed FAP? As always, assigning blame for failing to pass legislation was much easier than passing it. Conservatives blamed liberals. The AFL-CIO incurred criticism for caring more about the state workers' union jobs that FAP might eliminate than the nonunion employment that it might create. The California Republican Assembly, a group of 12,500 conservatives, deemed Nixon conservative enough to merit re-election, but his welfare reform plan liberal enough to deserve its fate.<sup>40</sup>

Liberals blamed the Nixon administration. Writing in the *Yale Law Journal*, Charles Reich criticized FAP's proposed work requirement, because it "involves work that is foreign to a man's prior skills, requires a [sic] acceptance of a lower status, demands

<sup>38</sup>"Family Assistance-1972 Action," *Congress and the Nation*, pp. 626-27.

<sup>39</sup>Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, pp. 132-33; United States Catholic Conference Department of Social Development and World Peace, "Welfare Reform in the 1970's," February 25, 1977, in *Quest for Justice*, ed. J. Brian Benestad and Francis J. Butler (Washington, DC, 1981), pp. 270-79.

<sup>40</sup>Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, p. 131; "Conservatives on Coast Vote to Support Nixon," *New York Times*, sec. L, 30.

transfer to a new location, or presents the risk that no jobs will be available even after retraining.” Catholic Senator Eugene McCarthy (D-MN) was more succinct, branding FAP the “Family Annihilation Plan for starving America’s poor.” Ribicoff held that “everyone engaged in the battle has his own perceptions of what went wrong” in the defeat of FAP. “But one thing is clear: after Pat Moynihan left the White House, the leadership of the Nixon Administration was not forthcoming.”<sup>41</sup>

The Nixon administration blamed both conservatives and liberals. Historian Herbert Parmet included “conservatives” on his list of the administration’s villains in the FAP tragedy. Nixon himself concluded that “although I think a majority of the Senate might have voted for it,” the conservatives in control of the Senate Finance Committee believed “that instead of reforming welfare we were simply adding more to the welfare rolls.”<sup>42</sup>

Nixon speechwriter William Safire would counter, “Welfare reform was killed primarily by liberals who wanted not only a whole loaf but one baked to their exact specifications.” Nixon himself would explain that he ultimately relinquished FAP, because “I had to at least take positions that liberals don’t like. The liberals have a litmus test: you’ve got to be all for us or you’re against us.”<sup>43</sup>

Catholics could only blame themselves. Inside the Church, FAP was in part a victim of the residual backlash by the rank-and-file against Johnson’s War on Poverty. At the bishops’ November 1969 meeting two weeks after Nixon coined the phrase “silent majority,” Baroni reported that

little attention has been given to the anguish of the socially and politically alienated “middle American”—the second and third generation, almost poor, descendant of the largely Catholic immigrant, a major source of vocations and traditional backbone of the Church.

<sup>41</sup>Isidore Silver, “Is Poverty Illegal?” *Commonweal*, February 19, 1971, 489; Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, p. 131; “Nixon Welfare Plan Not Enacted,” *Congress and the Nation*, p. 622.

<sup>42</sup>Parmet, *Enigma*, p. 189; Richard Nixon, “Remarks to Eastern Media Executives Attending a Briefing on Domestic Policy in Rochester New York,” June 18, 1971, *Public Papers of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1971* (Washington, DC, 1972), p. 753.

<sup>43</sup>William Safire, *Before the Fall* (Garden City, NY, 1975), p. 548; Parmet, *Enigma*, p. 162.



Baroni's diagnosis that the New Deal coalition of white ethnics and minorities was falling apart earned him a promotion to director of program development for the bishops' Task Force on Urban Problems.<sup>44</sup>

At the same meeting, seven regional discussion groups arrived at similar conclusions. Contending that "the white majority in America ... is largely united in its opposition to blacks," Region I lamented that "while many resist integration, 'ethnic groups' tend to resist it more." Region II attributed the "ignorance" of the white majority to its "responsibility toward the majority, vested interests and the fact that adequate financial and professed service for the poor will mean an increase in taxes." Region III called for "tours of poverty areas for white suburban parishes." Region IV suggested that "polarization between blacks and whites can be avoided if efforts are made to bring the groups together in attacking their common problems." Region V posited that white-black conflict "very often reflects a lack of understanding on the part of those who live in suburban areas of the problems of those living in the cities." Region VI concluded that "white-black polarization has increased or decreased in different areas of the country." Region VII urged "collaboration with government programs for the unemployed."<sup>45</sup>

All seven groups agreed upon the "recognized necessity ... for the education of the total Catholic community in terms of a more generous, sympathetic, and Christ-like attitude toward the poor and minority groups." The bishops then voted to create a National Central Office for Black Catholics and to launch a national crusade against poverty, speaking and raising \$50 million "over the next several years" to combat the scourge that afflicted the "twenty-two million people certified as poor." They noted, however, that "sixty-six percent of these poor people are white" and acknowledged "the intricate forces which lead to group conflict." Baroni would spend the next six months trav-

<sup>44</sup>Richard Nixon, "Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam," November 3, 1969, *Public Papers, 1969*, p. 909; Gene Halus, "Monsignor Geno Baroni and the Politics of Ethnicity, 1960-1984," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 25 (2007), 133-59, here 148-49; Linda Major, "Ford Grant Awarded [to] Msgr. Baroni for Urban Ethnic Work," *National Catholic News Service*, January 12, 1971, Box 38, Folder: Statement Phasing Out Task Force, November 25, 1970, Monsignor Baroni Papers [hereafter BP], UNDA, p. 12.

<sup>45</sup>"Reports from Regional Discussion Groups," Minutes of the Seventh General Meeting, USCC, pp. 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45.

eling to the country's major cities, listening to those white ethnic Catholics for whom he spoke.<sup>46</sup>

The administration heard the rumblings at the bishops' meeting. White House aide John Brown argued in December 1969 that Nixon should intensify his outreach to "'gut,' conservative, predominantly Catholic Silent-Majority Democrats." Observing that "our Catholic division, set up last spring, consists today of one girl—full time, as compared with the RNC's [Republican National Committee's] permanent black auxiliary," Brown contended that "Southern Protestants and Northern Catholics, predominantly white, are the missing elements in the Nixon Majority, waiting to join."<sup>47</sup>

The president concurred, responding that, as Brown recounted, "the [Republican] National Committee always puts too much emphasis on guys we can't get." Nixon thus instructed aide Harry Dent

by the early fall of 1970 . . . to have clearly identified all the national Catholic press; expanded contacts in the Catholic communications world; and know[n] every district and every state where a hard-sell Catholic approach can win over the swing votes.<sup>48</sup>

The USCC discussion groups not only echoed the sentiments of Baroni but also reflected the contemporary arguments of other prominent Catholics. "The intellectual who 'loves' the blacks and the 'poor' but has contempt for the Irish or the Italians of the 'middle class,'" Jesuit sociologist Andrew Greeley contended, "is in the final analysis every bit as much a bigot of the blue-collar worker who 'hates blacks,' for both are asking 'Why Can't They Be Like Us?'" Michael Novak warned that "[w]hite Anglo-Saxon Protestants have never had to celebrate Columbus Day or march down Fifth Avenue wearing green. Every day has been their day in America. No more."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup>"Reports from Regional Discussion Groups," p. 50; "Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Proposal for a Central Office for Black Catholics," Minutes of the Seventh General Meeting, USCC, p. 11; Lawrence O'Rourke, *Geno: The Life and Mission of Geno Baroni* (New York, 1991), p. 83.

<sup>47</sup>NA, Memorandum from John Brown to Harry Dent, December 19, 1969, White House Central Files, Subject File—Religious Matters, Box 18, Folder: [EXEC] RM 3-1 Catholic [69/70], RMNPP.

<sup>48</sup>Memorandum from Brown to Dent.

<sup>49</sup>Andrew Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (New York, 1970), p. 19; Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York, 1971), p. 115.

Similar sentiments continued to percolate in the Nixon administration. In April 1970 a memorandum by Jerome Rosow, assistant secretary for policy, evaluation, and research, reached the desk of Shultz. Titled "The Problem of the Blue-Collar Worker," the memo warned that FAP would not help the "lower-income mothers who seek work and are outside the welfare system" because, unlike welfare mothers, they would not "receive subsidized child care to facilitate their move from welfare to work." Rosow lamented that these blue-collar voters, "many of whom are immigrants or sons of immigrants," had become "'forgotten people'—those for whom the government and the society have limited if any direct concern and little visible action." He urged Shultz to create a White House working group to address the problems of this increasingly neglected stratum.<sup>50</sup>

While the White House deliberated, the bishops acted. Under the leadership of Baroni, the USCC convened a workshop on ethnic community development in June 1970. Baroni explained the need for the conference:

The largest single group of whites remaining in our large industrial and manufacturing towns and cities happen to be white working-class ethnics who for the large part are Roman Catholics [and] . . . who now feel trapped between Blacks on one side and middle-class suburbia on the other.<sup>51</sup>

The bishops reached out to the administration during and after the gathering. Among the speakers at the workshop were Robert Podesta, assistant secretary for economic development at the Department of Commerce, and Lawrence Brekka, education director of the White House National Goals research staff. Baroni then wrote Nixon requesting that he appoint a "special inter-departmental task force to review what assistance can come" to blue-collar workers "from present programs in OEO, HEW, HUD [Housing and Urban Development], DOT [Department of Transportation] and the Departments of Commerce and Labor and other agencies." Baroni also implored Congress "to introduce and treat favorably legislation that is designed to promote the hopes of ethnic people as well as to alleviate their fears."<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup>NA, Memorandum from Jerome Rosow to the Secretary, April 16, 1970, attached to Memorandum from Colson to the President, August 17, 1970, RMNPP, pp. 6, 8, 15.

<sup>51</sup>"Workshop on Urban Ethnic Community Development," June 15–19, 1970, Box 38, Folder: Urban Ethnic Community Workshop, BP, UNDA, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup>"Workshop on Urban Ethnic Community Development," p. 3; NA, Letter from Msgr. Geno Baroni to the President, June 29, 1970, White House Central Files, Subject File–Religious Matters, Box 18, Folder: [EXEC] RM 3-1 Catholic [69/70], RMNPP, p. 2.

Although Baroni was not "a heavy hitter, either in the hierarchy or intellectually," White House Catholic liaison Peter Flanigan allowed that "this area might be of some value to us from a political point of view." Thus Baroni was among those from the USCC who visited the White House in August. Observing that Baroni's workshop "covered much the same ground" as Rosow's memorandum, White House aide Charles Colson prepped Nixon for the meeting with the observation that "Baroni has attracted considerable publicity and has become a public symbol for forty million lower-middle-class white workers." Although "the Family Assistance Plan will be an important step in helping to create more work incentive in the black community and therefore partially dissipate" the rancor of white blue-collar workers toward African Americans, Colson recommended that the president encourage the bishops to "provide the spiritual and moral leadership to help the white communities overcome this fear and suspicion." To Baroni's suggestion of an interagency task force, the president should assure him that, like the Rosow recommendations, this matter was under consideration. To reward the "patriotic zeal" and "devotion to their country" of the white ethnics, Nixon should prescribe community improvement, rehabilitation of housing, and civic activities.<sup>53</sup>

The bishops would direct their Labor Day statement two weeks later toward "one of the most neglected segments in America society—the so-called white ethnic working class." They lamented that "public and private agencies devoted to the restoration of urban America have largely ignored working-class whites in designing programs to eliminate poverty, substandard housing, racial discord, declining schools, and physical decay." They applauded the "renewed interest" in the plight of the blue-collar class by "the academic community, the mass media, the foundations, and a growing number of people in official Washington," because "to continue to ignore their valid needs is to jeopardize those efforts which are designed to restore urban America and to reduce social discord rooted in economic insecurity and racial misunderstanding."<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup>NA, Memorandum from Peter Flanigan to Hugh Sloan, July 15, 1970, White House Central Files, Subject File—Religious Matters, Box 18, Folder: [EXEC] RM-1 Catholic [69/70], RMNPP; Colson to the President, August 17, 1970, p. 2.

<sup>54</sup>Milwaukee, WI, Marquette University Archives, Msgr. George Higgins and Msgr. Geno Baroni, "1970 Labor Day Statement," attached to Letter from Baroni to "Mr. Harris," July 29, 1970, Series 20, Box 31, Folder: USCC Task Force on Urban Problems, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice Papers, pp. 1–2.



After the November midterm elections brought one Irish Catholic Republican, Thomas Meskill, to the governorship of Connecticut and another, James Buckley, to the U.S. Senate from New York, Colson suggested that the administration "cultivate the right Catholic leaders in several key Northeastern states." Colson viewed the election results as the harbinger of a potentially historic shift: "The Democrats have always built their powerful machines around prominent Irish Catholic political bosses (occasionally Italian). Their Catholic leaders are now becoming much less important while ours are gaining in prominence." With an eye to Nixon's upcoming re-election campaign, Colson concluded, "Work should be started on this now—not in 1972."<sup>55</sup>

So the work began. Roy Morey of Nixon's Domestic Council conducted an internal analysis of the so-called "Catholic vote." By September 1971, he had reached the conclusion that for white ethnic Catholics, their ethnicity is far more important than their religion, so "there are definite risks in attempting to woo Catholics as Catholics."<sup>56</sup>

The Morey study provoked an angry response from White House aide and Irish Catholic Patrick Buchanan, who indelicately described it as "remorseless nonsense." Although Buchanan conceded that ethnicity meant more to most American Catholics than religion, he strongly disagreed with Morey's conclusion that courting the Catholic vote was fraught with danger. Instead, Buchanan ardently encouraged such an effort, as long as the administration pursued the right Catholics—not the "Catholic liberals, who ape the WASP Upper East Side liberals"—but the Catholics on the right.<sup>57</sup>

"There is a potential, latent majority out there, available to the President, which he has failed to put together," Buchanan argued. "It consists of the President's WASP and white-collar conservative base—

<sup>55</sup>NA, Memorandum from Colson to H. R. Haldeman, November 13, 1970, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files—Charles W. Colson, Box 46, Folder: Catholic Vote, RMNPP, pp. 1–2.

<sup>56</sup>NA, Memorandum from Haldeman to Robert Finch, November 27, 1970, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files—Charles W. Colson, Box 46, Folder: Catholic Vote, RMNPP; NA, Memorandum from Roy Morey to Kenneth Cole and Edwin Harper, September 16, 1971, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files—Charles W. Colson, Box 46, Folder: Catholic Vote, RMNPP, p. 5.

<sup>57</sup>NA, Memorandum from Patrick Buchanan to John Ehrlichman, H. R. Haldeman, and Charles Colson, September 23, 1971, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files—Charles W. Colson, Box 46, Folder: Catholic Vote, RMNPP, pp. 4–5.

added to it Southern Protestants and Northern, Midwestern, and Western Catholics.” Buchanan contended that “middle-working-professional class Catholics have drifted away from the [Democratic] party of their grandparents,” and the “general attitude of this group toward the president is clearly favorable. . . . They feel that President Nixon is ‘like them.’”<sup>58</sup>

Buchanan then sent Colson an analysis of the Catholic vote by Thomas Melady of the Business Council for International Understanding. Praising Cardinals Terence Cooke, John Krol, and John Wright and “almost 150 weekly Catholic newspapers [which] have since 1968 been giving very good coverage to the Nixon Administration,” Melady asserted that “anti-Nixon sentiment exists only in the ‘Catholic left wing—underground’ group which represents no more than ten to twelve percent of the Catholic community (as reflected in ‘Commonweal’ and the ‘National Catholic Reporter’).”<sup>59</sup>

Despite their rift over the wisdom of attracting Catholic voters, Morey and Buchanan could agree that FAP, with its minimum income, meager work provisions, and high price tag, was not a way to most Catholic hearts. Morey responded to Buchanan’s rant with poll data compiled by demographic specialist Arthur Finkelstein of the Committee for the Re-election of the President. Although Finkelstein concluded that “consistently [on most issues], Catholics give the President a better rating than the public at large,” Nixon did not command majority support from Catholics on welfare reform. Only 45 percent of Catholics and 39 percent of all Americans, believed that the president was “trying as hard as anyone else would” to “improve the welfare system.” When asked to rank ten problems from most to least important, Catholics, like other Americans, put inflation first and welfare last.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup>Buchanan to Ehrlichman, Haldeman, and Colson, September 23, 1971, pp. 4, 15; Memorandum from Buchanan to Colson, September 20, 1971, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files—Charles W. Colson, Box 46, Folder: Catholic Vote, RMNPP, NA, p. 1.

<sup>59</sup>NA, Letter from Thomas Melady to Patrick Buchanan, September 27, 1971, attached to Memorandum from Buchanan to Ehrlichman, Haldeman, and Colson, September 29, 1971, Box 46, Folder: Catholic Vote, RMNPP, pp. 1–2.

<sup>60</sup>NA, Letter from Arthur Finkelstein to Robert Marik, December 16, 1971, attached to Memorandum from Roy Morey to John Ehrlichman, September 24, 1971, White House Central Files, Subject File—Religious Matters, Box 18, Folder: RM 3-1 Catholic 1/1/71–12/72, RMNPP.

To the liberal Moynihan, the argument for FAP “appealing to a new majority,” as historian Robert Mason put it, “was not robust.” The problems addressed by FAP ultimately

were not of direct relevance to potential Nixon voters. The area of [their] concern was the perceived welfare crisis and an impatience with the apparently undeserving welfare recipients described by Hamill and others. The direct beneficiaries of FAP were the poor, most unlikely to support Nixon.<sup>61</sup>

To the conservative Safire, FAP’s moment had come and gone. Safire would recall:

For years, during the liberal emphasis on welfare reform, the conservatives within the Administration were told that the Nixon followers on the far right would have to hold still and stick with RN because “they would have no place to go.” “No place to go” was the conservative Buchanan’s revenge.

Thus, Safire concluded, “Nixon . . . heard Buchanan loud and clear . . . and regardless of party turned more and more toward the people with whom he could feel congenial politically: in domestic affairs, people who resented the ‘welfare bums.’”<sup>62</sup>

Yet, just as the president was turning toward the Catholic right, the bishops were turning away. Over the objections of Baroni, who viewed the decision as a personal as well as a political affront, Bernardin announced in November 1970 that the USCC was disbanding its Task Force on Urban Problems. Bernardin explained that the mission of the task force had always been limited in scope and direction and that other USCC agencies would continue its work. Baroni himself could “join the Department of Social Development, USCC, for six months in order to work out plans for continuing the ethnic programs he began as a staff member of the Task Force.” The *New York Times*, however, cited “sources in the conference” as attributing the abolition of the task force to competing demands by African American and Mexican American clergy. In other words, white backlash had generated nonwhite backlash, jeopardizing Baroni’s handiwork.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup>Mason, *Richard Nixon*, p. 59.

<sup>62</sup>Safire, *Before the Fall*, p. 557.

<sup>63</sup>Memorandum from Msgr. Geno Baroni to Most Rev. Joseph Bernardin and Rev. James Rausch, November 7, 1970, Box 38, Folder: Statement Phasing Out Task Force, November 25, 1970, BP, UNDA, pp. 1–2; “Statement of Most Rev. Joseph L. Bernardin, General Secretary, United States Catholic Conference, November 25, 1970, Box 38, Folder: Statement Phasing Out Task Force, November 25, 1970, BP, UNDA; “A Catholic Leader Says Ethnic Work Will Be Continued,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1970, sec. L, 70.

But the portly son of an Italian coal miner had an ace up his sleeve. In January 1971 the bishops begrudgingly announced a one-year, \$163,831 Ford Foundation grant to start a Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs at the USCC. Stated Baroni:

We cannot deal with the urban crisis—whether white or black, rich or poor—and the complex problems of society without understanding and concern for the overall dimensions of American ethnics and the pluralistic society.

The Workshop on Ethnic Community Development in June would be one of the center's major accomplishments.<sup>64</sup>

Baroni's grant would expire within a year, however, and by that time, the bishops' affinity for his message had diminished as well. With their growing desire for a higher minimum payment and deepening disdain for a work requirement in FAP, the bishops had drifted further from the more conservative majority and closer to the "liberal ten to twelve percent" of American Catholics identified by Melady. Among the casualties of the bishops' left turn were the white ethnics, to whom they had paid little more than lip service, and welfare reform, for which they were losing their enthusiasm. In April 1971 the USCC's Robinson did not stop at depicting the bishops' dilemma of whether to continue supporting FAP as a "difficult decision." As the Senate Finance Committee kept maneuvering the legislation to the right even as the bishops tried to steer it to the left, Robinson averred that "it is quite possible" that the "USCC made a mistake" in supporting FAP the previous year. By 1972, the bishops had withdrawn their endorsement. The USCC Division of Urban Affairs reported to the bishops in November:

The composition of the Senate Finance Committee is such that, given its overwhelmingly conservative majority and leadership and given the lack of practical and serious support from the White House, the only bill reported would have been repressive and damaging to family life. In the circumstances, it is better that no legislation resulted.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup>Linda Major, "Ford Grant Awarded Msgr. Baroni for Urban Ethnic Work," *National Catholic News Service*, January 12, 1971, Box 38, Folder: Statement Phasing Out Task Force, November 25, 1970, BR, UNDA, p. 14.

<sup>65</sup>Robinson to Bernardin, April 2, 1971, p. 3; "Report of Division of Urban Affairs," Minutes of the Thirteenth General Meeting, National Conference of Catholic Bishops, November 11–13, 1972, Box 18, Folder: NCCB General Meeting Agenda Report Documentation, November 1972, CJDP, UNDA, p. 57.



## The Fallout

The bishops and the president had moved on to other matters. In August 1971 Nixon became the first president to address the Knights of Columbus, just the kind of white ethnic Catholics Buchanan had targeted. But he made no mention of FAP. Cooke's meeting with Secretary of the Treasury John Connally in January 1972 and Nixon's speech to the National Catholic Education Association in April focused on parochial school aid, an issue that even Buchanan questioned. Melady's June blueprint for the re-election campaign's outreach to Catholics featured "abortion on demand, pornography for children, and drugs for children" on the list of Catholic concerns, but not welfare reform.<sup>66</sup>

It is ironic that the liberal Democratic Baroni, whose first parish assignment had been a black church and who later would work for President Jimmy Carter, and the conservative Republican Buchanan, who extolled his Confederate ancestors and who would work for President Ronald Reagan, were on the same side in their advocacy of a louder national political voice for white ethnic American Catholics. Baroni's popularity and Buchanan's pugnacity helped overcome the liberals in the American Catholic hierarchy and the administration, as the more conservative Krol won election in November 1971 and a more conservative Nixon won re-election with majority Catholic support in November 1972.<sup>67</sup>

"Krol has an unbending manner which most of us simply can't hack," a liberal prelate complained after the cardinal's ascension. "But

<sup>66</sup>NA, Memorandum from Charles Colson to Dwight Chapin, February 12, 1971, and Memorandum from William Galvin to H. R. Haldeman, February 17, 1971, White House Special Files, Staff Member and Office Files—Charles W. Colson, Box 91, Folder: Knights of Columbus [1971], RMNPP; Richard Nixon, "Remarks to the Eighty-Seventh Annual International Meeting of the Knights of Columbus in New York City," August 17, 1971, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1971* (Washington, DC, 1972), pp. 893–98; NA, Memorandum from Peter Flanigan to the President, January 21, 1972, White House Staff Files, Staff Member and Office Files—Peter Flanigan, Box 10, Folder: Presidential Meetings, Agendas and Briefs/Memos to File [April 1971–July 1974], RMNPP; Richard Nixon, "Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Catholic Educational Association in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania," April 6, 1972, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1972* (Washington, DC, 1973), pp. 517–23.

<sup>67</sup>Halus, "Monsignor Geno Baroni," p. 146; Patrick Buchanan, *Right from the Beginning* (Boston, 1988), p. 21.

his election as president just might turn out to be a blessing for the American church. The illusion of unity would disappear." He could have said the same thing about Nixon. The illusion of unity on welfare reform, in the nation and the Church, had long since disappeared.<sup>68</sup>

Neither Krol's victory nor FAP's defeat, however, marked the end of the liberal influence on the American Catholic hierarchy or the political salience of welfare reform. Two decades after Nixon left the White House, his party gained control of Congress and successfully prodded Democratic President Bill Clinton not to veto for the third time a tough welfare reform bill that required work but did not finance education or training. Castigating the legislation as too punitive toward the poor were Moynihan, now a Democratic senator from New York, and the bishops of his Church. The politics of resentment, which Moynihan had once exposed, helped produce welfare reform, which Moynihan had once proposed. But when the "silent majority" of their country and Church finally spoke, the senator and the bishops decided not to listen.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup>"Where to Find the Leaders?" *Newsweek*, November 4, 1971, p. 82; Nixon obtained the minimum income and subsidies to the states that he had sought in FAP, without the political costs which FAP would have incurred, when Congress passed the Supplemental Security Income program for the elderly, blind, and disabled in October 1972, in Hoff, *Nixon Reconsidered*, p. 134, and Parmet, *Enigma*, p. 189.

<sup>69</sup>Dorothy Brown and Elizabeth McKeown, *The Poor Belong to Us* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), p. 196.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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### General and Miscellaneous

*A New Short History of the Catholic Church.* By Norman Tanner. (New York: Burns and Oates. 2011. Pp. xvi, 260. \$22.95. ISBN 978-0-860-12455-9.)

This is a useful book of reference by the master of the history of the councils of the Church. It treats its subject in a straightforward chronological manner, dividing the narrative into five chapters, taking the Church from Pentecost to the fourth century; through the early Middle Ages, 400–1054; the central and late Middle Ages; early-modern Catholicism, 1500–1800; and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This brings sharply into prominence the fact that, as Tanner points out, the Middle Ages span half the period of the Church's existence.

This account allows the characters to spin the plot, although it would be instructive to hear more from them in their own words; some close-ups of the honest wrestling with question and challenge down the centuries would add vividness. The main omission is a substantial discussion of “Church” and “Catholic Church.” The key passages of arms, outlined one by one; Cyprian and the rigorists; the Donatist challenge in St. Augustine's North Africa; the discomfort as Eastern and Western Christendom drew apart and the schism of 1054; the implications of the ecclesiological challenges of the Reformation and after; and modern ecumenism all threw up in different ways the questions “What is the Church?” and “What does it mean to call it ‘Catholic’”?

The book slips almost without comment from the assumption that to begin with there was one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church; to the assumption that after 1054 that became the co-terminous with the Church in the West; and to the assumption that from the sixteenth century, it became the Roman Catholic Church with the Protestants dropping away from the Catholic Church. This may be so, but it needs to be argued, and the book would be the richer for a frank grappling with these shifts and their implications as ecclesologically challenging. “Catholicism” cannot be used in quite the same way of the present-day Church and the Church of the fourth century, because it means, since the Reformation, taking a position in what many Christians would regard as a divided Church. The Second Vatican Council's *Unitatis redintegratio* is discussed briefly in the context of its immediate aftermath and the wider questions of interfaith dialogue, but not as a prompter for a concluding discussion of catholicity as it appears at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

There is enormous value in a short, reliable, and careful study of a sequence of events that may have unfamiliar joinings and passageways to modern believers. But this tends to take for granted the answer to the key question, "What is the Catholic Church?"

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G. R. EVANS

*Italian Mosaics 300-1300.* By Joachim Poeschke. Translated from the German by Russell Stockman. (New York: Abbeville Press. 2010. Pp. 431. \$150.00. ISBN 978-0-789-21076-0.)

This book is clearly intended to be appreciated more for its illustrations than for its text, since these take up the lion's share of the 431 pages that are bound between the two covers. In fact, they appear mostly twice—first as a set of thumbnails at the end of the textual entry on each individual monument and then as full-page illustrations in the section that follows. This arrangement seems strangely Web-like, and the inspiration for it may have come from the kind of online catalogue often encountered on the Web, with an index of images in the form of thumbnails that may be enlarged. The images are gorgeous, and they bear eloquent testimony to the grandeur of this supremely medieval art, which has been preserved in Italy more than anywhere else in the Mediterranean or European world.

The close-up details published here make the mosaics perched high up on the walls of churches available for a tessera-by-tessera analysis. Viewing them in the book is almost as good as looking at them from scaffolding. At the same time, the illustrations tend to minimize or even eradicate the spatial complexity of the mosaics, especially when they cover the curved surface of an apse or a dome, reducing them to the square or rectangular format of a panel painting. The mosaics *in situ* envelop the viewer in space and, as reflective surfaces of gold and colored glass and stone, surround him or her with the scintillating effects of the movement of light. There are diagrams of some of the more complicated pictorial programs in the book, but these are hardly optimal in orienting the viewer and can be misleading. In addition, the colors of the images are so saturated that it causes the reader to wonder if they have been digitally enhanced, although this is not noted in the introduction.

This book is divided into nineteen sections, each devoted to a single monument from Rome, Ravenna, Sicily (Palermo, Cefalù, and Monreale), Venice, and Florence, and these are arranged in a trajectory that is basically chronological. The monuments are all churches, with the exception of two mausolea (Santa Costanza in Rome and Galla Placidia in Ravenna) and two baptisteries (Ravenna). Each section of illustrations is preceded by a short text describing the monument in question, with relevant historical data and a discussion of some of the scholarly debates about them. These texts seem



rather dry, especially in contrast to the visual exuberance of the illustrations. The author is unusually devoted to the intricate problems of chronology, which are treated at length, and averse to any kind of visual characterization of the work in question (what might have been called, at an earlier point in art history, stylistic analysis). But this also is important, since it speaks to the difference between a presentation of the material in a book in print versus the Web. These texts, through a sensitive reading of visual phenomena, could have helped shape the reader's (viewer's) response to the works or at least directed his or her attention to salient features, over which the reader could linger.

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WILLIAM TRONZO

*The Cardinals: Thirteen Centuries of the Men behind the Papal Throne.* By Michael Walsh. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2010. Pp. vi, 250. \$23.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-802-82941-2.)

Michael Walsh has over many years been much engaged in the writing and compilation of ecclesiastical biography, not least in his editing of the revised *Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford, 2006). It is not surprising, therefore, that he has published this general study of cardinals, a companion piece to his *Westminster Cardinals* (New York, 2008) and his study of the conclave. It begins with a useful introduction on the development of the cardinalitial office and continues with some sixty pithy character sketches, which take their inspiration from the brief-lives formula adopted by Trevor Beeson, the former dean of Winchester, in his series of informative and sometimes sardonic vignettes of leaders of the Church of England.

The cardinals lack the comfortable provincialism of the Anglican clergy but still form an inner elite, an intimate circle, in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church that is manageable enough in scale; only some 4000 men have received the title, and there have been generally fewer than 100 at any one time to make them eminently accessible. The origins of the cardinalitial dignity are obscure (despite there being little doubt about the etymology of the word, taken from *cardo*, a hinge) but by the high Middle Ages, like much else in the Western Church, the cardinalate had received definition and focus. By the end of the twelfth century they formed a college, met with the pope regularly in consistories, and conducted papal elections in conclaves. By the end of the thirteenth century they had acquired a very distinctive hat.

What makes the cardinals historically important is their role in the election of the pope—"the men behind the papal throne"—and whatever else they do or are is secondary. Their corporate identity outside the conclaves remained unclear; they never quite constituted a senate in the Church and were not a separate order. Their individual contributions—whether as curial officials, *politicos* and diplomats, scholars, crown cardinals of high birth, or

leading bishops in their local church—have been diffuse. Walsh provides an excellent overview of the variety of “the princes of the Church” over a wide chronological span. He delights in the quirks and singularities of the saints and sinners who have made up the Sacred College.

Most of the biographies are of Europeans, as most cardinals have been from that continent and within Europe mainly Italians. He looks at “nearly men”—those who came close to receiving the papal crown. None came closer than the Englishman Reginald Pole. Among the saintly figures he features is one with strong North American ties: Breton-born Jean-Louis Lefebvre de Cheverus (1768–1836), who was an exile in England as a young priest, spent twenty years in Boston, became the Boston Archdiocese’s first bishop, became notable for his work among Native Americans, and died as cardinal archbishop of Bordeaux. Walsh also presents an affectionate portrait of Thomas Weld (1773–1837), a widower from an English recusant Catholic family who was ordained as a priest in 1821 and appointed five years later as a bishop in Upper Canada—a place he never visited. In 1830 he became a cardinal in Rome and became celebrated as the cardinal who was accompanied openly in the city by his (legitimate) grandchildren.

This book makes interesting and sometimes amusing reading and is an insightful and well-informed introduction to the subject. It would have benefited from a concluding section, balancing the opening part of the book, which might have provided some unifying themes to the book. It also could have allowed the author to show how the internationalization of the Sacred College beyond Europe to the developing world has been so significant a feature of the office over the last century, a mirror (as so often with the cardinals) of the wider Church. The Catholicity of the Church is now firmly wedded to its Mediterranean roots in the institution of the College of Cardinals. Nevertheless, as Walsh suggests, the papacy remains attached to the Church and clergy of Rome, of which at least technically the cardinals form a part, and “to permit the Bishop of Rome to be elected by some constitutional body drawn from the Church at large would irrevocably alter what is the underlying constitution of the Catholic Church” (p. 19).

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AIDAN BELLENGER, O.S.B.

*Interpreting Francis and Clare of Assisi from the Middle Ages to the Present.* Edited by Constant J. Mews and Claire Renkin. (Melbourne: Broughton Publishing. 2010. Pp. xvi, 416. \$89.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-980-66346-4.).

This collection of studies from Australia celebrates the 800 years of the Franciscan Order (1209–2009), arising from an event at Yarra Theological Union, one institute in the Melbourne College of Divinity. In the introduction

(pp. xi-xvi), the editors explain the origins of the collection and briefly summarize the contributions. The studies begin in Assisi, of course, and then spread throughout Europe and into different fields of learning. Toward the end, they rapidly survey the centuries to the present day. The book contains studies that will interest a variety of readers.

Given that it is a Franciscan collection, it often speaks about poverty. We find an emphasis on poverty in the first article (p. 4) and in a well-developed study on Franciscan identity (p. 79). Poverty is looked at closely in the study on the *Sacrum commercium*, a symbolic tale of St. Francis and his brothers in search of Jesus's poverty. Poverty repeatedly comes to the fore in the attention accorded St. Clare and her sisters, whether in her day or in our own (p. 333). However, *poverty* is a tricky term in Franciscan history. It played no role in the beginning and first arose in the Early Rule as a defensive maneuver. In the Rule of 1223 it stands at the heart of chapter VI, the very core of the Rule. In their 1242 commentary on the Rule, the learned Four Masters define the poverty of chapter VI and mean something clearly different from what Francis meant in 1223. The word is used too easily in accounts of Franciscan history—especially when referring to Francis and Clare—and needs to be handled more carefully. When we encounter it in an early source, it should be contextualized and defined.

Art plays a strong role in these Franciscan studies. Hugh Hudson tells in great detail the story of a reliquary dyptich now in the National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne), produced by the Franciscan artist Pietro Teutonico. Hudson reads several details (pp. 246-47) as bringing together Christ's birth and the Man-of-Sorrows tradition in art. Mary would have had foreknowledge of her son's sufferings. Claire Renkin concentrates on the purpose of a miniature in a German life of Clare from the late-fifteenth century. The illuminated manuscript contains a few other miniatures, but Renkin looks closely at the one of Clare and St. Mary Magdalen. He muses on the response that the two figures would elicit from a Poor Clare reader.

The final study in the collection tells about the tapestries of the Australian artist Arthur Boyd. In a series of works he has given Francis and Clare a fresh presence in our times. There was much color in the life of Francis and his brothers, some of it in the music of their lives. The Poor Clare Briege O'Hare and her sisters brought that to light when they wondered what was lacking to their prayer and discovered that it was song (p. 341). Their singing and Boyd's colors bring the book to a happy ending.

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DAVID FLOOD, O.F.M.

*The Carmelite Tradition*. By Steven Payne, O.C.D. [Spirituality in History Series] (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011. Pp. xxxiii, 197. \$16.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-814-61912-4; ebook, ISBN 978-0-814-63953-5.)

A pilgrim to the Holy Land in the early-thirteenth century who passed by a small band of hermits meditating on the Law of the Lord on Mount Carmel near the fountain of Elijah could never have predicted what would become of those simple hermits. This book by Steven Payne, a North American Discalced Carmelite friar teaching at Tangaza, a college of the Catholic University of Eastern Africa in Nairobi, would have astonished not only pilgrims but also the hermits. These hermits from Mount Carmel have become two separate orders of mendicant friars, with cloistered nuns, active sisters, and laity affiliated with the Carmelites who lead a formally consecrated life. Modern Carmelites are spread across the globe, and their numbers are growing in developing countries. Among the women and men known as Carmelites are three doctors of the church as well as numerous saints and blessed. Moreover, many other members of the Carmelite family are recognized unofficially for their holiness. In the past the Carmelites were known as one of the principal schools of spirituality along with the Benedictine, Dominican, Franciscan, and Ignatian schools of spirituality. Today, more commonly since the Second Vatican Council, we speak of the Carmelite charism or, as Payne does in this book, the Carmelite Tradition.

Payne prefaces his anthology of Carmelite texts with an insightful but brief overview of the Carmelite tradition (pp. xxi-xxxiii). Readers next learn about the Carmelite Rule that began as a formula of life between 1206 and 1214, approved by Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem. The Albertine formula of life, with slight but significant adjustments, was recognized as a formal rule by Pope Innocent IV in 1247. Payne then introduces his readers to documents that are not well known by those outside the Carmelite Family: *The Flaming Arrow*, a jeremiad by a former prior general who regretted the move to mendicancy, and *The Institution of the First Monks*, a fourteenth-century work of legends that stressed the role of Elijah and Mary to the order and affirmed its contemplative tradition as mystical.

The anthology then takes up such well-known Carmelites as Teresa of Ávila, John of the Cross, Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi, Thérèse of Lisieux, Elizabeth of the Trinity, Titus Brandsma, Edith Stein, and Jessica Powers. Payne does a genuine service for his readers by selections and introductions to lesser-known Carmelites who reveal the great variety of paths in the Carmelite tradition. These are John of St. Samson, Lawrence of the Resurrection, Michael of St. Augustine, Maria Petyt, and the Martyrs of Compiègne.

Each entry has a substantial but brief introduction followed by selections from the Carmelite authors. Notes for these entries occur at the back of the book. There are select bibliographies for each entry. In the entry "Recent



Voices," Payne samples some ways that the Carmelite charism is lived and understood in Christianity's third millennium.

Payne writes clearly; his text moves swiftly; his scholarship is broad, inclusive, and impeccable. The author has made a significant contribution to the dissemination of the wisdom of the Carmelite tradition about ways that one may be called to live the Christian gospels.

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KEITH J. EGAN

*Witch Hunts in the Western World.* By Brian A. Pavlac. [Extraordinary World.] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2010. Pp. xx, 228. \$17.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-803-23290-7.)

General summaries of the history of witch prosecutions in Europe and the Americas have a useful role to play in transmitting some of the latest research to the public at large and weaning people off the sensationalist and inaccurate views to which they are happy to cling and that are still peddled by some of the media and popular press. Unfortunately, Pavlac's book, potentially interesting and informative, is spoiled by his old-fashioned insistence on letting readers know that in his opinion witchcraft was nonsense and witches in effect were innocent victims of sinister or heartless authorities. He does this mainly via his choice of vocabulary: "blaming witches was more *convenient*" (p. 66), "Demonologists *invented* the [Devil's] mark" (p. 72), "[Descartes'] promotion of the *scientific* method" (p. 76), and so forth (emphasis added). Research has long passed the old notion that authorities, especially the Church, fell in with people's supposed eagerness for scapegoats to blame for poor harvests, disease, or similar catastrophes and used intensive prosecutions to further their own authoritarian ends. It may not have been Pavlac's intention to re-create this catchall explanation, but the way he writes leaves the reader with the impression that this is what he means. There also are other blemishes that do not help his narrative. His account of witchcraft in Scotland, for example, is confused and rather a mess; he makes claims that, if pressed, he would find difficult to prove—"De Lancre's opinions inspired a widespread hunt" (p. 97) and "[Del Rio's] detailed explications of the various arguments about witches convinced many of their reality" (p. 158); and he also spends too long (pp. 97–103) on reviewing cases of demonic possession. These, although interesting in themselves, are not witch hunts and take up space that might have been more fruitfully employed in expanding his principal topic. One also questions the title *Witch Hunts*. Wolfgang Behringer has discussed this kind of emotive terminology—persecutions, hunts, panics—and, in effect, suggested that scholars choose their terms more carefully.

Certainly it is true that Pavlac's book has the virtue of covering very wide chronological and geographical ranges and introduces to the survey areas

such as South America and Eastern Europe that often are neglected in general surveys of this kind. On the other hand, when he summarizes witches and witchcraft in his final chapter, he cannot resist pushing the button of appeal to emotional response. Having quite rightly noted that modern research tends to reduce the estimates of individuals executed for witchcraft, he adds that “many more people at the time, though, were affected by the hunts” and that “while these numbers hardly attain the level of a holocaust or a genocide, they nonetheless show how too many people suffered for a crime that did not exist” (p. 189). The references to *holocaust* and *genocide* are superfluous and irrelevant, and one must therefore conclude that they are there as part of Pavlac’s subtext, a subtext that is by now very old-fashioned indeed, not to mention unsubtle. That there is such a subtext seems to be confirmed by his ending the book with an anecdote relating to an incident from 1589, a woman brutally tortured, almost certainly innocent, and burned alive. Why is she included at this particular juncture? Witches were by no means always tortured, many were guilty as charged, and relatively few suffered death by burning. So this example’s inclusion looks like a final emotional appeal rather than anything else. Modern studies of historical witchcraft are a good deal more sensitive than that to the available evidence. So, as a final judgment on Pavlac’s book, one is unfortunately obliged to repeat Muriel Sharp’s Miss Jean Brodie: “For those who like this sort of thing, this is the sort of thing they like.”

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PETER MAXWELL-STUART

*Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic.* Edited by Linda Gregerson and Susan Juster (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. 334. \$59.95. ISBN 978-0-812-24289-8.).

This interdisciplinary collection of essays provides fertile ground for scholarly inquiry on the colonial history of this hemisphere. The twelve chapters and “Final Reflections” offer readers a balanced approach and a wealth of information with which to understand this transatlantic encounter that often involved contradictory objectives—religion and compassion pitted against self-interest and conquest. As the editors point out, European colonization of the New World must be understood in its entire complexity; England’s colonizing efforts perhaps owe more to Spain than previously thought. This approach, using historiography and literary analysis, gives rise to Atlantic studies in an assessment of religious conflict among Europeans, not just violence to native peoples; accusations of cruelty abound while lands inhabited by non-Christian natives were even deemed “empty” or *vacuum domicilium* (Carla Gardina Pestana), thus justifying imperial expansion. The editors wisely arrange essays by topic into three parts: I, Launching Imperial Projects; II, Colonial Accommodations; and III, Violent Encounters. Each essay addresses a common set of questions on the interaction between religion and empire. Legal, literary, and archival documents are all brought to bear concerning

ways in which Europeans sought to establish and maintain their colonies and manage the Christianization of native inhabitants.

In part I Rolena Adorno goes a stage further regarding the well-known debate in Valladolid between the royal chronicler Sepúlveda and the Dominican friar Las Casas, whom she sees primarily as a legal scholar; the *encomenderos* still managed to repeal New Laws he espoused for indigenous rights. Barbara Fuchs considers literary models and the picaresque in captive narratives. Linda Gregerson examines the challenges of the New England Company to bring the Gospel to a people with no tradition of writing.

Part II largely involves missionary efforts and devotional practices both in Catholic and Protestant traditions. Cornelius Conover focuses on St. Philip of Jesus, the Discalced Franciscan martyred in Japan in 1597. Politics and religion intertwine regarding intercessional powers of local patron saints. St. Philip with very human defects begins the tradition of "Creole saints," including the Virgin of Guadalupe and even St. Teresa of Ávila who wrote on the Christianization of these new lands. Father Chaumonot's autobiography exemplifies the struggles of a Jesuit missionary who often lost his native French language. Allan Greer likens his narrative to the picaresque novel, yet with "feminine" compassionate descriptions of native peoples in New France. Karen Bross shows that in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the conversion of native people often confirmed the belief in the second coming of Christ; she studies Henry Jessey's book on conversion, published in 1650, a year seen as a transition to the end of the world. Dominique Deslandres's analysis of the prophetic nature of dreams shows that Huron dream culture could become an obstacle to conversion.

In part III Bethany Wiggin examines German migrants to Pennsylvania and their impact on a nascent abolitionist movement against the African slave trade. Katherin Ibbett presents Marie de l'Incarnation's concept of martyrdom and the interior way; her accounts of violence between missionaries and Iroquois reestablished the importance of sacrifice in a colonial setting. Violence, however, occurs among European colonists themselves. Patrick Erban studies the Mennonite *Martyrs' Mirror*—confiscated in 1776 as a pacifist, and therefore loyalist, book—and community building in Pennsylvania. In this same vein, Susan Juster writes about iconoclasm, a practice firmly entrenched in England (God is to be represented in the Word, not in icons), and challenges notions of religious freedom; John Eliot's Indian Library was destroyed as idolatrous, much the same as the Spanish destruction of Aztec pictographic codices.

Paul Stevens's "Final Reflections" focus on Protestantism in British imperial design. As with Catholic empires, Protestantism cannot fully explain attempts to legitimize possession and conquest. Since God's grace is a gift to the individual mediated by Christ's death, Stevens argues, Protestant imperi-

alists become emboldened, and Edmund Spenser is their "Protestant nationalist." Stevens projects notions on religion and empire into our own century with ideas of the anthropologist Marshall Sahlins. If Thucydides helps us understand Polynesian history today, perhaps imperial expansion could be tempered by Las Casas's concern for human rights.

The wealth of information, range, and depth of investigation in these essays show that concerns of empire, conversion, and spirituality remain problematic well into the twenty-first century. This volume engages and challenges the reader's received assumptions about our colonial past and this transformed New World.

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*The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*. Vol. 6: *The Modern Age*. By Hughes Oliphant Old. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2007. Pp. xxii, 997. \$50.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-802-83139-2.)

In 1998, Hughes Oliphant Old published the first of his projected seven-volume history of preaching, *The Biblical Period*. Subsequent volumes followed: *The Patristic Age*; *The Medieval Church*; *The Age of the Reformation*; *Moderatism, Pietism, and Awakening*; *The Modern Age*; and *Our Own Time*. These volumes are a valuable resource to which students may turn to become acquainted with the church's preaching tradition. They are written in a manner that is not only informative but also invites readers to share the author's deep love of preaching as an act of worship in the church.

The present volume aims to cover the period extending from the French Revolution to the fall of communism (1789–1989). According to Old, the central problem for all preachers in the modern age has been secularization, followed by the challenge of biblical criticism and the opportunities provided by the world missionary movement. To accomplish this task, Old organizes his discussion of preachers according to schools or fellowships within the following chapters: I, Religion Revived in a Secularized Europe; II, German Preaching in the Wake of the Enlightenment; III, The Evangelical Calvinism of New England; IV, The Old School; V, The Victorians; VI, The Great American School; VII, The Beginnings of Black Preaching; VIII, German Preaching in the Mississippi Valley; IX, Scotland in the Nineteenth Century; X, Southern Baptist Preaching; XI, Europe in Crisis; and XII, The War Years in Britain (1914–1960).

As in the previous volumes, Old writes in a manner that demonstrates his impressive knowledge of and profound respect for the wisdom, skill, and devotion of preachers from the Christian past. Homiletic descriptions, or sketches, that vary in length and detail walk the reader through selected sermons that are illuminated by Old's commentary in relation to matters that



are theological, exegetical, pastoral, liturgical, and cultural in nature. In addition, Old's commentary often reaches back to previous figures, schools, or movements in the history of preaching to note similarities in style, interpretation, content, and purpose. The benefit of this kind of interpretative discussion is significant in that it helps the reader to identify recurring homiletic patterns and habits and encourages the cultivation of a sense of the logic or grammar of Christian preaching across time.

It is difficult to criticize a book that contains so much valuable information and insight on preaching. However, the sections on twentieth-century preaching might have been framed by a discussion of theology, mission, and preaching in light of the ecumenical vision articulated at the 1910 Edinburgh Conference and the subsequent movement for Christian unity. This larger perspective could have provided balance to the overall discussion that often reveals Old's clear preference for expository preaching in the Reformed tradition, especially as exemplified by John Calvin.

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MICHAEL PASQUARELLO

*Transatlantic Fascism: Ideology, Violence and the Sacred in Argentina and Italy, 1919-1945.* By Federico Finchelstein. (Durham: Duke University Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 330. \$89.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-822-34594-7. \$24.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-822-34612-8.)

Federico Finchelstein is an outstanding historian who has been working on Argentina's version of fascism for several years. The very question of the existence of a non-European fascism has been debated for a long time from a wide variety of perspectives, and there is no definitive consensus on the issue. Yet for most scholars, fascism is a European phenomenon that has inspired in its epoch politicians, intellectuals, and ideologues outside Europe. The fascist revolution and the introduction of a third way between liberalism and communism affected nationalist movements worldwide. In some societies, the appearance of such third-way movements was a curious phenomenon without political consequences. In other societies—Argentina is a case in point—the debate on the fascist inspiration of nationalism had become a central feature of the debate on its own national identity. Indeed, the importance of Finchelstein's book is in the fact that it touches the nerves of Argentinean national identity and its most important political expression, Peronism.

In *Transatlantic Fascism* Finchelstein deals with the pre-Peronist era and looks into its ideological roots. He advances a very interesting, compelling claim: "Generally speaking, historians of Argentina find themselves in a position of 'inferiority' with respect to their Argentine fascist sources. Argentine fascists knew more about European fascisms than their historians currently do" (p. 11). Argentinean fascist intellectuals were well acquainted with the

fascist political and ideological phenomenon. They understood its theoretical sources, its composition as a synthesis of integral nationalism and left revolutionary syndicalism, and its revolutionary potential. This understanding is much more substantial and determinant than Benito Mussolini's own claim that fascism as a radical form of nationalism is not for export.

For Italian fascists such as Franco De Felice, Argentina became a civilized nation after Italian immigration (p. 88). In this sense Argentina was a repository of Italian blood (p. 164).

However, as Finchelstein correctly claims, the transnational features of fascism were ideological, not ethnic. Finchelstein understands what few other historians grasped, that Argentinean fascists or antiliberal nationalists understood the transnational character of fascism. However, at the same time, Argentinean fascists understood that under the revolutionary spirit of fascism different political expressions could rise up. Very few Argentinean national fascists considered themselves as members of a fascist international political movement as worldwide communist members of the Third International did. However, the spirit of fascism is totally present. It is a universal spirit that sets the third road between liberalism and communism.

Finchelstein highlights that both fascism and antisemitism are transnational formations and puts especial emphasis on what can be defined as a core fascist unconscious. The role of violence as a purification act rooted in Georges Sorel's *Reflections on Violence* (London, 1908) was totally adopted by Argentina's fascists. This is indeed the spirit of fascism, which should be contrasted with the organizational realm of the communist Third International.

In sum, Finchelstein underscores the fascist self-understanding and its conceptions of the sacred. The idea of the transnational phenomenon challenges most historians' claims regarding the European character of fascism.

This had a clear political connotation regarding Peronism. Was Peronism a "nationalized" type of fascism? Could Peronism be included inside the fascist ideal type? As noted, this is a question that touches Argentina's national identity. In Finchelstein's account, Peronism was influenced by fascism. It was an authoritarian movement that represented the "third way," as fascism did. To a certain extent Argentinean antiliberal nationalists reformulated fascism until it was unrecognizable (p. 165). We might conclude that this reformulation of fascism was nothing original. Most fascists in Europe and abroad reformulated fascism to meet their particular cultural backgrounds. Different from communism, however, Italian fascism hardly had an ideological police.

*Confessing History: Explorations in Christian Faith and the Historian's Vocation.* Edited by John Fea, Jay Green, and Eric Miller. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 354. \$35.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02903-6.)

This book is composed of a preface, an introduction, fourteen essays, and an afterword by Wilfred M. McClay, which introduces, almost for the only time in this book, the thought of Christopher Dawson (not particularly well treated). The authors are affiliated with a broad spectrum of mostly Christian academic institutions, with a special presence of Reformed Christians. The topics addressed and tone taken range from the homiletic to the nicely delimited, but all speak to the vocation of the Christian historian. Space allows for individual mention of only a few of the articles, but there is much that is useful in the essays of Mark R. Schwehn, Una M. Cadegan, Thomas Albert Howard, William Katerberg, Michael Kugler, Bradley J. Gundlach, John Fea, Jay Green, Robert Tracy McKenzie, and Douglas A. Sweeny. Most of the authors undertook their PhD work in the 1990s, and this book evidences a sea change in the profession in the matter of religion, which, according to a recent American Historical Association survey, has become the most-named field of study by historians asked to identify their specialties. The editors of the present book are associated with the Conference on Faith and History and the journal *Fides et Historia*.

The introduction declares: "this book . . . joins a long tradition of writings in which Christian scholars have . . . sought to probe and articulate the ways in which life on earth might be playing out beneath the eye and at the hand of the God of Christian faith" (p. 2). This central project of the book seems to be unclearly treated at times; essays like that of Gundlach need to pay further attention to their exposition of "providentialist history" (p. 163), but James B. LaGrand, in siding with St. Augustine, seems to have it exactly right. The wise comments of George Marsden, disavowing any claim to chart the particular ways of God, are invoked, though not all agree. The essay of Christopher Shannon, which should be read by every Christian historian, seems not to draw necessary distinctions in its discussion of historical causation.

If the Christian historian has no "method" by which to pin providence down, what can be Christian about his or her work? The essay by Beth Barton Schweiger gets closest to the heart of the matter—the Christian, historian or not, replaces the categories of the world by the truths revealed in the Incarnation, above all the revelation that charity rather than power is at the heart of what is real. That said, it would have been preferable if she and Lendol Calder had worked out their ontological insight—God is love and what is love in the world is most real—into specifying what history under this heading looks like. Contributors to the volume such as Howard make good use of Catholic thinkers such as Josef Pieper, but as a group they seem unaware of the resources in especially *ressourcement* and *communio* Catholic thought for the questions they address.

William Katerberg's idea that the historian should engage in "useful scholarship" (p. 107)—that is, scholarship useful to a tradition—is very provocative. Shannon provides the most radical position in the book, holding that it is not just that secular historical scholarship is incomplete because it leaves Christianity out, but that it is deeply wounded, and for a Christian historian to accept it is tantamount to participation in "the legitimation of the modern secular world" (p. 12). McClay, on the other hand, although holding for a chastened view of progress (he thinks the idea is necessary as the only possible ordering principle, and although speaking of the unpredictability of history, does not mention Hans Urs von Balthasar's alternative idea that history is dramatic in form), still affirms that human agency and the ability "to master the material terms of our existence" (p. 318) have expanded in our times. It is a far from unassailable assertion.

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GLENN W. OLSEN

### Ancient

*Alienation: The Experience of the Eastern Mediterranean (50–600 A.D.).*

By Antigone Samellas. (Bern: Peter Lang. 2010. Pp. x, 556. \$110.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-039-11789-5.)

This monograph is a recognizable sequel to Antigone Salmellas's first book, *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean (50–600 AD): The Christianization of the East—An Interpretation* (Tübingen, 2002). Both are discursive readings of the changed *mentalité* of the later Roman Empire that can be ascribed to the effects of Christianization. Social and psychological alienation, understood in a very broad sense, provides the subject matter that links the first three chapters of the new book. The first, on life as theater, argues that whereas much "pagan" classical conduct rested on the adoption and acting out of *personae* on life's stage, a fully internalized Christian set of values required alienation from secular activity and an emptying of personality. By discarding the masks that made an individual visible and effective in society, the inner person was revealed to God's judgment. The second chapter on the growth of asceticism deals with alienation in its most recognizable form—the retreat of the individual from communal society and the family, already apparent in some philosophical movements, which took extreme forms in the desocialization of Christian hermits and other ascetics and could lead to a level of social estrangement that was the virtual equivalent of death. The third chapter discusses changing attitudes to mental illness and healing in later antiquity, tracing a line from initial stigmatization to a Christian recognition that the symptoms of apparent madness often were to be understood as revealing the character of the inner person. These three essays in social psychology draw on a rich tradition of late-classical philosophical and patristic literature, but one ancient writer provides a welcome linking thread through all of them—St. John Chrysostom, whose sermons on the theater at Antioch



and on the renunciation of earthly pleasures and comforts in favor of the solace of the desert echo through chapters 1 and 2, and whose homiletic letter to the afflicted monk Stageirios is a key reference for chapter 3.

The second half of the book moves away from the single theme of alienation to offer a reading of the intellectual and political transformations that followed from the conversion of the later Roman Empire and the internalization of Christian values by Roman society. Chapter 4 suggests that bishops and other Christian leaders of the Christian Church attempted to replace classical utopias with the actualized charitable institutions of the Church, an aim that was inhibited by their need to act in harmony with, and indeed to reinforce, the authoritarian and hierarchized structures of the Roman Empire. Chapter 5, a thought-provoking study of imperialism and Christianity, charts the transformation of Christianity from initial marginality to become a force that reinforced and transformed Roman imperial power. By detaching itself from Judaism, Christianity avoided the destructive consequences of direct political opposition to Rome and was unthreatened by the decadence of Greek institutions through offering an explicit alternative to Hellenic culture. Thus by the end of the later empire, Christian orthodoxy could claim to occupy the cultural and religious territory of both Greeks and Jews, as it provided reinforcement to Roman political power. Chapter 6 explores the paradox that the extreme punishments inflicted on Christian martyrs, which were central to the self-definition of the faith, but nevertheless were adopted as models for their own understanding of proper punishment both in the context of divine and secular justice. Chapter 7, loosely attached to the rest of the book, examines the question of the psychological importance to individuals of reading scripture.

This book is long and learned, and its loose structure makes it anything but an easy read. However, the writer has an impressive command of the patristic literature and a productively catholic approach to modern scholarship ranging from social psychology to Greek epigraphy. She does not make the case that alienation is *the* experience that provides the key to understanding late antiquity, but has provided much challenging historical material to ponder.

*University of Exeter*

STEPHEN MITCHELL

*The Old Testament in Byzantium.* Edited by Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson. [Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia.] (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Distrib. Harvard University Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 333. \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-884-02348-7.)

In December 2006, while Dumbarton Oaks was undergoing major renovation, the Byzantine Studies department hosted a symposium on the Bible

in Byzantium in the Freer Gallery of Art to coincide with an exhibition on early Bibles. The present volume includes a selection of the papers presented on that occasion.

In the introduction the editors raise three questions: how did Byzantines, Jews, and Christians "encounter" the text; how did the Christians "use" the text; and how typical was the Byzantine reaction when compared with that of contemporary cultures. Subsequent chapters point to the importance of the *prophetologia* (books of liturgical readings); James Miller examines the real channels by which most people came to know the Old Testament in auditory fashion, and Georgi Parpulov analyzes the psalters written mainly for the plety of the wealthy. John Lowden presents a more specialized case in the elaborately decorated Octateuch manuscripts, which only very wealthy patrons could afford and probably formed a tiny trickle as far as dissemination of the text was concerned. Two chapters tackle the subject from a historiographical perspective: Elizabeth Jeffreys's discussion of how the Old Testament account influenced Byzantine chronicles, and Claudia Rapp's text on how it provided models for emperors in the early period. Clearly, as Derek Krueger discusses, the scripture text was a dominant presence in Byzantine monasticism, but, as Robert Ousterhout points out, it can hardly be said to have had any practical impact on Byzantine architecture. Two final chapters reach beyond the borders of the Empire—Ivan Biliarsky presents the evidence for the impact of Old Testament models on medieval Bulgaria, and Jane Dammen McAuliffe examines their effect on the Qur'ān.

The handsome volume is well up to Dumbarton Oaks standards, with only a few errata noted (p. 12n44, *vant* in place of *vent*; p. 233, perhaps "at" has misplaced "as" on the penultimate line; p. 255n1, misspelling of *Complutense*). All eleven chapters are the work of specialists, some renowned for their previous publications and clearly of the highest quality. All repay careful study, and all provide new insights. Yet so much remains to be done. Lowden (pp. 110n15, 131) and Jeffreys (p. 170n67) only briefly refer to the major question faced by students of the Old Testament in Byzantium—what texts of the Septuagint were commonly available? Certainly not that published in the twentieth century by Alfred Rahlfs, nor indeed that of the Göttingen editions. These attempt to reproduce the earliest text, but presumably it is the "Byzantine" tradition that one should consult, although it has been shown that a late Byzantine exegete, like the monk Malachias, was using a Lucianic text.<sup>1</sup> In second place, so much remains to be said about the questions that ordinary laypeople, not just clerics, were asking about Old Testament texts—questions preserved in the many "Questions and Answers," *erotapokriseis* (such as those of St. Anastasios of Sinai), and the

<sup>1</sup> R. Rusto Saliz, "The Biblical Text of Malachias Monachus' to the Book of Wisdom," ed. N. Fernández Marcos, *La Septuaginta en la Investigación Contemporánea* (V Congreso de la R.W.S.) (Madrid, 1985), pp. 257–69.

*catenae* with which the Byzantines demonstrated their immense interest in the “divine” text.

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JOSEPH A. MUNITZ, S.J.

*Reading Patristic Texts on Social Ethics: Issues and Challenges for Twenty-First-Century Christian Social Thought.* Edited by Johan Leemans, Brian J. Matz, and Johan Verstraeten. [CUA Studies in Early Christianity.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011. Pp. xviii, 272. \$34.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21959-5.)

The eleven papers in this volume originate from a seminar organized by the Centre for Catholic Social Thought of the Catholic University of Leuven in 2007. They are arranged under four headings: “Approaching Patristic Socio-Ethical Texts,” “Contexts for Patristic Socio-Ethical Texts,” “Issues in Patristic and Catholic Social Thought,” and “Reflections on the Theme.” In part 1, Reimund Bieringer undertakes a quick survey of modern hermeneutical theories, highlighting Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur, to justify a reading of patristic texts that is future-oriented rather than centered on the world of the text. By contrast, Pauline Allen offers a more conventional overview of patristic writings on social ethics, emphasizing the challenges involved for contemporary theology in making constructive use of patristic writings that support property, slavery, and class distinctions, but at the same time highlighting the limited engagement with patristic thought to be found in official Catholic social teaching documents.

In part 2, Peter Van Nuffelen discusses the encounter between classical and Christian attitudes to care for the poor, with reference to writers of the fourth to sixth centuries. He affirms the “transformative impact” of Christian *caritas* on ancient society, but argues that *caritas* was itself transformed by its encounter with the Greco-Roman tradition of *liberalitas* as a public virtue. Helen Rhee surveys pre-Constantinian eschatology for evidence of God’s judgment on the wealthy and the eschatological benefits of almsgiving. Wendy Mayer focuses on St. John Chrysostom, arguing that his strictures against the wealthy were directed at outsiders as well as his immediate audience, so that his vision for Christian social ethics was evangelistic.

In part 3, Susan R. Holman discusses Cappadocian ideas about the common good, identifying St. Basil of Caesarea’s use of an Aristotelian source and outlining the Cappadocians’ doctrine of a common human nature. Brenda Llewellyn Ihssen surveys usury in patristic texts that decry its effects on society and on the spiritual health of the individual. Brian Matz discusses Basil of Caesarea’s teaching on spiritual detachment from wealth in the wider context of ancient and early Christian thought on private property and its use. Both Ihssen and Matz identify specific points of comparison and contrast between

patristic and recent Catholic social teaching, especially with regard to social and economic doctrines. Finally, Thomas Hughson discusses the contemporary significance of the appeal to Constantine to practice justice in Lactantius's *Divine Institutes*.

Part 4 contains two reflections—one by Richard Schenk, and one by Johan Leemans and Johan Verstraeten. Both are negative about the outcome of the seminar and about the prospects for a genuine dialogue between patristic and Catholic social thought (this impression is somewhat mitigated by the description of the two papers in the introduction). Schenk seems doubtful of finding much to applaud in patristic social teaching and is impatient with the findings of the historical papers; Leemans and Verstraeten are equally frustrated by the lack of encounter between the study of patristic texts and underlying theological issues. Such negativity seems to underestimate the theologically constructive character of the papers on patristic contexts and themes. Perhaps it betrays a systematicians' fear of the genuine differences between patristic and modern Catholic social thought—differences that exist whether one stresses the more radical features of the Fathers' teaching on property and renunciation or their social conservatism on issues such as slavery. The real question at issue thus seems to be not whether patristic texts can somehow be made relevant to today (as the editors and contributors suppose) but whether or not modern Catholic social thought can come to terms with the historical diversity of the Christian tradition.

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GRAHAM GOULD

*The Targum of Lamentations.* Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes by Philip S. Alexander. [The Aramaic Bible, Vol. 17B.] (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 224. \$99.95. ISBN 978-0-814-65864-2.)

Targum Lamentations contains fewer than 2900 words across five chapters. Despite this brevity, Philip Alexander's thoughtful and thorough study begins with 100 pages of introduction followed by 100 pages of translation and commentary. The volume's centerpiece is, of course, the translation, on which the commentary and the introduction depend, and it accurately reflects the Aramaic's meaning with a high degree of precision. Alexander has an ear not only for the Aramaic's meaning but also for conveying that meaning in an English style that is literal while remaining clear and expressive. When nuances cannot be captured in the English, they appear in the notes.

Alexander translates Targum Lamentations' Western recension, which provided the foundation for the later Yemenite recension, as recent scholarship has demonstrated. Unfortunately, he translates the unpublished manuscript Hébr. 110 of Paris' Bibliothèque Nationale. The best available Western text to use with Alexander's translation is Urbinus Hebr. 1 from the Vatican Library,



which appears in Christian Brady's *The Rabbinic Targum of Lamentations* (Leiden, 2003), alongside Brady's own translation. Sperber's readily available text (in volume 4a of *The Bible in Aramaic* [Leiden, 1968]) should be avoided, since it constitutes an idiosyncratic combination of a Yemenite manuscript with selections from Bomberg's second Rabbinic Bible.

The commentary constitutes a model of the tradition-history approach to the analysis of Jewish texts and takes up most of the book's second half. Beginning with close attention to the lexical meaning of each word, Alexander then considers the interpretation conveyed through inner-scriptural exegesis (both in the Hebrew text and other Targums), which conveys nuances and connections of the Targum with the Hebrew Bible. Beyond that, Alexander's remarks range across comparisons with rabbinic literature; the Dead Sea Scrolls; other ancient translations such as the Septuagint, Peshitta, and Vulgate; as well as medieval Jewish writers such as Saadya Gaon. Comparison with the rabbinic midrash *Lamentations Rabbah* rightly receives most attention.

The volume's critical introduction fulfills the same purpose as it does in the other Aramaic Bible volumes. But rather than slavishly reiterate previous scholarship, Alexander pushes the envelope, bringing in not only the best of the past but also putting together well-argued and solidly founded new proposals. Although he readily addresses textual, dating, and linguistic matters, Alexander's primary interests stand out in the explorations of the theological, liturgical, and literary character and context of Targum *Lamentations*; he believes, along with Brady, that it was composed as a single, unified work. The key theme that runs throughout these topics is that of the comparison between Targum *Lamentations* and *Lamentations Rabbah*. With regard to theology, Alexander finds the Targum emphasizes the destruction's impact on the Temple and the priesthood, which leads to a focus on messianic expectations, whereas *Lamentations Rabbah* features God's pathos over his treatment of Israel—a notion missing from the Targum. When Alexander studies the Targum in light of other translations, he finds links only in Saadya's *Tafsir*. Comparing the Targum's interpretations to those found in rabbinic, Christian, medieval and other Jewish writings, he finds that *Lamentations Rabbah* has by far the most overlap, yet he also sees that the difference between the two works rules out any clear dependence of one on the other. Given this situation, Alexander argues that the two works were composed in the same time period, speaking to the same issues but giving different responses. This supports Alexander's dating of Targum *Lamentations*, in which he interprets the reference to Rome and Constantinople at 4:21–22 as indicating composition in the fourth or fifth century.

When Alexander broadens the analysis of primary sources to address Targum *Lamentations*' role in Jewish liturgy, he provides an exciting reading of the social dynamics of the late rabbinic period. He sees Targum

Lamentations as a rabbinic composition that aims to wrest liturgical mourning over the Temple's destruction away from (priestly?) groups like the "Mourners of Zion" and place it within the confines of rabbinic Judaism's increasing influence on Jewish worship.

This Targum, like many of the Writings Targums, mixes features from several Jewish Aramaic dialects and Hebrew. Alexander fails to see this as evidence of the dialect of Late Jewish Literary Aramaic, which, as described by Edward Cook and Stephen Kaufman, combines several Jewish Aramaic dialects with Syriac, Aramaic archaisms, and Hebrew. Instead, he imagines an elaborate, four-step history of textual rewritings to account for the mixture. The test of Occam's Razor seems to preclude Alexander's explanation. Apart from this minor matter, Alexander's translation and explanatory volume on Targum Lamentations constitutes an important work—one of the best volumes in the Aramaic Bible series—and belongs in any undergraduate or graduate library where the early history of the Bible is studied.

University of Wyoming

PAUL V. M. FLESHER

*Riot in Alexandria: Tradition and Group Dynamics in Late Antique Pagan and Christian Communities.* By Edward J. Watts. [The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 46.] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010. Pp. xvi, 290. \$55.00. ISBN 978-0-520-26207-2.)

Edward Watts has written a wide-ranging, thoughtful, and stimulating exploration of what can be learned from a single episode that occurred in Alexandria in the late-fifth century (probably in spring 486). The illuminating episode in question is known only because Zacharias of Mitylene included it in his account of the career of Paralius of Aphrodisias in Caria, which forms approximately the first third of his *Life of Severus* (CPG 6995). Unfortunately, Zacharias's *Life of Severus* has survived only in a Syriac translation—this was edited together with a French translation by Marc-Antoine Kugener in *Patrologia orientalis*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1903); was reprinted as the separate volume *Sévère, patriarche d'Antioche, 512-518* (Turnhout, 1993); and was translated into English by Lena Ambjörn (Piscataway, NJ, 2008). Watts has used both Kugener's text and Ambjörn's translation critically, stating at the outset that "in places they have been amended for clarity" (p. 1n1). He rounds off his book with an appendix answering Alan Cameron's argument that the *Life of Severus* is fundamentally unreliable. Watts observes, quite correctly, that from a literary point of view Zacharias's account of Paralius should be considered as "a self-contained work that has rhetorical concerns and a thematic structure distinct from the *Life of Severus*" (pp. 265-68). But Cameron also argues that Zacharias includes invented material supplied to him by Paralius and that Paralius himself is a dubious witness. Hence, it is not clear whether Paralius's story about his beating in Alexandria can justifiably be taken *au pied de la lettre*, as Watts appears to do.

Watts begins with a twenty-page analysis of how Christian students in Alexandria transformed the beating of Paralius into "a religious persecution launched by a hostile pagan intellectual establishment" (p. 11). Paralius, whom Watts describes "an obnoxious teenager" (p. 11), had been beaten by other students whose revered teachers he had denounced in offensive and insulting language. The remainder of the book is divided into three parts: "Historical Discourse in Intellectual Communities," "The Past Within and Outside Late Antique Monasteries," and "Defining the Alexandrian Bishop." For the most part, Watts is accurate in his reporting of ancient evidence and shows good sense when interpreting it. However, he sometimes downplays the political background of ecclesiastical events, thus unwittingly diminishing the impact of the emperor or agents of the imperial government on them. For example, Watts correctly notes that Cyril had been groomed to succeed Theophilus, his uncle, as bishop of Alexandria, but he states that "instead of assuming power peacefully, Cyril was forced to battle a rival for the patriarchal throne" (pp. 207–08). For this assertion he cites Christopher Haas, who alleges that Cyril's appointment was opposed by the commander of imperial forces in Egypt. Haas relied on A. C. Zenos's translation of a precritical text of Socrates. In the only critical edition of Socrates that uses all the relevant textual evidence, G. C. Hansen correctly follows the ancient Armenian translation, which names Cyril, not his rival, as the candidate supported by the military commander Abundantius. What Socrates says, therefore, is that when conflict broke out because there were two candidates, Abundantius supported Cyril. Again, although Watts notes that Proterius was in effect an imperial appointee when he replaced Dioscorus at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, his discussion of his murder in 457 makes no mention of the death of the emperor Marcian on January 27, 457, even though it was the news of his imperial patron's decease that encouraged his enemies to consecrate Timothy Aelurus as a rival bishop of Alexandria in opposition to Proterius and thus set in motion a series of events that ended with his violent death.

Fortunately, however, Watts, on the whole, avoids the mistake of trying to analyze religious controversies in the Roman Empire after Constantine without constant reference to the emperors who created the legal and political framework in which ecclesiastical affairs were conducted.

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T. D. BARNES

*The Mythological Traditions of Liturgical Drama: The Eucharist as Theater.*

By Christine C. Schnusenberg. (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press. 2010. Pp. xx, 359. \$44.95. ISBN 978-0-809-10544-1.)

In this ambitious study, the author seeks to account for the evolution of early Christian liturgy in the light of the mythological and dramatic traditions of ancient cultures. Drawing heavily on the work of Mircea Eliade and Paul Ricoeur, Schnusenberg elaborates the significance of the claim "[i]n the

beginning there was theater" (p. 273) on two levels: the historical and the interpretative. All ancient cultures, she argues, have their cosmogonic myths; at the heart of the rituals, festivals, and practices of their theaters lies the endeavor to represent and mimetically re-enact these creation stories. In a series of learned chapters, she traces wide-ranging examples in the theaters of Egypt and Babylon, Hittite cult-drama and festival, the theater of Canaan-Ugarit, the cosmogony of ancient Israel, and the dramas of ancient Syria. At an analytical level, the pervasiveness of the theme of creativity in dramatic performance across these civilizations points to a fundamental reality—cosmogony itself is inherently an act of staging; the creation of a world by divine agency of one sort of another is, irreducibly, a theatrical business, the primordial presentation of that which is. The dramatic impulse, made manifest in literally endless expressions of human creative activity, is intrinsic to human culture precisely insofar as the cosmos itself is constituted in a piece of drama *par excellence*.

For Schnusenberg, this insight demands a rethinking of the context of early Christian attitudes to the theater. Contrary to some (alarmingly enduring) Western assumptions, theater was not invented by the Greeks and the Romans, for the emergence of an "official" dramatic setting, the theater of the Greek tragedians and their heirs, amounted only to a development upon a long established instinct: a capacity now to reflect dramatically on the power of theater to be reflective. When the first Christians started to make their startling claims about the significance of Jesus, they did so in a world in which the supremacy of Rome was supposed (by its architects, at least) to represent the ultimate expression of the triumph embedded in Rome's founding myths, and Roman theater—games, rituals, and plays—typified the creative expression of that fact. Early devotion to Jesus—the depiction and imitation of his moral character and the celebration of his redemptive actions centrally in the ritual of the Eucharist—was, in a real sense, just another creative act of theater.

It was, of course, a bold one, for in the nascent contention that the Christ-event was the incarnation of the one true God, the original creator of all things, the *mimesis* practiced by his followers professed universal pertinence. The corporate life and practices of Christ's followers constituted drama like no other, for in the liturgy of the Eucharist, a performance that absorbed but crucially reshaped both Jewish and Roman practices, the early church saw itself as engaging in representative actions of a definitive order: participating in the ultimate theater of the creator God. It is this that explains the vehemence of early Christianity's lengthy story of opposition to the Roman or secular theater (a subject explored more fully by Schnusenberg in earlier work). Christian leaders were against the world's theater not so much because it was theater, but because it was, for them, the *wrong* theater.

As an exercise in comparative religion, Schnusenberg's work demonstrates exceptional learning in a very large range of literature; her argument



contains many astute observations and is presented with admirable clarity. The foundational assumption about the general cultural significance of cosmogonic drama, although overstated at points, is essentially sound, as certainly is the quest to discern the performative aspects of early Christian piety and the self-consciously competitive missionary strategies by which it was disseminated.

Where the study falls down is in its failure to take nearly seriously enough the radical nature of early Christian drama. Although Schnusenberg rightly sees that the story of Jesus is embedded in the story of Israel's history with its God, she fails to see how Israel's narrative of divine identity-in-action was itself highly unusual in the ancient world and how, in its continuation and enlargement of the claims of Israelite faith, early Christianity resists straightforward classification as specimen of a more generic religious phenomenon. For all the parallels and debts that may undoubtedly be traced across traditions, it is necessary to do justice to the sharp edges of the Christian *mythos*: its subversive hero, its distinctive gospels, its political scandalousness in the Roman world, its summons to participation of a specific order—the discipleship not of re-enactment as such, but of entry into the benefits of ongoing relation with one whose achievement was transformative of all things and strictly unable to be replaced. Viewed according to the logic of creation-redemption bequeathed by Israel, Christianity's moral and liturgical drama inevitably conflicted with other ways of doing theater. Reduced to an expression (albeit a striking one) of something more general in antiquity, the particularity of the collision remains in danger of being missed.

The book is well presented and contains very extensive bibliographies. It would have benefited significantly from an index or two.

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IVOR J. DAVIDSON

### Medieval

*Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis.* By D. L. d'Avray. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 198. \$85.00 cloth-bound, ISBN 978-0-521-76707-1; \$29.99 paperback, ISBN 978-0-521-18682-7.)

*Rationalities in History: A Weberian Essay in Comparison.* By D. L. d'Avray. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 214. \$85.00 cloth-bound, ISBN 978-0-521-19920-0; \$29.99 paperback, ISBN 978-0-521-12808-7.)

In *Collected Essays on the Sociology of Religion* (Tübingen, 1920–21) and *Economy and Society* (Tübingen, 1925), Max Weber developed a taxonomy that distinguished four types of rationality. In the pair of studies under review, D. L. d'Avray argues that Weber's four rationalities (instru-

mental, value, formal, and substantive) might be fruitfully applied to the study of history. The two volumes are closely related and best understood as parts of a single argument. In *Rationalities in History*, the more theoretical of the two volumes, d'Avray reviews the Weberian framework and suggests the rewards of using it to interpret diverse historical evidence. In *Medieval Religious Rationalities*, he applies Weber's schema to case studies from the European Middle Ages. In both volumes, the author rejects readings of Weber that describe the rise of rationality as a defining feature of modernity. D'Avray argues convincingly that to accept such readings is to misunderstand both Weber and the premodern world. Gratian's *Decretum*, for example, serves as a compelling example of the operation of formal rationality in the medieval period. The Weberian approach has benefits aside from allowing us to cultivate a subtler understanding of the differences between the modern world and the Middle Ages. The diverse examples adduced in *Rationalities in History* (Azande witch oracles, Hume's essay on miracles, and Buddhist asceticism, to name a few) dramatize the appealing prospect that Weber's model can foster broadly comparative approaches to the study of religion and history.

D'Avray is especially interested in the interface of different rationalities. In *Rationalities in History*, the Congregation of the Council, a body formed to interpret the decisions of the Council of Trent, serves as an example of how value rationalities informed formal legal rationalities. In *Medieval Religious Rationalities*, the interplay of rules and exceptions to rules in canon law illustrates the interface of Weber's types. In a particularly learned and engaging discussion, d'Avray shows how papal dispensations for marriages within prohibited degrees of consanguinity reflect a symbiosis of formal and substantive rationalities.

D'Avray is to be applauded for his range of reference and his eagerness to confront thorny questions about the relation between history and other social sciences rather than indulging in the opportunistic cross-disciplinary borrowing that too often characterizes the boundaries among history, sociology, and anthropology. The works under review are richly thought provoking, but not entirely convincing at every point. The decision to pursue the argument in two volumes is puzzling. Organizing the material in a single volume would have allowed the author to knit the empirical evidence more tightly to the broader theoretical agenda. One also might hope for a more decisive report of what we gain from looking at the past in this way. D'Avray shows that Weber's scheme might be coherently applied to historical evidence, but it is not always clear what benefits are derived from such applications. One could, for example, read with keen appreciation d'Avray's insightful account of how medieval religious convictions were parts of interlocking, mutually reinforcing belief systems without believing that recourse to Weberian models is absolutely necessary. D'Avray's overarching claim that Weber can help us hone a more precise analytical vocabulary for describing

the choices, preferences, and values of people in societies unlike our own should inspire lively discussion among medievalists, historians in general, and students of religion.

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JEFFREY BOWMAN

*Signs of Devotion: The Cult of St. Æthelthryth in Medieval England, 695-1615.* By Virginia Blanton. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2007. Pp. xviii, 349. \$65.00. ISBN 978-0-271-02984-9.)

Virginia Blanton's lucid examination of the cult of St. Æthelthryth (d. 679), founder and first abbess of the abbey of Ely (also known as Ætheldreda and Audrey/Audrée), is valuable partly in its uniqueness. It is the first study of an Anglo-Saxon saint to trace its meanings across the early-medieval to early-modern periods. This multidisciplinary study draws on an impressive range of sources, including all the extant lives of Æthelthryth (of which over twenty-five versions survive, written in Latin, Old English, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English), as well as visual representations of her figure and life in various media. The book is well illustrated. An appendix provides a useful list of more than 150 images of the saint, some no longer extant, as well as a list of dedications. Documentary evidence of both clerical and lay responses to the cult also are examined. Overall, the book achieves its stated aim of demonstrating "how one national figure provides a central point of investigation among the cultic practices of several disparate groups over an extended period of time—religious and lay, aristocratic and common, male and female, literate and nonliterate" (p. 5). In common with other similar studies Blanton stresses the malleable and multivalent nature of the cult and divides her analysis into five chapters. These focus on its manifestation in specific chronological contexts, thus illuminating the responses of different groups of devotees.

The first chapter considers the Venerable Bede's account of Æthelthryth and explores the importance of his depiction of her miraculously healed tumor scar as a sign of her inviolate virginity. Blanton argues that this episode is a crucial part of Bede's purpose in narrating England's history as a Christian community. Chapter 2 focuses on the late-tenth-century cult and central to the discussion here is the refoundation of Ely, in 970, as a house solely for monks. Blanton demonstrates that Æthelthryth's virginity and power made her an appropriate means of advertising and promoting the authority of monasticism and clerical chastity.

Chapter 3 examines Æthelthryth's status as the patron and protector of the abbey of Ely after the Norman Conquest up until the early-thirteenth century. Blanton shows that the miracle stories recorded by the *Liber*

*Ellensis* portray the saint's virginal body as a symbol of the monastic community, and any attempt to abuse the abbey or its resources was therefore represented within these as an attempted rape. The chief source for the fourth chapter is the late-twelfth/early-thirteenth-century *La Vie Seinte Audrée*, authored by a woman. This version of Æthelthryth's life embellishes the existing narrative, including more material on the saint's experience as a married woman, and Blanton argues that this was deliberately intended to render her a figure with whom aristocratic lay female readers could identify. The final chapter continues the investigation of lay responses to Æthelthryth by reading later medieval vernacular lives in concert with her frequent representation in parish churches. This provides Blanton with a means of gauging the value that the laity evidently found in her life and cult. Overall, Blanton's approach allows her to reveal the array of different meanings and uses that such a popular saint could embody, and establishes the nature of Æthelthryth's appeal to many different groups.

This rich study makes a compelling case for the importance of understanding an individual saint's cult as a means of inferring how medieval men and women made sense of their lives and experiences. It is to be hoped that it will inspire other scholars to subject other saints to similarly sensitive and insightful scrutiny.

*University of Huddersfield*

KATHERINE J. LEWIS

*The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Early Medieval World.* By Michelle P. Brown. (London: The British Library. Distrib. University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. vi, 184. \$45.00. ISBN 978-0-712-35801-9.)

With the exception of a short section that incorporates some new research on relations (traders and pilgrims) between the British Isles and both the Near and Far East (pp. 44–45) during the seventh and eighth centuries, in terms of its analysis of and conclusions about the Lindisfarne Gospels, there is little here that cannot also be found in Michelle Brown's *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (Toronto, 2003). The chapter titles here are slightly different, but the material covered is essentially the same: the time, place, and culture in which the book was created; the book's biography: its makers, annotators, and owners from the time of its creation in the late-seventh or early-eighth century to the present; its late-seventh/early-eighth-century Latin text and its tenth-century Old English gloss (Northumbrian dialect); its paleography, orthography, and textual conventions; its art and ornament; its styles, techniques, and principles of design; its place within and its relationship to other forms of art within the Insular tradition; its codicology, both sacred and procedural; and its meaning as an embodiment of the Word of God in connection with the cult of St. Cuthbert in post-Whitby Northumbria.



What distinguishes this work from Brown's earlier study is its presentation, which covers all of the above subjects in 300 fewer pages than the earlier work. Here, however, less is actually more, in two ways.

First, this book is lavishly illustrated, with not only full-page color reproductions of all of the essential pages from the Lindisfarne Gospels and several similar pages from contemporary manuscripts and books but also both color and black-and-white photographs of contemporary architecture, sculpture, and other artistic creations of the period: jewelry; coins; and metal, wood, and stone carvings and engravings—all of which visually demonstrate the Lindisfarne Gospels' place within the Insular tradition. Of its 161 pages of text, 110 are illustrated; 108 of those are in brilliant color. Like the Lindisfarne Gospels, this book is a feast for the eyes.

Second, the text itself is color-coded. Information intended for the interested general reader is printed in black; more detail and analysis intended for the scholar is printed in red—making the book suitable for both types of readers.

The combination of its easy-to-follow, two-tiered text; its beautiful visuality; its comprehensive approach; and its excellent bibliography make this a book about a magnificent medieval masterpiece that would be equally at home on a coffee table or a researcher's desk. For either type of reader, this is a book well worth owning.

*San Jose State University*

BONITA M. COX

*Rulers and Ruled in Frontier Catalonia, 880-1010: Pathways of Power.* By Jonathan Jarrett. [Studies in History, New Series. A Royal Historical Society Publication.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer. 2010. Pp. xii, 208. \$90.00. ISBN 978-0-861-93309-9.)

This is a study of Catalonia in the tenth century (one hesitates to use a term such as *the long tenth century*), when the Christian princes of north-eastern Iberia gained some advantages, not all of them permanent, over the Islamic Caliphate on the one hand and the faltering Carolingian kings on the other. Catalonian scholars have examined the years from the emergence of autonomous counts (c. 880) to the temporary but dramatic Christian conquest of Córdoba (1010) in terms of the formation of something recognizable as Catalonia. Even if the term *Catalonia* did not come into use until the twelfth century, the establishment of a set of independent polities within and south of the eastern Pyrenees under various counts, mostly of the same family, has been regarded as the origin of the great medieval principality. The destruction of Barcelona by al-Mansur in 985 and the response of Count Borrell II were commemorated in the late 1980s as constituting the "millennium" of Catalonia, and if this did not meet with universal agreement as a

precise date, the “process of independence”—of which it forms at least a part—has dominated historiography, to the neglect, according to Jonathan Jarrett, of asking what really held the fledgling counties together and allowed them to flourish.

Rather than looking at the tenth century in terms of the future Catalonia, Jarrett aims to consider the region as a neglected part of the history of the Carolingian empire. Although the only evidence of interest from the distant and beleaguered descendants of Charlemagne comes in the form of a few ecclesiastical confirmations, Jarrett wants to examine the substantial documentary evidence from Catalonia to understand Carolingian institutions and practices.

This original inspiration tends to evaporate once the author embarks on his real project, which is to discuss who held power and how they exercised it—an affair of upper-level peasants, large landowners, and great men in small spheres who are otherwise unknown. The result is a kind of prosopography of power, especially in the regions to the north of Barcelona: Osona (centered on the episcopal city of Vic), Bages (centered on the town of Manresa and the monastery of St. Benet), and the Ripollès (which takes its name from the great monastery of Ripoll). Particular consideration is given to valleys belonging to the monastery of Sant Joan “de les Abadesses,” the fortified site of L’Esquerda on the Ter River, and the castellanies of Malla and Gurb near Vic.

None of these places are household names among medievalists. The reader not intimately familiar with Osona and its neighbors will not find it easy to follow the local geography, cast of characters, or ultimately the argument of the book. Jarrett has looked very carefully at those who bought and sold land, people who turn up as officials and members of the counts’ entourages, and how fortunes were made and lost in a fluid but well-organized frontier setting. The diversity of names and the fact that so many are unique or unusual during the tenth century allows the author to follow individuals with reasonable confidence through many transactions and appearances. We come to see how territories were settled and to some extent administered without reference to the impositions of counts and bishops. Power, Jarrett concludes, was based more on wealth than on title, function, or delegation—an argument worth making even if it says little about the Carolingians, who, by this time, were virtually absent.

*Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens, 1023-1059—Concilia aevi Saxonici et Salici, MXXIII-MLIX.* Edited by Detlev Jasper. [Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia, Tomus VIII.] (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung Verlag. 2010. Pp. xxiv, 463. €90,00. ISBN 978-3-775-25502-8.)

This latest volume in the MGH *Concilia* series covers church councils, synods, and assemblies from Mainz (1023) to the famous Lateran synod of Pope Nicholas II (1059). In keeping with the format of the series, Detlev Jasper has furnished a complete apparatus for each council, including handlists of all manuscripts containing published decrees, acts, or other surviving documentation. In addition, he has noted the relevant secondary literature; provided excerpts from indirect references to the councils contained in letters, annals, saints' lives, or other sources; and prefaced each with a brief overview of our state of historical knowledge concerning it. Full editions of the canons and their prologues, historical narratives of conciliar proceedings, and charters drawn up at the assemblies round out the contents. The end matter—consisting of textual incipits, biblical and literary citations, terminological index, and concordance—make the volume exceptionally easy to use.

In all, the volume includes forty-three assemblies. More than 60 percent were held in Italy. There was one held in France, and the remainder were held in German lands. Documentary evidence varies tremendously from council to council, and Jasper has included not only minor provincial synods (for example, Venice, 1040; Toul, 1056; and Fontaneto d'Agogna, 1057) but also papal and imperial assemblies, some of which, by virtue of the broad transmission of their canons or decrees, approach something like "universal" status in the Latin Church (e.g., Rome, 1059). The collection makes clear that a council's wider influence did not necessarily correlate to its size or the number of dignitaries in attendance. The provincial synod of Seligenstadt (August 12, 1023) furnishes an excellent example. In all, six bishops and ten abbots attended, most from the province of Mainz. The famous canonist Burchard of Worms was among them, and the canons issued at Seligenstadt frequently were transmitted together with his *Decretum* and display many parallels to it; thus, they survive in twenty-nine manuscripts and two recensions, and were copied throughout Italy, Germany, France, and as far afield as Durham. Seligenstadt is an exception rather than the rule, however. The canons of only a handful of councils covered in this volume are extant, and few circulated widely.

The conciliar "high point" of the eleventh century was arguably Nicholas's Lateran Synod of April–May 1059 (pp. 352–407). The superiority of Jasper's edition to earlier editions of the conciliar texts, including the 1893 edition of Ludwig Weiland in volume 1 of the MGH *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, is evident here. In addition to gathering more than a dozen secondhand reports of the council, Jasper brings

together in one place all of its known legislation and *acta*, previously scattered piecemeal across a variety of publications. Included are the papal election decree and Nicholas's oration on simoniacal ordinations; the synodal report on deliberations concerning the reform of communities of canons; a sentence of excommunication pronounced against several French bishops; the oath sworn by Berengar of Tours; and the papal letter to the bishops of Gaul, Aquitaine, and Gascony listing the canons issued at the council. Having a reliable edition with all the legislation in one place is a great boon to researchers.

This is, of course, one goal of the MGH *Concilia* series, which expands and improves on the earlier editions of Giovanni Mansi, Philippe Labbe and Gabriel Cossart, Jacques-Paul Migne, and others. To this ambitious endeavor, Jasper's volume is a worthy and successful contribution.

Portland State University

JOHN S. OTT

*Ælred de Rievaulx, 1110–1167: De l'homme éclaté à l'être unifié. Essai de biographie existentielle et spirituelle.* By Pierre-André Burton. (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 2010. Pp. 650. €39,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09033-9.)

In recent years St. Ælred has gained in popularity; previously, his friend and fellow abbot, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, tended to receive the lion's share of attention. A flood of monographs and articles have demonstrated intense scholarly interest in Ælred's life, works, and teachings.

With this hefty volume Pierre-André Burton has contributed his encyclopedic knowledge of the sources, a synthesis of previous scholarship, and a novel approach that offers deeply insightful and far-ranging results. Burton draws on the literary, doctrinal, sociohistorical, and psychohistorical approaches of recent scholars, notably his mentor, the late and much-revered Charles Dumont. Burton's own design is an interlacing of two threads: an ordering principally, although not systematically, chronological and what he calls an existential ordering. These approaches are integrated through considerations of the principal events or works of each stage of Ælred's life. Burton's exposition of this methodology constitutes the first part of the book.

The second part, "The Time of Human and Spiritual Foundation," encompasses the period 1110–34. Of particular interest are chapters 3 and 4, which focus on Ælred's intellectual formation and his stay at the Scottish court that culminated in his conversion. That conversion Burton characterizes as a triple quest for peace, freedom, and internal unity.

The third part offers insights into Ælred's monastic formation and first pastoral responsibilities. Burton sees this stage of Ælred's growth reflected



in his *Mirror of Love*. That growth marks his development of an affective anthropology—a reconciliation of the flesh and the spirit—and an affective Christology—an affectionate devotion to the humanity of Christ and an embrace of spiritual friendship.

Burton's fourth part explores Ælred's spiritual growth from asceticism to charity, following the "way of excellence" that is spiritual friendship—powerfully expressed in his treatise on that topic. Burton also offers a detailed description of the events that characterize this growth in the early 1110s, centering on Ælred's success as a master builder of community. Ælred's conviction was that he must be at once father, mother, and friend to his monks.

The fifth part of the work examines Ælred's life during the 1150s and 1160s. Burton sees this as the period of Ælred's spiritual maturity and activity as the moral conscience of his time. The latter is exhibited in Ælred's historical works. Here Burton offers a penetrating discussion of Ælred's stance on the relationship of Church and society.

Burton's chapter 10, "Toward a Mystical Theology of History or the Cosmic Mystery of the Cross of Christ," features an analysis of Ælred's little-read *Homilies on the Burdens of Isaiah*. In these works Burton sees Ælred moving from the formation of Christ in the soul and in the Church to the formation of Christ in history.

Throughout this encyclopedic tome, Burton offers historical, theological, psychological, and philosophical insights of a high order. The quality and thoroughness of the book virtually demands its translation into English.

*University of Dallas (Emeritus)*

JOHN R. SOMMERFELDT

*King Stephen*. By Edmund King. [Yale English Monarchs Series.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 382. ISBN 978-0-300-11223-8.)

Edmund King offers a well-researched and valuable biography of King Stephen. His study adds to the seven other monographs and two sizable collections of essays on the topic published to date. The reason why Stephen is probably the most studied king of England, next to John, lies in continued interest in his ultimate failure as an Anglo-Norman monarch and, in particular, his inability to control his Church and unruly nobility. The traditional view is that Stephen's reign formed an unsatisfactory interlude between the more successful and peaceful rule of Henry I (1100–35) and that of his talented grandson, Henry II (1154–89). To contemporaries, the turmoil of Stephen's nineteen years was in stark contrast to the previous reign that is viewed by many as a vanished golden age. Modern historians choosing to write on Stephen's reign almost inevitably run the gauntlet of dealing with the substantial collection of primary sources and the monumental historiography of the subject. Adding something new and valuable to the debate is difficult, and

the merits of this could be questioned. King admits that his is a work of biography—a fair point—yet here offers a narrative that maneuvers around (and sometimes ignores) the most recent historiography of Stephen's reign.

Much attention is given to Stephen's religious nature and activities as well as his well-documented relationship with the bishops—in particular, his brother, Henry of Winchester (to whom King attributes much of his success). Less well explored is the critical association between Stephen and the barons, with limited analysis of the roles of Waleran II of Meulan and Robert of Gloucester, as well as curial lords such as Ranulf II of Chester. This is problematic as a number of key issues are denied their due significance (for example, the emergence of Robert of Gloucester as the leader of the Angevin cause in 1138, which overshadowed the politics of England until Stephen's capture at Lincoln, and Count Waleran's exit from the realm). As might be expected, King provides a masterly treatment of the contemporary chronicles and the charters issued in the king's name, although it is a pity that he tends to shy away from the question of the authorship of the *Gesta Stephani*.

Throughout the book, the author attempts to offer a balanced assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of Stephen's leadership and problematic reign. Yet the focus is on the political and dynastic people who, we are told, molded Stephen's destiny. Thus it was his ambitious brother Henry who largely engineered his seizure of the throne, whereas Stephen's war strategy depended greatly on the role played by his wife, Matilda of Boulogne, who wished to protect the succession for her son, Eustace. Although recent historiography tends to emphasize the king's role in monastic foundations and benefactions (especially toward Cluny and Savigny), most of the credit is given to Matilda. Also, much emphasis is placed on the influence of the king's adversaries—Robert of Gloucester; Stephen's cousin, Empress Matilda; and her son, Henry, who succeeded Stephen in 1154. The author concludes that Stephen was essentially "weak" and perhaps harshly views him as just "acting a part" (p. 339). It seems that the usual picture of Stephen as a brave, yet insubstantial, man and ruler as well as political failure is largely upheld in this latest biography of a flawed medieval king of England.

University of Wales, Trinity Saint David

ANDREW ABRAM

*The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts.* By Margot E. Fassler. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 612. \$55.00. ISBN 978-0-300-11088-3.)

The magnificent cathedral of Chartres, dedicated to the Virgin, needs no introduction to most medievalists. Those who have made the pilgrimage to Chartres cannot fail to feel awe at the sight of the edifice and its domination of the wheatfields on the Beauce plateau, its towering western façade, and the soaring interior—a place of mystery, peace, and grace. Some of that mys-

tery extends to large portions of the cathedral's medieval history because of the unfortunate destruction, in the Allied bombing on May 26, 1944, of many of the holdings of the city's Bibliothèque municipale. Photographic records and inventories of some medieval manuscripts survive, but much irretrievably perished. Margot Fassler attempts to penetrate some of the mystery through her analysis of the cathedral's history and the ways in which its clerics shaped that history through their celebration of the liturgy and the design of the space in which the liturgy took place.

Fassler begins by situating the cathedral, the Virgin, and the principal relic—the tunic said to have been worn by Mary during the birth of Jesus—in the social and political history of the central Middle Ages. Viking raids; the struggles for power among the Carolingians and their successors; and finally the emergence of the comital family of the Thibaudians, linked maritally in the twelfth century with the royal houses of both England and France, all take turns on the stage at Chartres. Throughout, the intercessory power of Mary and her relic, together with the church that housed it, play central roles in the drama. Within this context, then, the author shows how the liturgy that came to be celebrated at the cathedral shaped and retold history, biblical history, the life of Mary and Jesus, and the history of the city and the cathedral itself.

The central focus of the book occupies its third and fourth sections, where Fassler recounts the rebuilding of the cathedral in the twelfth century, detailing the contributions of successive bishops and lay patrons (conveniently summarized in tabular form in appendix H, pp. 450–53). She provides a critical analysis of the architecture and its decoration, showing how the physical setting interacted with the liturgical ceremonies that took place in and around it to reshape and reinterpret the history that they, the decorative and liturgical programs, mutually presented. The many photographic illustrations included admirably supplement the discussion. As a kind of running counterbalance to this intensive analysis, the author presents, like a series of vignettes throughout the book, the texts of prominent chants in the liturgy, scrutinizing their internal meaning and their role in liturgical practices at the cathedral, all complemented by an anthology of some of the most important chants sung there (appendix D, pp. 387–419). Another useful appendix (A, pp. 369–75) lists the cathedral's musical and liturgical books.

This book represents the synthesis of an enormous amount of material from social and political history through architecture and the decorative arts to the liturgy and its constituent music. The reader emerges with a much clearer idea of the history of the city and the cathedral during this tumultuous period, but especially of the way its clerics preserved and reshaped that history in the cathedral's decoration, and especially in its re-enactment during the celebration of the liturgy.

*Carta Caritatis—Verfassung der Zisterzienser Rechtsgeschichtliche Analyse einer Manifestation monastischer Reformideale im 12. Jahrhundert.* By Monika R. Dihmsmaier. [Schriften zur Rechtsgeschichte, Heft 149.] (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2010. Pp. 261. €68,00 paperback. ISBN 978-3-428-13404-5.)

The aim of this work is to compare and comment on three versions of the Cistercian charter of charity as it developed over the course of the twelfth century. The work presents in three parallel columns three versions of the *Carta Caritatis*, or CC. These are the CC Primitiva or CC1, apparently as derived from the Ljubljana manuscript, and dated according to the author to c. 1119 (because purported to be earlier than the 1135 date once given to the Trent manuscript). As I have shown in *The Cistercian Evolution* (Philadelphia, 2000), Trent begins with an 1135 manuscript but the CC materials are part of the remade manuscript to which has been attached various pages and first and last quires. Next in the book is the Summa CC published by Jean Leclercq in 1952 and attributed to c. 1125. Finally included is the CC posterior or CC2 attributed to after 1152, as argued by Edmund Mikkers in 1985.

This sequence and dating has been challenged by my work and that of the late Chrysogonus Waddell—although we have not always been in agreement. Monika Dihmsmaier does not cite Waddell's edition of the *Consuetudines monachorum Cisterciensis*, but includes under Waddell [sic] only an article, "The Exordium Cistercii and the SCC," from *Cistercian Ideals and Reality* (Kalamazoo, 1978). She includes no reference to my examination of the manuscripts in *The Cistercian Evolution*. Many other relevant recent books in English such as Giles Constable's *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (New York, 1996) are missing.

Even without any effort to review the much more complex manuscript evidence, the text itself suggests that apparent sequencing from CC1 to SCC to CC2 cannot be maintained. Although this may have little effect on the discussion of the various chapters as part of the development of a customary or law for the Cistercians with regard to other developments of canon law, challenges to the presumed dating obviate the claim on page 39 that the Cistercian Charter of Charity establishes a precedence for the development of Cistercian institutions over those of Chalais, Arrouaise, Prémontré, and Oigny. Indeed, abolishing the precocious dates for the CC claimed by the Cistercians obviates their claims of the Order's precedence in the development of institutions. Indeed, it is obvious that twelfth-century monastic institutional developments once thought to be dated firmly by Cistercian documents need to be reassessed in light of our inability to date any longer the early Cistercian practices to the first quarter of the twelfth century.

There are many other difficulties. The chapter titles included for the CC1 are later than versions of SCC and CC2 that do not include those chapter titles. Although the author makes comparisons to canon law that may be



useful (such as on the authority of father abbots over daughter-houses), she has not given attention to the later placement of father abbots in oversight of daughter-houses of nuns. Indeed, although the author does cite the evidence of Jean de la Croix Bouton, Benoît Chauvin, and Elisabeth Grosjean on le Tart, issues about Cistercian nuns are generally occluded.

If the study has a virtue, it is in placing divergent versions of institutional texts side by side, as on page 122 ("Quod si aliqua ecclesia pauperiem intolerabilem incurrerit. . ."), which is identical in CC1 and CC2, but wholly different in SCC. Perhaps this points to a variety of versions of the twelfth-century CC for which no sequential development may be argued. The overall treatment, however, has missed the discussion of at least a decade.

*University of Iowa*

CONSTANCE HOFFMAN BERMAN

*Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries.* Translated by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate. [Crusade Texts in Translation, Vol. 18.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2010. Pp. xv, 188. ISBN 978-0-754-66356-0.)

This excellent and very useful collection of eighty-two letters ranges from the well-known letter of Stephen of Blois to his wife, Adela, in June 1097, displaying admirable domestic affection, but grossly underestimating the time it might take to travel from Nicaea to Jerusalem—"[five weeks] if Antioch does not hold us up" (p. 1)—to one from James of Molay to James II, king of Aragon, in April 1306, announcing the death of one messenger and the appointment of another, who also was to deliver an oral supplement to the letter. In the latter case, James was tactfully refusing to accede to a request from the king. Between 1097 and 1306 (and, after 1306, from Cyprus—James of Molay's letter is sent from Limassol—and other bases) a great deal of the business of the Holy Land was accounted for in letters, not only from the great to the great (Conrad III [nos. 15, 17], Louis VII of France [no. 16], various kings of Jerusalem [nos. 22-24, 26, 32, 36], Frederick Barbarossa [no. 49], Richard I of England [nos. 50-51], two Il-Khans of Persia [nos. 72, 81] the leader of the Assassins [no. 52], and Prester John [no. 33]) but also from a considerably wider spectrum of Christian society in the East than other letter collections contain. The existence of oral supplements occurs in other letters as well, suggesting that the messages beyond the letters—most now, of course, lost—were probably as interesting and important as the letters themselves. After 1098, all the letters traveled by sea, risking shipwreck (James of Vitry [no. 58]), and a number of them contain indications of authenticity, since forgery was as possible in letters as in charters.

Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate translate directly from printed editions of the original sources and therefore give a contemporary linguistic consistency to their translations, even catching the level of Latin of the originals.

They translate ten of the twenty-three letters on the First Crusade edited by Heinrich Hagenmeyer in 1901, but there is, alas, only a brief bibliographical mention of the pioneering earlier translations into English by Dana Munro in 1896 and A. C. Krey in 1921 (p. 173). The rest are translated from various nineteenth-century editions (PL, RHG, various cartularies and chronicles, and the MGH) as well as from more recent editions by Alan Forey, Nikolas Jaspert, B. Z. Kedar, and Paul Meyvaert.<sup>1</sup>

Overall, the coverage is more than adequate for the entire period. The nine letters recounting the disasters at Hattin and Jerusalem from July to October 1187 (nos. 41–49), and the letter describing the destruction of Jerusalem and the defeat at La Forbie in 1244 (no. 68) convey a kind of alarm verging on despair that is different from the more routine requests for aid on other occasions. From another perspective, the relentlessly informative James of Vitry (nos. 58–60) tells us as much as anyone ever did about the perception of an educated, pastoral-minded bishop on the journey out from Western Europe, who became furiously displeased with the moral climate of his new Diocese of Acre. The military orders are well represented (nos. 18, 25, 27–31, 35, 38, 42, 46, 48, 53, 55, 61, 62, 67, 70, 73, 75–80, 82), as are, when possible, lower-ranking folk (nos. 38, 56, 79). John Sarrasin's letter of 1249 (no. 69) is an essential complement to the narrative of Joinville on the crusade of King Louis IX.

The book is now essential reading for any course in crusade history and takes a proud place in a distinguished publication series.

*University of Pennsylvania (Emeritus)*

EDWARD PETERS

*Charisma and Religious Authority: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Preaching, 1200–1500.* Edited by Katherine L. Jansen and Miri Rubin. [Europa Sacra, Vol. 4.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2010. Pp. xii, 260. €60,00. ISBN 978-2-503-52859-5.)

The product of a 2004 conference, this edition of twelve papers by Miri Rubin and Katherine Jansen seeks to understand the lived reality of religious preaching among the three monotheistic religions, a welcome broadening of our views of medieval preaching. In this undertaking the guiding light is Max Weber and his thoughts on "charisma" and "charismatic leadership." All in all, it proves to be a constructive collaboration.

<sup>1</sup>Alan Forey, "Letters of the Last Two Templar Masters," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 45, no. 12 (2001), 145–71; Nikolas Jaspert, "Zwei unbekannte Hilfersuchen des Patriarchen Eraclius vor dem Fall Jerusalems (1187)," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 60, nos. 1 and 2 (2004), 483–516; B. Z. Kedar, "Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 35 (1982), 112–22; Paul Meyvaert, "An Unknown Letter of Hulagu, Il-Khan of Persia, to Louis IX of France," *Viator*, 11 (1980), 245–60.

An instructive introduction lays out the recent scholarship on preaching, as well as clarifies the meaning and use of Weber's terms. The introduction usefully lays out the main issues and does not shy away from the fact that lived preaching is notoriously difficult to reconstruct from the extant sources. After that, the book is divided into five sections that deal with authority, polemics, lived performance, sacred space, and political change in the context of various aspects of preaching in the light of Weber's considerations. The only absence is charisma and miracle working, although several papers do touch on that important aspect of popular preaching. The focus on Weber remains mostly intact throughout the work, a singular achievement in such a disparate group of papers and a testament to editorial care.

The book opens with one of its finest and most useful chapters, one by Linda Jones on medieval Islamic preaching. Jones takes the reader on a trip to an unfamiliar world and explains it thoroughly while offering insight into the natures of both silence and ritual as they relate to charisma. Geert Warnar's paper also is well done and offers a great current appraisal of Meister Eckhart studies; however, the connection to the previous paper is a bit unclear. As the volume moves on, the focus does seem to wander a bit.

Beverly Kienzle's expertise in sermon studies is well known, and her essay is another fine example of her scholarship, this time on Hildegard's antiheretical preaching. She suggests that Hildegard's antiheretical message won approval from clerics, even in the midst of papal-imperial schism, and allowed the abbess to continue her work. Marc Saperstein's look at Jewish preaching is very interesting, especially in regard to the problems of regulating preachers, but seems too broad for the current work in that it looks at issues far beyond 1500. The ways in which popular preachers were able to insinuate themselves into Islamic communities is very well laid out in Jonathan Berkey's contribution.

Moving into the sacred space of preaching, Nerit Debby's paper is partly about sacred drama and partly about the place of the pulpit in Tuscan church architecture. Ottó Gecser offers an interesting look at St. John of Capistrano's deployment of charisma north of the Alps, through reputation and ritual panoply, purposively contrasted with his personal poverty. George Ferzoco contributes a piece on the Italian hermits Ss. John Bono and Peter of the Morrone, and describes the contrasts involved with eremitical preachers. Gabriella Zarri writes a particularly useful essay on women preachers in late-medieval Italy. She argues that their authority derived from the "routinization" of charisma (a Weberian idea to which the authors often return) that comes from the sacrality of consecrated life itself. Zarri usefully broadens our notion of preaching to include monastic discourse and prophecy.

The final section discusses preaching and political change. Christopher Fletcher offers a very contextualized reading of dreams and sermons surrounding the Good Parliament of 1376. The antityrannicide sermons of Jean

Gerson at the Council of Constance form the backbone of Mishtooni Bose's consideration of the dynamic relation of charisma and orthodoxy. Stephen Milner concludes the collection with a reflective and useful summation of the main themes, skillfully woven into a consideration of the religious conceptions of the Italian communes.

This is a well-produced and -edited collection, with only two incidental spelling errors. Many of the papers are insightful. It would have been interesting to read Jansen's and Rubin's own studies on the topic, but given the variety that already exists among the papers, that absence is understandable. Given the especially interesting essays on Islam, it would have been nice to see more scholarship on Judaism and the Islamic world. As it is, there are nine essays on Europe, two on Islam, and only one on Judaism. All in all, however, it is a very interesting collection.

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DONALD S. PRUDLO

*The Life and Afterlife of St. Elizabeth of Hungary: Testimony from Her Canonization Hearings.* Translated with notes and interpretive essays by Kenneth Baxter Wolf. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xviii, 230. \$74.00. ISBN 978-0-199-73258-6.)

Wolf, the John Sutton Miner Professor of History at Pomona College, has provided something that students of medieval hagiography have long awaited—a good English translation, with notes, of all the testimonies from the canonization process for St. Elizabeth, carried out between 1232 and 1235. This important work is one of the earliest and most complete examples of the formal papal canonization process that took shape in the early-thirteenth century. Along with the testimonies on Elizabeth's life by her four closest female companions, known as the *Dicta*, and the summary of her life by her confessor, Conrad of Marburg, the records include official depositions on 130 miracles worked through her intercession.

Wolf says that the only previous partial English translation of these testimonies was done in the 1950s by Nesta de Robeck; he missed my translation in *The Greatest of These Is Love: St. Elizabeth of Hungary* (New York, 2007). Although his is still not a complete edition of the process—it lacks the letters of Pope Gregory IX to the commissioners and the bull of canonization—Wolf's is the first to contain all the miracle testimonies.

In addition to the clear and readable translation, notes, and solid bibliography, Wolf has included two essays—one on the witnesses to the saint's virtues and one on the miracle testimonies. He draws a sharp distinction between the "life" of the saint, or the reconstruction of her personality by those who knew her, and the "afterlife," in which the witnesses to the miracles see her as a supplier of healing cures rather than as a real person whose virtues should be imitated.



Wolf indicates a range of possibilities for the way different models of sanctity might have affected the testimonies of the witnesses to Elizabeth's life. His comments about the similarities between her social concerns and those of the Beguines are particularly good. The witnesses show her reflecting some aspects of Franciscan life, such as penitential preaching, that fall outside of the usual hagiographic conventions. He successfully brings out the way that the miracle testimonies indicate the varying degrees of sophistication in ordinary people's understanding of the theology of saintly intercession.

However, Wolf could have dealt more with the nature of the existing text of the *Dicta*; some scholars believe that the work does not represent the original depositions but a *Vita* based on them, in which the words of the witnesses were rearranged and possibly cut. This certainly would have affected his approach to the text. He also fails to take into account the additional testimonies from the process discovered in the Anonymous Franciscan life.

Wolf also never states his criteria for determining when omission of something in the testimonies is significant. He believes people were uninterested in Elizabeth's personality or virtues, but the questions asked by commissioners did not even broach the issue, and people might have been reticent about commenting on the personal traits of a member of the nobility before officials. One witness recounted that hearing a German song about Elizabeth's farewell to her husband moved her while she was on her pilgrimage. How many other people heard it, were moved, and yet did not testify about it—and why?

In spite of some shortcomings, Wolf's book is a valuable resource.

New York, NY

LORI PIEPER

*The Letters of Adam Marsh*. Vol. II. Edited and translated by C. H. Lawrence. [Oxford Medieval Texts.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 291–664. \$160.00. ISBN 978-0-199-57584-8.)

The current volume is the continuation and conclusion of an edition and translation project that has been received favorably because of the quality of the textual criticism and the English rendering of the Latin (and to a small degree also French) texts. The second volume, which contains letters no. 110 to no. 245, offers a continuation of the text without further introductory remarks. The correspondence represents its writer's wide range of interests and extensive network of correspondents, including Queen Eleanor; Sanchia, her sister and countess of Cornwall; Eleanor de Montfort, countess of Leicester; Aymer de Valence, half-brother of King Henry III; Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester; Peter, count of Savoy; John of Lexington, steward of the royal household; and Sewal de Bovill, archbishop of York. The twenty letters in this volume addressed either to Simon de Montfort or to Eleanor,

his wife and sister of King Henry III, are testimony of the intense contact between them and the Franciscan scholar. Further letters were sent to two Franciscan ministers general, Blessed John of Parma and St. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, and to the English provincial, William of Nottingham, who received at least thirty-nine letters. Not all letters to aristocratic correspondents deal with the great affairs of state. It is true that the friar Adam Marsh tried to help overcome Henry III's resistance to the appointment of a new bishop of St. Asaph in 1249 (no. 124) and that he informed Simon de Montfort of his conversation with the king about the earl's affairs (no. 138). However, Marsh knew the limits of his influence. Much of his correspondence to magnates focuses on issues such as a request to return the vicar of the chancellor of Salisbury after the earl of Leicester had taken the vicar abroad. The vicar had the cure of souls in Odiham, and his absence left the village without an adequate ministry. Other letters feature cryptic admonitions to the earl to maintain the peace in his household or to control his steward (no. 141). For some of these letters it would have been helpful if further detail on the particular issues had been provided. It should be noted, however, that in many instances the editor provides helpful references to personal names and placenames as well as additional information on events.

Although the material is not unknown—the letters were published for the first time in the nineteenth century—they offer insights into Franciscan life and work in thirteenth-century England that are not provided by other sources. Marsh's fame could be converted into influence and patronage, and letters with requests for assistance to relatives and other people close to him form another important part of the collection. They deal mostly with petitions for help with career development; exoneration of ill officials from the duties and burdens of their office; and even admonitions to repay debts, as the friar attempted to mediate between the particular parties with the hope to avoid litigation. To his English confrères, Marsh was not merely a prominent intellectual. They also wanted to use his contacts and apparently asked him to intervene on behalf of outsiders, as Marsh stated in a letter to William de Beauchamp, sheriff of Worcestershire and a member of one of the kingdom's great aristocratic families (no. 148). This example of the petitioner as recipient of petitions from his fellow friars reveals a hierarchy that had emerged among the Franciscans by the middle of the thirteenth century. Bonaventure held Marsh in high esteem. Although they planned to meet, it never occurred, and the English friar's sphere of influence does not seem to have exceeded the boundaries of his province. His request for confirmation of the re-election of his friend William of Nottingham as English provincial minister in 1254 was not granted because the general chapter of that year had already absolved William from office.

There is a minor discrepancy in no. 113—"Thomas of Anstan," "Thomas of Anston" for "de Anesti"—which could have been clarified. The letters in the present volume are important sources for historians interested in the intel-

lectual history of the thirteenth century, the early history of the Franciscan order, and the political history of England in this period. Overall, this is a superb edition.

*University of Birmingham*

JENS RÖHRKASTEN

*Colette of Corbie (1381-1447): Learning and Holiness.* By Elisabeth Lopez. Ed. Elise Saggau. Trans. Joanna Waller. (St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications. 2011. Pp. xx, 616. ISBN 978-1-576-59217-5.)

Elisabeth Lopez offers a broad survey of the many historical sources that pertain to various aspects of the life of St. Colette of Corbie. Extensive appendices enhance the collection of these historical sources. These appendices offer access to the historical sources utilized through the use of chronologies, tables of various foundations, maps, glossaries, an exhaustive index of names and places, an inventory of archives, and an extensive bibliography. Anyone who wishes to engage in a study of Colette now has a rich resource with which to begin. Lopez has collected and identified the significance of the multiple and varied sources. These include the hagiographies, Colette's *Constitutions*, her letters, letters written to her, and significant papal documents. This is actually a good resource for the study of reform movements in general in the early-fifteenth century, especially in France. These sources also are pertinent to the Franciscan Observant reform.

A most valuable part of this collection of studies is found in the first part, which reviews and compares the two *Vitae* of Colette. This was offered in a parallel study of the two texts, the one by Pierre de Vaux written c. 1447 and the other by Sister Perrine written in 1477. The former was a Collettine friar who was Colette's friend and spiritual director; the latter was one of Colette's sisters who lived with her for many years. This comparison of these two *Vitae* demonstrates the many factors that enter into the writing of a *vita*. Subsequent sections of part 1 draw out the differences between the two *Vitae*, and the reader thereby gains some insight into multiple aspects of the concept of sainthood that emerged in the fifteenth century. The author allows the reader to see the development of Colette's notion of sanctity. Her "spirituality actually moves away from the mystical toward a solid piety that encourages a virtuous life . . . rather than attempting to return to the origins of its own [St. Clare's] spirituality" (p. 96). Thus, Colette's "form of sanctity is demonstrated by a set of fixed, pre-determined evidential data" (p. 129).

The second part reviews Colette's letters, identifying themes and purposes and analyzing her *Constitutions*. The emphasis in her writings differs in a number of ways from the emphasis found in the *vitae*. In reading these letters and *Constitutions*, the reader enters into her connection with currents of the Observant reform and thus learns why she wanted her own Collettine friars:

[She] provided for each monastery a number of Colettine friars, responsible for celebrating Mass, hearing confessions, collecting alms and acting on behalf of the nuns with the outside world . . . the right to dismiss any particular friar from his position belonged to Colette. (p. 190)

In the consideration of the *Constitutions*, the author gives a survey of the earlier legislative texts of Popes Innocent IV and Urban VI. This helps contextualize the uniqueness of Colette's vision. The author points out that "Colette took a different view, with minute detail indicating rather a certain dogmatism rather than a supernatural, creative freedom" (p. 247). Even William of Casals wrote in a letter to Colette, "I am afraid of imposing too heavy a burden on your sisters" (p. 265).

The third part surveys Colette's relationships with the world. She was well connected to the House of Bourbon, the House of Savoy, and the House of Burgundy. She visited Pope Benedict XIII and received confirmation of privileges from the Pisan Pope John XXIII. She engaged St. John Capistrano as legate of Pope Eugene IV and firmly defended her independence from the Observants who were concerned that this nun could "take friars away from obedience to the vicar of the Observants" (p. 332). The manner in which she engaged males in high places proved her strength and her independent spirit. By the time she died in 1447, "she had founded and reformed seventeen monasteries, which would soon spread" (p. 334). This study of her own writings and relationships to the powers of the early-fifteenth century indicate her reform was part of general movement, especially in France. Lopez points out how the French reform differed from the reform in Italy, which, "a more cultured and humanist society, adopted more diversified structures that emphasized the primacy of the person . . . in France one woman made the rules" (p. 380).

Finally, Lopez completes her study with a survey of the history of the Colettines in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Colette was canonized in 1807. This opened a fresh period for a flourishing of foundations in Belgium and France. From there new foundations spread.

Thus, this book is exhaustive and covers a long span of history and a multitude of different texts. It is thereby a rich resource for beginning any study of Colette. In effect, Lopez points out that Colette reintroduces the Rule of St. Clare (more properly Clare's *Form of Life*) and begins to make changes to that Rule in view of fifteenth-century reform movements in France. Since so much is based on this premise, it would be interesting to know which manuscripts Colette had available as she reintroduced that rule.

In the wealth of new information gathered in one place and the new questions it raises, Lopez has made a fine contribution to the rich resources found in the Franciscan tradition.



*Le Concile de Pise. Qui travaillait à l'union de l'Église d'Occident en 1409?*

By Hélène Millet. [Ecclesia Militans. Histoire des hommes et des institutions de l'Église au Moyen Âge.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2010. Pp. 443. €60,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-503-53198-4.)

This book is the culmination of many years of work. Hélène Millet explains that her first publication was a new list of the Council of Pisa in 1981 which might have been followed by a definitive study of the whole council had not circumstances intervened. She therefore decided to republish that first list with some earlier work. The first list now includes an index and additional notes, a chronological list of events, and republished articles comparing MSS Uppsala C 47 and Vat lat 3477 and discussing the representative nature of Pisa, the French delegation, the Angevins at the Council, and the Portuguese. Therefore, this is not a complete history of the Council, but rather is a series of reflections on how Pisa came to think the unthinkable (that a council could assemble without the pope); how representative it was; and why it has not been included among general councils, even though it began the healing of the Great Schism. Millet wishes to rehabilitate Pisa into the list of genuine Councils of the Church.

Millet underscores again the efforts of the cardinals who convened Pisa to make it as widely representative as possible; thus she stresses the importance of the numerous procurations. The English delegation was relatively small, but the proxies were many, and we know quite a lot about how they were gathered. The idea, according to Millet, was to ensure that the Council represented the universal Church as understood by jurists at the time. She guesses, however, that voting was almost certainly by prelates only (as was traditional) and that the assent of other delegates to the sentence of the Council was given after the decision had been taken.

The reader is left wondering whether Pisa really was the most important of the councils of the Conciliar Movement, as the author tries to persuade us. Pisa did not really offer a solution to the true crisis in the Church, because that crisis involved conflicting ecclesiologies. What is evident here is that the assembly did produce a case for a council called by the cardinals as a judge of erring popes, although that assent was by no means universal even in the West. But, on its own terms, Pisa was only justified if the popes were guilty; and so, in a sense, it was largely a propaganda machine. For this reason, it is hard to consider it as anything except an unclassifiable event, rather than a traditional council. It could be justified from past theory, but the charges against the popes were carefully fudged to align them with various theories to justify the action that was to be taken. Students of English history can see both how the Crown directed the assent and how the nature of the charges was left unclear, probably deliberately, to allow as wide an assent as possible.

This volume will be of value to specialists, and the index and commentary on the delegate list are well worth having. Pisa remains, however, an ambigu-

ous event. Perhaps it was the only answer possible to start the process of ending the Schism, and one should not try too hard to fit it into a traditional pattern for General Councils. Probably a new, complete history will reopen that debate.

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MARGARET HARVEY

*The Call to Read: Reginald Pecock's Books and Textual Communities.* By Kirsty Campbell. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xi+, 311. \$38.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02306-5.)

Reginald Pecock has the reputation of being a difficult and idiosyncratic writer. During his lifetime, he went from being an influential and apparently well-regarded cleric attached to the Whittington Hospital in the City of London to become bishop, first of St. Asaph in Wales in 1444 and then of Chichester in 1450. But from 1447 he seems to have aroused hostility among the clerical authorities because of his teaching; in the 1450s he was charged with heresy on various scores, recanted, and was forced to consign many of his writings to be destroyed; he was deprived of his bishopric in 1459 and died a year or two afterward. Work done by Wendy Scase has done much to elucidate both Pecock's life and more particularly the London environment in which he moved in his earlier career. But the precise stages behind his alienation from that environment and the details of the charges against him are still not entirely clear; the very poor survival of some of his works and the complete absence of others (whether because they were incomplete or because all copies were destroyed remains unclear) are two of the factors that make an overall view of his career hard to perceive. Kirsty Campbell, rather than searching for further details of Pecock's life, gives an account of the content of his writings (p. 5) and aims to show through them how far Pecock conformed to normal medieval lines of discussion and how far his views and modes of expressing them were individual.

Pecock saw himself as providing a series of writings that would answer and defeat those whom modern historians usually call "Lollards" but that Pecock described by a variety of terms, most frequently as "the lay party" or "Bible men." Unusually, and probably rashly, Pecock chose to do this for the most part in English, although for certain knotty subjects such as the Trinity he often moved into Latin. As Campbell indicates, Pecock speaks of a number of texts he has composed beyond those that are available now; again, a retreat into Latin seems to have marked some of the lost works. Campbell makes much of Pecock's expressed desire to meet his opponents in argument and his hopes of converting them back to orthodoxy. She spends much time outlining previous educational efforts by the medieval and especially English clergy; at some points her citation of earlier critics on well-documented developments takes undue space and precludes the closer analysis of Pecock's own mode of procedure (for instance, she could well

have examined in detail Pecock's teaching against Lollard disregard of images and the saints they represent in his *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy* (c. 1449)—arguably his most sophisticated surviving discussion). Important suggestions tend to be submerged in a wealth of familiar points: Pecock's texts are not reading for beginners in medieval religious literature, and Campbell could have had more confidence in the competence of her probable audience. The notion of "textual communities" invoked in her subtitle and again in chapter 7 could well have been linked more closely with Pecock's endeavor and also with Pecock's life and his downfall. This is a case where life and writings can hardly be kept apart—Why did his endeavor turn out so disastrously for himself? Who were his real enemies? Why were his writings perceived as heretical and burned? Campbell's book has some interesting ideas that deserve further consideration.

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ANNE HUDSON

### Early Modern European

*Reading Augustine in the Reformation: The Flexibility of Intellectual Authority in Europe, 1500–1620.* By Arnoud S. Q. Visser. [Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xiv, 240. \$74.00. ISBN 978-0-199-76593-5.)

In a brief 139 pages (with an additional 100 pages of textual apparatus) that belie their extensive and innovative scholarship, Arnoud Visser sets out to investigate the production, circulation, and consumption of St. Augustine's works from 1500 to 1620 in a study aimed "to delineate how the material infrastructure of reading in Reformation Europe enabled readers of various backgrounds to appropriate Augustine in radically different ways" (p. 7). In the section on production Visser examines the three sixteenth-century editions of Augustine's *opera omnia*: the Amerbach (1505–06), the Froben (1528–29, edited by Desiderius Erasmus), and the Plantin (1576–77, edited by theologians from the Catholic University of Leuven). In the section on circulation the focus is on how confessional considerations prompted the way Augustine was presented in bibliographies, indexes, and the patristic anthologies that "came to play a dominant role" in the dissemination of his texts (p. 91). The section on consumption, finally, focuses on reading practices, including the provenance of Augustine's œuvre (including spurious works) in Protestant England and Catholic Italy, individual case studies of the different responses of three influential theologians within English Protestantism (Thomas Cranmer, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and William Laud), and a discussion of the public debates centering on Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings in Catholic Leuven and Protestant Leiden.

This is an invaluable study of how the Church Father was read in Reformation Europe, but it also usefully explores the complex interrelationship among the scholarly, confessional, and mercantile interests by which an authority like Augustine is mediated through both printed and oral media. Besides mapping the terrain expertly, Visser, supported by solid textual evidence, is able to make a number of inferences, some of which go against received scholarly opinion. He can demonstrate, for example, how the “dynamic interaction” (p. 8) between humanism and Reformation could benefit both parties, but also how the humanists (their protestations to the contrary), not unlike the scholastics they derided, facilitated “a selective, fragmented, and goal-oriented reading practice” (p. 9). On the issue of the confessionalization of Augustine, Visser shows that Amerbach’s conservative edition probably did as much for the growth of Protestantism as the one by Erasmus, whereas the Leuven edition, despite its conception as a post-Tridentine Catholic alternative to the Froben edition, in fact silently incorporated much of Erasmus’s scholarship and was, except for certain commentary to Augustine’s anti-Donatist and anti-Pelagian works, confessionally neutral. It is rather in the circulation of Augustine’s œuvre that an overt confessional presence can be felt—that is, in the construction of bibliographies and indexes, and in particular in the selection and presentation of Augustine’s works in the many compendia produced. Another important circumstance that one gleans from Visser’s study is how the confessional lines in these contentious debates (often over Augustine’s anti-Pelagian works) were not necessarily drawn between Catholic and Protestant, but as often within each religious community. Thus two Anglican archbishops like Cranmer and Laud can draw diametrically opposed conclusions about the use of Augustine, as did the Baianists and their opponents in Catholic Leuven (a fight soon exported to France in the form of acrimonious disputes between Jansenists and Jesuits), as well as the Calvinists and Arminians in Protestant Leiden.

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ÅKE BERGVALL

*Art, Piety and Destruction in the Christian West, 1500-1700.* Edited by Virginia Chieffo Raguin. [Visual Culture in Early Modernity.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2010. Pp. xii, 226. \$99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66946-3.)

This collection of essays contributes to a growing literature on iconoclasm and censorship, but it foregrounds social forces such as historic preservation that deflect negative outcomes. One recurrent theme is the fate of Catholic visual images following the rise of Protestantism. However, it is refreshing that the emphasis is less on destruction than on the transvaluation of medieval cult objects as “art” and the invention of distinct Protestant imagery and ritual. The main thrust is contextual, with thick analysis of particular events and interactions affecting Christian images and spaces in



Germany, England, France, Italy, Mexico, and the United States. The contents are as follows: "Introduction: Art and Religion: Then and Now" by Virginia Chieffo Raguin; "Salvaging Saints: The Rescue and Display of Relics in Munich during the Early Catholic Reformation" by Jeffrey Chipps Smith; "Does Religion Matter? Adam Kraft's Eucharistic Tabernacle and Eobanus Hessus" by Corine Schlieff; "—You Are What You Wear (and Use, and See): The Form of the Reform in England" by Raguin; "Repackaging the Past: The Survival, Preservation and Reinterpretation of the Medieval Windows of St. Mary's, Fairford, Gloucestershire" by Sarah Brown; "Preserving Antiquity in a Protestant City: The Maison Carrée in Sixteenth-Century Nîmes" by David Karmon; "Destruction or Preservation? The Meaning of Graffiti on Paintings in Religious Sites" by Véronique Plesch; and "Inquisitorial Practices Past and Present: Artistic Censorship, the Virgin Mary, and St. Anne" by Charlene Villaseñor Black.

Presumably in the interests of coherence and size, the fate of Jewish cultural production is not included (such as the continuing destruction of synagogues, as in Halberstadt in 1669). Postmodern collections that have become a major genre of publication in recent decades do not claim to be collaborative histories. Their value lies in presenting good scholarship under a thematic rubric, orchestrated by an imaginative editor, as is the case here.

In the introduction, the editor explores the alienation of religious objects that thereby "shed their historical usefulness and their power" (p. 7). Yet, she notes, as in several of these studies, that reclassification as "art," or as material culture, comes with new historical significance and power—a "reconfigured meaning," as she puts it (p. 9). She gives a nuanced discussion of the interactions of patron, artist, and church in the commissioning and especially in the reception of works. To elaborate the social and historical contingencies of ascribed value, she seeks a theoretical base in books by Pierre Bourdieu, first published in French in the 1960s. Although his work has been as foundational—and as much criticized—as that of Derrida and Foucault, some recent studies also would have been of assistance. In expanding the purview of the introduction to survey recent incidents of tension surrounding sacred objects, Raguin might have taken into account the global approach offered in *Iconoclash: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, Karlsruhe, Zentrum für Kunst und Medientechnologie, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, MA, 2002).

The case studies that follow engage with particular instances that complicate generalizations. Each author provides a careful analysis of specifics, whether concerning the political value of relics; communal attitudes to private, public, and sacred space; the interventions of individuals; the ability of artists to skirt censorship and the anxieties that lead to it; and even the sociological interest that can compensate for premodern graffiti on mural paintings. The combination of broad framework and thick history in the contri-

butions by Schlieff, Raguin, and Brown—and the documentary detail presented by Smith—are especially laudable. Overall, this is a valuable, well-presented collection, with bibliography and index. The publishers should be lauded for the choice of paper that facilitates the reproduction of high-quality black-and-white illustrations. However, weak binding may be the price for reining in costs.

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MADELINE H. CAVINESS

*The Religious Culture of Marian England.* By David Loades. [Religious Cultures in the Early Modern World, No. 6.] (Brookfield, VT: Pickering and Chatto. 2010. Pp. viii, 209. \$99.00. ISBN 978-1-851-96291-0; ebook ISBN 978-1-851-965984.)

This general discussion and analysis of religion in the England of Mary I arise out of the comprehensive online transcription and edition of the first four editions of John Foxe's mighty Protestant martyrology, the *Acts and Monuments*. Several useful studies have arisen out of this project, and in this case its director distills his own thoughts on the character and development of Christian religion in England between the fifteenth century and the early years of Elizabeth's reign. In an introduction and nine chapters, Loades examines, in turn, religion as it existed in England before the reign of Henry VIII, categories of religious experience that he describes as "elite" and "popular"; the place of religion in the daily life of English people in the mid-Tudor period; the training of clergy; heresy, dissent, and their punishment; contemporary portrayal of religious repression under Mary; and a postscript on the characteristics of the English Church in Elizabeth's reign.

In his introduction, Loades criticizes those who have concentrated on the upper reaches of Church and society in their analysis of English religion in this period. In particular, he reproaches Thomas Mayer for committing this sin in his fine and voluminous studies of one of the main religious figures in this period, Cardinal Reginald Pole. This seems unfair, in that Pole was perforce and by definition an "elite" figure, and the overall conclusion from a reading of Loades's book has to be that he has been no more successful than anyone else in accurately characterizing the religion of early-modern English people. On this evidence, he appears to regard late-medieval religion, in England and no doubt elsewhere, as largely external, overstructured, and repressive, whereas the churches of Henry VIII and Elizabeth were "sensible" and "English" (not Welsh or Irish, let alone Scottish), with a period in between of wild swings and turmoil, in a more "extreme" Protestant direction under Edward and a Catholic one under Mary. There seems to be an underlying assumption that no normal person would ever have been a Catholic, if in possession of a full understanding of the Christian religion. Yet, paradoxically, although there is much discussion here of the nature of "elite" and "popular" religion in the period, and these concepts need to be questioned far more

than they are here, there is a strange void at the heart of this learned and often vivid writing, as good as one expects from Loades. This gap can best be characterized, perhaps ironically given the author's approach to the Reformation period, as a failure to address the delicate but vital question of how people in early-modern England related to God. On this account, it is hard to see what exactly attached people at that time to the Catholic faith and its practice. We hear a great deal about rulers, church leaders, and structures, but readers gain no sense of the inner life of the practice of the liturgy in churches and its place in the public and private lives of individuals. When Pole tried to rebuild this religious life in Mary's reign, he came, although he was a keen preacher himself, to put the teaching and ceremonies of the reforming Catholic Church even before that verbal teaching of God's word. Not everyone needed to know Latin to attend school as a Christian soul, and both the Bible and Church tradition could be—and were—communicated by means of all the senses as well as the intellect. So, although this book contains much useful and relevant material, built on many years of scholarship, and powerfully and effectively presented, there also is perhaps too much of that highly talented, but hardly objective, Protestant propagandist, John Foxe.

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JOHN EDWARDS

*English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris.* By Katy Gibbons. [Studies in History, New Series.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer, for the Royal Historical Society. 2011. Pp.x, 206. \$90.00. ISBN 978-0-861-93313-6.)

This engaging and stimulating book focuses on the English Catholic lay exiles in Paris in the 1580s and 1590s. It is composed of five chapters. The first gives a brief overview of the English and French political and religious context. The second chapter contains fascinating pages on the different circumstances that prompted some English Catholics to leave England and move to Paris, as well as on the social and economic challenges they faced in a city that had an urban and juridical structure different from that of London and other English towns. Notwithstanding the difficulties, however, Paris offered important opportunities to the exiles, who were free to practice their religion publicly and to take advantage of the city's printing houses, colleges, and universities, which became venues for English Catholics "to interact with their hosts, to appeal to their continental coreligionists, and to articulate their identity as Catholic exiles" (p. 75). In the third chapter Gibbons insightfully shows how French polemical works in the 1580s exploited the English Catholic cause and how, conversely, the French polemical atmosphere contributed to radicalize the political and religious positions of some members of the English Catholic community in Paris. The fourth chapter discusses how English Catholics articulated their condition of exile. Although in the rest of her work Gibbons persuasively argues for the specificity and the importance of the Paris community, in this chapter she

mainly relates common tropes of Catholic exiles that scholars such as Anne Dillon and Alison Shell have already analyzed. Moreover, when Gibbons examines how the English exiles in Paris grappled with the relationship between religious exile and political loyalty, she neglects important questions. For instance, a fuller discussion of how the English exiles in Paris related to Gallicanism (especially the political Gallicanism of the Parlement and a part of the Sorbonne) would have been useful, especially given the fact that, as Gibbons shows, the English exiles did not leave Paris with the League, but they remained a significant presence even after the accession of King Henri IV. The final chapter contains a lucid and rich analysis of the nature of the English Catholic community in Paris and of what the Parisian case can teach us on the nature of early-modern English Catholicism. According to traditional scholarship, the English Catholic presence in Paris was generally minor and radical (both politically and religiously). English Catholics chose Paris mainly because of the French League; once the League lost its control over the city and the state, the English Catholics also left Paris. Against this kind of scholarship, Gibbons demonstrates that Paris was indeed an important center for English Catholicism and that the theological and political positions of the English exiles were much more nuanced and diverse than previously thought. Indeed, Gibbons's discussion in chapter 5 of how the English Catholic exiles in Paris were influenced by and articulated the internal division of the Catholic community in England in the 1590s and early 1600s is especially impressive for its clarity and depth.

In conclusion, Gibbons shows that the Parisian case is a useful lens through which we can examine English Catholicism not simply as an "English" or "British" phenomenon, but as a European one. As she puts it, "English Catholics defined their identities and political positions in response to their Protestant opponents; but also in response to their relations with Catholic Europe at large" (p. 176). Contemporary scholarship on English Catholicism has recently started to take into greater account its European and international dimension: Gibbons's work is an important contribution to this increasingly relevant line of scholarship.

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STEFANIA TUTINO

*Galileo: Watcher of the Skies.* By David Wootton. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 328. \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-300-12536-8.)

This book is primarily an intellectual biography, but also covers most of Galileo's personal life. Additionally, it belongs to the genre of "conjectural history," as the author states in the introduction. However, he does not distinguish between two subgenres: plausible and implausible conjectural history. Their difference may be characterized in terms of whether the conjectures are based on such practices as exaggerations, textual misinterpretations, inju-



icious emphases, arbitrary assumptions, prejudicial assessments, and so forth. Unfortunately, this book exemplifies implausible conjectural history. Consider its three principal theses.

The first (pp. 56, 261–62, 266) is an account of Galileo's attitude toward Copernicanism, claiming that he became a Copernican in the early 1590s, and the rest of his career was an attempt to prove its truth. This is an exaggeration of the fact that, since the early 1590s, Galileo was implicitly pursuing a Copernican research program—namely a general physics of moving bodies, one of whose consequences was the physical possibility of the earth's motion.

The second major thesis (pp. 240–50) is that, although Galileo outwardly tried to appear a good Catholic, in reality he was not a Christian but privately held “esoteric” beliefs. He was allegedly a materialist, pantheist, or deist, who denied the existence of a provident personal God, the reality of salvation and redemption, and the supernatural origin of miracles. This thesis inflates the fact that Galileo was largely uninterested in theological questions and religious discussions; was usually silent about them; but was willing to pay lip service to Catholic religious doctrines and go through the motion of religious rituals, as long as the demands were not too great.

The third principal thesis attributes to Galileo a “reluctant empiricism” (p. 265): he occasionally used observations and experiments, but “chose not to become a careful experimental scientist” (p. 255), and instead practiced mostly abstraction, idealization, deduction, and speculation. This is an overstatement of the truth that Galileo was a self-reflective and critical empirical thinker, equally appreciative of observation and reason; his emphasis on active experimentation (as distinct from passive observation) and on mathematical quantification (as contrasted with qualitative thinking) were his way of judiciously combining the requirements of both observation and reason.

However, the book is not completely devoid of merit. The author displays a high degree of imaginative talent that might otherwise be put to good use. His erudition is considerable. The book is full of information that might benefit discriminating readers; they would almost certainly learn some interesting details about Galileo's personal life that had escaped their attention. Additionally, there are at least three topics on which the book's discussions are valuable.

This first is a critique of Paul K. Feyerabend's claim that Galileo's observations of the moon were inaccurate and unreliable, based on the poor quality of the lunar illustrations in *The Sidereal Messenger* (1610). Wootton (pp. 101–02) points out that Feyerabend used the crude illustrations found in the pirated Frankfurt edition rather than the superior ones in the original Venice edition.

A second valuable discussion involves chronological questions about the origin of the external difficulties that affected the publication, reception, and consequences of Galileo's *Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems, Ptolemaic and Copernican* (1632). The chief difficulty concerned the politics of the Thirty Years' War and is usually connected with the events of spring and summer 1632, after the *Dialogue* had already been published. However, Wootton (pp. 197–200) argues that such difficulties started in summer 1630, immediately after Galileo received a tentative imprimatur.

A third valuable point is Wootton's decision to usually refer to Galileo as a "scientist," rather than as a (natural) "philosopher." Wootton's justification (pp. 259–60) is right; although the English words *science* and *scientist* stem from the eighteenth or nineteenth century, the Italian terms *scienza* and *scienziato* were already common in Galileo's time.

Despite these useful points, nonexperts might be unable to separate the wheat from the chaff in this book, and specialists might use their precious time more cost-effectively.

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MAURICE A. FINOCCHIARO

*Die Konklavereform Gregors XV. (1621/22). Wertekonflikte, symbolische Inszenierung und Verfahrenswandel im posttridentinischen Papsttum.* By Günther Wassilowsky. [Päpste und Papsttum, Band 38.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 2010. Pp. x, 406. €112,00. ISBN 978-3-777-21003-2.)

Since the early-fifteenth century the call had been heard for "reform in head and members" in the Church. This valuable, clearly written volume calls our attention to a reform in the head that has been nearly completely overlooked in the literature of early-modern Catholic Reform. Pope Gregory XV, shortly after his election, issued on December 17, 1621, the bull *Aeterni Patris Filius* that was followed by a *Caeremoniale in electione Summi Romani Pontificis observandum* the next April 22. The two documents represented a complete reform of the procedure and ceremony for the election of a pope, brought to completion a long campaign for this reform, and led to the first truly secret and so (as the author argues) truly free papal election—that of Pope Urban VIII in 1623. The papal action represented a triumph of an ethic of conscience and commitment to the common good over one characterized by *pietas* or loyalty to one's family, patron, or place of origin that was widely accepted in early-modern Rome, where cardinals often voted in gratitude for past benefits or in anticipation of future ones. To support his argument, the author draws heavily on a rarely used source—the diaries of the papal masters of ceremonies now found in copies in the *Archivio dei Maestri delle Cerimonie Pontifice (sic)* as well as in other Roman archives.

The author observes at the start how little research has been devoted to the procedure and ceremonies of a papal election as opposed to its politics.

A sixteenth-century author, the Augustinian hermit Onofrio Panvinio, wrote in an unpublished manuscript of eighteen different methods that had been employed to choose a pope starting with Jesus's installation of Peter. Crucial in the development was the determination of Pope Alexander III in 1179 that the cardinals alone would elect a pope—so defining their basic function—and that a two-thirds majority would be necessary. But nothing was prescribed about the method of election. The conclave was introduced in 1274, and oral and written scrutinies were conducted, but they were not secret. Gradually there evolved a procedure that became a method of election first employed in the election of Leo X in 1513, election by adoration. One group or faction of cardinals, after negotiations, would gather around a candidate even in the middle of the night, recognize him as pope, and kiss him in the hope of attracting two-thirds of their number to join them. No one wanted to be the last to jump on the bandwagon of the winner lest he lose any chance for advancement. This adoration then became the actual process of selection with the later scrutiny becoming a formality. Most elections were held in this manner into the early-seventeenth century with the election of Paul V Borghese in 1605 as particularly raucous and even tumultuous.

Many calls for reform were raised in the course of the century by the so-called *zelanti* who wanted a truly secret election where each cardinal could vote his conscience for the best candidate rather than under pressure from patron or faction. This was the way the Holy Spirit operated, not through the sometimes chaotic process of the election by adoration as their opponents argued. The author analyzes at length four influential papers drawn up in favor of reform that eventually won the day—two by Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, one dating from shortly after the election of Paul V and another from a later date; one from 1617 from the Milanese Cardinal Federico Borromeo; and a fourth from 1621 by Benedetto Giustiniani, a prominent Jesuit canonist in Rome. In addition, advocates of the reform were Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, papal nephew under Gregory XV, and Francesco Ingoli, a major figure in the Curia who also played a significant role in the foundation of the Propaganda Fide in 1622 and the Galileo Affair. Gregory XV's *Aeterni Patris Filius* represented "the first written codification of the concrete procedure for the election of a pope in the history of the church" (p. 248). In addition to eliminating election by adoration and establishing complete secrecy for the election, the bull and the subsequent *Caeremoniale* thoroughly regulated the election. They tightened the cloister for the conclave and made it a requirement for the validity of the election, they prescribed an oath for each cardinal in each scrutiny that he would vote according to God's will, and they located the conduct of the election in the Sistine Chapel. There, the cardinals were to place their ballots in the chalice on the altar as they faced the Last Judgment of Michelangelo.

The new procedure was generally implemented effectively, although, of course, it did not eliminate all factionalism and politics. Factions contended

in the election of Urban VIII in 1623, but the vote was secret. Ironically, as the author points out, the bull ended for the most part the influence of the European powers in the conclave, but it resulted in their asserting in the next century the right to veto candidates from outside the conclave. Throughout, the author astutely interprets the symbolism of the ceremonies surrounding the election.

The Latin texts of *Aeterni Patris Filius* and the *Caereemoniale* are published in an appendix.

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ROBERT BIRELEY, S.J.

*Boundaries of Faith: Catholics and Protestants in the Diocese of Geneva.*

By Jill Fehleison. [Early Modern Studies, 5.] (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 269. \$48.00. ISBN 978-1-935-50311-8.)

Jill Fehleison's study of the Diocese of Geneva in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries is a fine addition to a lengthy list of books examining the Catholic Reformation in French, German, Italian, and Spanish dioceses. However, the Diocese of Geneva presents a particularly interesting example of the reform program. Since its former seat was now the center of Calvinism, it was on the frontlines of the battle against heresy. The diocese also crossed a national boundary between the Duchy of Savoy and France. Among its bishops was one of the most famous figures of the Catholic Reform—the future saint, François de Sales.

De Sales (bishop from 1602 to 1622)—along with his predecessor, Claude de Granier (1579-1602), and his successor (and younger brother) Jean-François de Sales (1622-35)—focused much of their energy on reclaiming the diocese from Protestantism. Their greatest success came in the Chablais region south of Lake Geneva, where François de Sales started a mission to convert Protestants in 1594. Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries joined his campaign, preaching, debating Reformed ministers, and organizing extravagant Forty Hours celebrations. The missionaries were convinced that baroque spectacles would attract Protestants starved for a religious life with emotional appeal. They may have been right; Protestantism largely disappeared from the region. But success owed as much to backing the mission received from the duke, Charles Emmanuel I. In a critique of the confessionalization paradigm, Fehleison points out that the political concerns of the duke and the religious aims of the missionaries often diverged. When they did come together, the duke participated in the mission's celebrations, supported it financially, and eventually revoked the Protestants' right to liberty of conscience.

In contrast, in the Pays de Gex to the west of Lake Geneva, Protestantism survived. The region became part of France in 1601, leaving reforming bish-



ops caught between hostile rulers—the duke and French kings. Henri IV may have admired François de Sales, but he offered the bishop only limited help. He applied the Edict of Nantes's provisions in the region to restore Catholic worship but also to protect the Reformed community.

Like authors of other diocesan studies, Fehleison has examined the records of episcopal visits for evidence of the Catholic Reformation's impact on Catholic parishes. What she finds confirms what these other studies have concluded. Generally bishops succeeded in improving the education and competency of parish priests as well as getting them to observe celibacy. But the old monastic foundations in the diocese strenuously resisted reform. Unlike clergy elsewhere, Catholic Reformation orders such as the Society of Jesus and the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin had little lasting success. The laity did not offer them much support.

As was the case with Catholic reformers in other regions, the Geneva bishops sought to remake the religious lives of laypeople by instilling religious behavior that the clergy controlled and that met new standards for proper worship. But they found that the people “continued to define for themselves what it meant to be a Catholic” (p. 182). Bishops succeeded in encouraging Catholic-Reformation confraternity devotions such as the Blessed Sacrament and the rosary. But older Holy Spirit confraternities continued, as did traditional processions and pilgrimages. In general, people “embraced new practices that enriched their spiritual lives, protected valued local customs, and resisted changes not to their liking” (p. 217). Given the nearby presence of the rival Reformed faith, bishops did not press the issue. And so, the Council of Trent's ideals remained difficult to implement. Bishops adapted to local realities and scaled back their expectations when their major preoccupation was the fight against Protestantism.

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KEITH LURIA

*The Tactics of Toleration. A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars.* By Jesse Spohnholz. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011. Pp. 334. \$80.00. ISBN 978-1-611-49034-3.)

*The Tactics of Toleration* examines religious coexistence and toleration in the German city of Wesel in the second half of the sixteenth century. Spohnholz argues that both elites and common folk in Wesel generally supported a pragmatic set of policies that allowed Lutherans, Calvinists, Catholics, and Anabaptists to live together in the city. Importantly for historians' understanding of this period, this coexistence was founded on a creative tension between the confessional identity of each religious group and a broad sense that communal peace depended on a sense of Christian unity demonstrated in shared religious services. This notion of Christian unity was particularly important, but also particularly strained, in Wesel, which was

swamped with Dutch (mostly Calvinist) refugees fleeing the Dutch Wars after 1566.

Spohnholz's clearly written and well-argued study is based on extensive archival work in Wesel's archives. As with any local study of this kind, the archives give Spohnholz a clear sense of the views and policies of the city government and the local elites. The first two chapters, which focus on the Lutheran and Calvinist communities, deal with the relationships among the Lutheran-dominated city council, the Calvinist consistory, and the Lutheran clergy. Here we see the city fathers navigating between religious extremes and resisting calls from hard-line Lutherans to enforce a strict Lutheran line, particularly in the administration of the Eucharist. At the same time, the council worked with the (unofficial) Calvinist consistory to force those refugees with strong Calvinist views to attend church services administered by the Lutheran clergy, while tolerating private Calvinist services.

Catholics and Anabaptists also were allowed to practice their religion in private, as long as they attended public services on a regular basis. The Anabaptists, almost all Mennonites, were generally willing to dissimulate and caused few problems, despite the close oversight of the authorities. The small Catholic minority had the support of the Catholic William, duke of Cleves, and were thus a greater threat to the city than the Anabaptists. A number of monasteries survived the Reformation in Wesel and provided places for Catholic worship, but Wesel Catholics also attended services in the town's two parish churches, maintaining that sense of Christian unity.

Spohnholz moves beyond an analysis of the policies and strategies of the city's rulers and elites to examine the religious culture of the Weselers as experienced on a day-to-day basis, making the book more original and more interesting than the traditional local urban study. Spohnholz shows how each community found space within Wesel to develop aspects of a confessional identity, without destroying urban peace. He argues that a real confessional divide developed in daily life, but this divide was fluid. For example, Lutherans and Calvinists married within their confessional communities and chose confessionally specific names for their children. There was always tension around baptism, since Calvinists did not want the minister to perform the exorcism rites as part of the service. However, pastors usually finessed this problem, performing the service as the parents wanted. Funerals and burials, however, were rarely a problem, and members of all religious groups held funerals in the form of their choosing in the parish churches of the city. Furthermore, neighborhoods did not have a confessional character and members of religious communities, including the Dutch refugees, lived and worked together all across the city.

This fine study develops a nuanced and complex understanding of religious toleration and coexistence in the early-modern period. Spohnholz shows how "... membership in ... [a] confession did not undermine partici-

pation in a larger body of Christendom. . ." (p. 226). Unfortunately, the complex and essentially peaceful balance of different religious groups in Wesel lasted only two generations and could not survive the growing confessional tensions in the Holy Roman Empire in the late-sixteenth century. The Dutch War spread to Wesel, and conflicts between Catholic and Protestants in the Jülich-Cleves Crisis in 1609 led to further confessional polarization. Within Wesel, confessional coexistence continued; but common services ended, and each confession developed its own institutions within clearly demarked legal boundaries. In the long run, confessional identities hardened in Wesel, as they did in much of the Holy Roman Empire, in the decades around 1600.

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MARC R. FORSTER

*Portraits from the French Renaissance and the Wars of Religion.* By André Thevet. Translated by Edward Benson; edited with introduction and notes by Roger Schlesinger. [Early Modern Studies, 3.] (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2010. Pp. xxxiv, 214. \$39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-931-11298-7.)

This book is an annotated translation of thirteen selections from André Thevet's *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres* (Paris, 1584). Most of the individuals featured in this edition were Thevet's contemporaries: kings (François I, Henri II, Charles IX), aristocrats and warriors (including François de Lorraine, duke of Guise; Constable Anne de Montmorency; and Chancellor Michel de L'Hospital), and scholars (Guillaume Budé and Guillaume Postel).

This gallery of portraits contains little that is new. Thevet's eulogies of powerful political figures often are trite and at times redundant. As Frank Lestringant wrote in his biography of Thevet, a certain realism, if not opportunism, dictated the cosmographer's writing. As a protégé of Cardinal Jean de Lorraine, who funded his first voyage to the Levant in 1549, Thevet celebrated de Lorraine (the cardinal's nephew) as a martyr during the first Wars of Religion. According to Lestringant, Thevet reconfigured his political position from 1563 to support the policy of conciliation led by Catherine de Medici and advocated by L'Hospital. After the St. Bartholomew Day's massacre in 1572, Thevet justified persecution of seditious Huguenots. He increasingly veered toward the Catholic Ligue and, before his death in 1590, received protection and favors from Charles, duke of Mayenne and son of de Lorraine. This rapidly shifting political stance may explain why Thevet, a laicized Franciscan and the queen mother's chaplain, largely avoided thorny issues of confessional conflict. The overall absence of ideological steadfastness in *Les vrais pourtraits* may reflect his career as a quintessential courtier—he managed to serve as royal cosmographer under four successive kings. The introduction in this English edition provides a balanced picture of

the events and developments surrounding the Wars of Religion, but it rarely mentions Thevet's political opinions, paying perhaps too much attention to his earlier travel accounts. One wonders whether it would have been more helpful if the editor had attempted to discuss Thevet in the context of political patronage and power politics of the time.

Thevet's work often is compared with Theodore Beza's *Vrais portraits des hommes illustres en piété et doctrine* (Geneva, 1581). There are differences between the works of the two authors. Nearly every entry in Thevet's book was accompanied by a copperplate engraving of the subject's portrait, but the chapter on L'Hospital was left with an empty frame. Beza, Calvin's successor in Geneva, had presented in his book a picture of L'Hospital with a lit candle hanging behind his back. According to Beza, the chancellor, although he held Protestant sympathies, failed to declare openly his true religious belief and thus turned his back to the light, which signified the Truth. Thevet stated:

Very willingly should I have offered you [L'Hospital's] portrait, if the Seigneur de Besze [Beza] had not set it in his work of the portraits of illustrious men. I am angry that he put the candle behind his back. . . . [H]e wishes to tax de L'Hospital with not having taken sides over Religion, but if Besze [Beza] takes light for his Religion, I will leave him, and shall confess to him that an infinite number saw de L'Hospital live as a Catholic. One can hardly be sure whether he did so with his heart, that being a secret not revealed to men. (p. 117)

Thevet considered L'Hospital to be a good Catholic, yet stopped short of disputing Beza's presentation of the chancellor as nicodemite, pointing out instead the futility and vanity of speculating on individual religious belief. L'Hospital himself strenuously denied that he was a crypto-Protestant, but Thevet, by effectively referring the readers to Beza's book, left the chancellor's religious opinion in doubt. Thevet's ambivalence seemed to be in full display.

As his contemporary Jacques-Auguste de Thou noted, Thevet was not known for his scholarly reputation. Nonetheless, his accounts are an important testimony to his time. Expertly translated and carefully annotated, this English edition provides an excellent introduction to the history of sixteenth-century France.

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MARIE SEONG-HAK KIM



*Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism.* By Massimo Leone. Edited by Gustavo Benavides, Kocku von Stuckrad, and Winifred Fallers Sullivan. [Religion and Society, Vol. 48.] (New York: Walter de Gruyter. 2010. Pp. xi, 652. \$196.00. ISBN 978-3-110-22951-6.)

Massimo Leone's book intends to demonstrate the author's semiotic hypothesis that saints rank among the more important communication media or "signification simulacra" of Catholicism. (pp. 1–2). His case study is the contributions made to the early-modern definition of sainthood by hagiography on the four early-modern saints canonized in 1622: Ignatius of Loyola (chapter 2, pp. 23–203), Philip Neri (chapter 3, pp. 205–319), Francis Xavier (chapter 3, pp. 321–479), and Teresa of Ávila (chapter 4, pp. 481–530).

For Leone, the early-modern conception of sanctity largely differed from the medieval conception (p. 531). Teresa best embodies Leone's first premise: that, in contrast to medieval saints, early miracles depend more on the transformation of souls than of bodies (pp. 531–32). Neri, Ignatius, and Teresa can be cited to exemplify Leone's argument that early-modern Catholicism conceives spiritual change as mainly an internal and intimate process of conversion (p. 533). In this sense, the hagiography of Teresa especially emphasized the role of individual will and moral responsibility in conversion (p. 501).

The portrayal of Ignatius as a new St. Francis of Assisi (p. 90) best illustrates Leone's point that early-modern representations of sainthood serve as different experimental fields (laboratories) of spiritual and religious identity through a reshaping of previous saints (p. 534). The intention to address different constituencies is clear in the cases of Xavier (non-European public), Neri (poor classes), and Teresa (women).

Early-modern Christianity has a global character (p. 535), because sainthood is produced and diffused throughout the whole of the known world and is best represented by the exoticism associated with Xavier. Moreover, fabricators of sainthood used all the means that were to hand (multimedia).

Certainly, Leone's semiotic approach to sainthood opens up a research pathway that is innovative and challenging. He has an extensive knowledge of primary and secondary sources (the recent and essential contributions on Xavier by Pamplona scholars—in particular, Ignacio Arellano Ayuso and Gabriella Torres Olleta—are, however, missing) and a remarkable ability to decipher the encoded meanings of details presented in the visual arts. Moreover, Leone correctly selects particularly influential texts and images from among the enormous amount of textual and visual testimonies available.

Nevertheless, the reader sometimes might wish that the author had better explained and illustrated his points (this problem is particularly evident in

the conclusions compiled as general statements without any reference to the previous analysis of the four saints, pp. 531–36). Moreover, the inclusion of some excursus is difficult to follow and needs closer articulation with the subject of the chapter (this can be seen in the excursus on Tridentine theology, pp. 119–25, of the chapter on Ignatius). Finally, Leone also might have adopted a more comparative approach in analyzing texts and images pertaining to the saints (for instance, Rubens's altarpiece with the representation of Xavier's miracles, pp. 471–79, must be seen in context of the same artist's pendant showing Ignatius's miracles).

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CRISTINA OSSWALD

*The Theological-Political Origins of the Modern State: The Controversy between James I of England & Cardinal Bellarmine.* By Bernard Bourdin. Translated by Susan Pickford. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2010. Pp. x, 282. \$59.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21791-8.)

In this well-argued book, Bernard Bourdin contends that the debate between King James I and the Jesuit Robert Bellarmine, cardinal and saint, during the Oath of Allegiance controversy marked a “decisive step” in the “origins of modern politics” (p. 6). Arguing that the birth of modernity cannot be reduced to secularization, Bourdin maintains that “the advent of modern politics” was characterized by the “judicial distancing from papal authority” (p. 248). James's stance in the controversy was especially important, because it laid out a “clearer demarcation of secular and ecclesiastical powers” (p. 111).

The book begins by providing historical background to the controversy. It then discusses the Oath of Allegiance, imposed by King James after the failed Gunpowder Plot of 1605. This oath, which included an article denouncing the pope's right to depose or excommunicate a ruler, set off a pamphlet war throughout Europe. King James and Bellarmine were among its most important disputants, and Bourdin expertly analyzes the two men's theological-political theories throughout the rest of the book. James argued that rulers are the sole sovereigns over their subjects by divine right and are above any ecclesiastical body in their domains. The Church, indeed, never can interfere in political affairs. Bellarmine disagreed. He argued that the pope possesses ultimate power in spiritual affairs and indirect power in temporal ones. This indirect temporal power means that the pope can intervene by admonishing, spiritually censoring, and eventually deposing rulers whose policies endanger the salvation of souls.

Bourdin's analysis of the conflict between the king and the cardinal is convincing. His interpretation of James's theological-political views, as well as the Calvinist influences visible in them, also is supported by James's writings, those of his contemporaries, and the best of the secondary literature.

One wonders, however, if there was always quite as much “constancy” (p. 217) in the king’s theological-political thought as Bourdin suggests—at least when it came to its practical application. For example, during the same period that the king and his advisers were participating in the Oath of Allegiance controversy, they also became heavily involved in another significant theological-political conflict taking place in the Dutch Republic. In these disputes the “Arminians” were in general agreement with the king’s stance about the supremacy of rulers over ecclesiastical bodies whereas their “Gomarist” foes were not. But despite this fact, James forcibly intervened on behalf of the Gomarists.

In addition, Bourdin’s writing often is needlessly opaque, making his arguments more difficult to follow than necessary. Terminology is occasionally muddled as well. For example, the book repeatedly refers to the Reformation as “the Reform,” while Reformed thinkers become “Reformist.” Occasional missteps such as referring early on to King James as “James VI” (his Scottish title) rather than “James I” (his English one) in reference to a period when he was king of both countries and then proceeding to call him “James I” in the same context throughout the rest of the book also distract the reader.

The six-year gap between the book’s original publication and its 2010 English translation means that it does not reference relevant works from the past several years such as Stefania Tutino’s excellent *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625* (Burlington, VT, 2007). It is unfortunate that the translation was not revised slightly to put it into dialogue with this research. There also are some scholarly gaps even among works published before 2004. For example, it surprisingly does not reference a single work on the topic by Michael C. Questier.

Despite these problems, Bourdin’s book provides an important study of the Oath of Allegiance controversy and its historical significance.

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ERIC PLATT

*James II and the Three Questions: Religious Toleration and the Landed Classes, 1687–1688.* By Peter Walker. [Studies in the History of Religious and Political Pluralism, Vol. 5.] (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010. Pp. xxx, 307. \$72.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-039-11927-1.)

In October 1687, King James II ordered his lords lieutenant to ask the leading office-holders and other gentry of their counties whether (if elected to Parliament) they would vote for the repeal of the penal laws and Test Acts, whether they would vote for candidates pledged to repeal them, and whether they would live peaceably with people of all religious views. His aim was to secure a Parliament that would repeal these laws, allowing both

Catholics and Protestant Dissenters to worship freely and to hold public offices of all kinds (from which the Test Acts excluded them). Most of those holding local offices were Anglican Tories, and the majority of responses were negative or evasive—many could not say “yes,” but did not want to offend the king. His preparations were never put to the test, thanks to King William III’s invasion late in 1688.

Most historians have seen James’s “campaign” to pack Parliament as counterproductive and doomed to fail. The dismissal from office of those whose responses were negative or ambivalent showed that opposition to his policies was widespread, whereas the very fact of asking candidates and voters to pledge themselves in advance was seen as unconstitutional—the negation of free elections and free debate within Parliament. The questions could thus be seen as (in Walker’s words) a public-relations disaster. In many respects Walker shares the received view, but with two important qualifications.

First, the claim that the failure of James’s strategy was inevitable owed much to hindsight. The alienation of the Tories and the failure to win Whig support in their place owed much to events in 1688, notably the prosecution of the Seven Bishops and the birth of the king’s son, opening up the prospect of an ongoing Catholic dynasty. Above all, the prospect of invasion brought the hope of deliverance. Second, Walker argues that the third question—on living peaceably with people regardless of their religion—was important, as it encouraged people to declare themselves publicly in favor of tolerance or toleration, which he seems to see as one and the same. (Admittedly, he also suggests that many who had given “unsatisfactory” answers to the other two questions were happy to please the king in this case, especially as it did not commit them to anything.) He argues that this encouraged religious pluralism, whereas before religious persecution had been justified by equating nonconformity with political disaffection. However, this claim seems exaggerated. Since Elizabeth’s reign, the English state had (in theory) prosecuted Catholics for their allegiance to a foreign ruler (the pope) rather than for their religion, while Dissenters were accused of plotting sedition and “murdering” King Charles I. Many people interacted socially with Catholics or Dissenters, while arguing for the need to guard against the political implications of their principles. That said, James II’s Declaration of Indulgence *did* lead to a wider measure of toleration from 1689—from which his fellow Catholics were excluded.

It would be unfair to conclude this review on a negative note. The book is well researched and well written. If it does little to change the bigger picture of James II’s reign, it sheds a great deal of light on the problems of Tory landowners, who struggled to reconcile their fear of popery and dislike of Dissent with their loyalties to Church and king. Some were forthright in their negatives; others took refuge in equivocation and evasion. Walker is sensitive to the nuances of their responses and helps his readers to understand better



the dilemmas and discomforts of the Tories during and after the Revolution of 1688–89.

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JOHN MILLER

*Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy.* By Craig A. Monson. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 241. \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-226-53461-9.)

From Boccaccio and Chaucer to *Nonsense*, the antics of misbehaving women religious have been a popular topic in literature and the arts. Although there is nothing in Craig Monson's new book quite as outlandish or hilariously funny as an abbess wearing her lover's trousers on her head instead of a coif, the tales he tells have the attraction of a firm basis in the historical record. Monson, a musicologist at Washington University in St. Louis, is well known for his work on music in the nunneries of early-modern Bologna (*Disembodied Voices* [Berkeley, 1995]). In the course of his research in Italian archives, particularly the Vatican, Monson came across the fascinating records of a number of investigations of wayward nuns, most of them dealing not at all, or only tangentially, with music. In this new volume, he retells five of them from the late-sixteenth through the early-eighteenth century—three set at Bolognese convents, one in Pavia, and one in Reggio Calabria.

The nuns in these cases cast spells, set fire to their convent, fled with friends, argued about artistic patronage, or stole away at night to attend the opera. Although the events themselves are engrossing, Monson uses them to reveal much about the lives of these women, their relationships with each other, and their interactions with the ecclesiastical authorities whose rules and regulations they were obligated to follow. Many of these women, of course, had not become nuns by true vocation, but because their families forced them to enter the convent to avoid paying massive dowries for multiple daughters. In many cases, they found themselves locked behind walls with other unhappy women, aware of the outside world, but barred from participation in it. Some could channel their frustrations in positive directions, devoting themselves to managing the convent, developing musical skills, or sponsoring and directing the renovation of their church. Others such as the ones in Monson's stories went in the other direction and ran straight into conflict with abbesses, bishops, and inquisitors.

As Monson explains in his wide-ranging and invaluable prologue, he has chosen to bring these cases to life by diverging a bit from standard historical procedure. Although everything here is based directly on the archival documents, sometimes quoted at length in translation and all carefully cited in extensive endnotes, the author has chosen to turn the written records of

interrogations into dialogue and to show us the environment through the eyes and minds of the protagonists. For example, instead of drily describing the convent buildings as done in more traditional scholarly books, Monson shows them to us as they would have been seen by the inquisitor as he arrived to begin his investigation. The resulting narratives are fun to read, but nonetheless chock full of both information and insights. Monson also has tried to preserve for us the excitement of uncovering what others are endeavoring to keep secret, as we follow the sometimes frustrating and almost always contorted investigations of both the seventeenth-century inquisitor and the twenty-first-century historian.

*University of Kentucky*

JONATHAN GLIXON

*Comme il importe au bien de l'Église et de l'État: L'opposition de l'épiscopat «belgique» aux réformes ecclésiastiques de Joseph II (1780-1790).* By Bernard Vandermeersch. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Fascicule 94.] (Louvain-la-Neuve: Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique; Leuven: Universiteitsbibliotheek. 2010. Pp. 498. €55,00 paperback.)

Based on several eighteenth-century manuscript sources in Belgian archives and libraries (especially the *Acta Episcoporum* and the *Acta Archiepiscopatus*), printed pamphlets, and edited sources—as well as the principal contributions within the historiography on the Enlightenment, Josephinism, *Reformkatholizismus*, *Spätjansenismus*, Catholic Enlightenment, and ultramontanism—Bernard Vandermeersch aims to study the reactions of the Belgian episcopate toward the religious reforms imposed by Joseph II. The *termini a quo* and *ante quem* of his study correspond to Joseph II's reign (1780–90). The material limits are those of the so-called Belgian Church of the second half of the eighteenth century, composed by the Dioceses of Ypres, Ghent, Roermond, Antwerp, and Bruges, under the authority of the Archdiocese of Malines, and those composed by the Dioceses of Tournai and Namur, theoretically dependent of the Archdiocese of Cambrai.

According to the author, the religious policy pursued by Joseph II in the Austrian Low Countries was led along three lines: nationalization of the Church, secularization of political life, and state supervision of the clergy. Several decrees were issued to suppress jurisdictional bonds between the Belgian Church and the Holy See. Surprisingly, the Belgian episcopate did not at first really oppose this anti-ultramontane feature of imperial Reformism. Cardinal Johann Heinrich von Franckenberg, archbishop of Malines, was almost the only party not to approve the anti-Roman legislation, and there was hardly any opposition to secularization by the high clergy. It was as if Joseph II easily imposed the Febronianist-inspired legislation on the Belgian bishops. The case of marriage dispensations (1781) revealed that several bishops had episcopalistic tendencies toward Rome. Joseph II took advan-

tage of them by giving them more power to create an independent Belgian Church, molded after the Gallican model. However, it contributed to a degradation of the relationship between the "Two Powers" and to confusion in Catholic minds among Joseph II, the Jansenists, and the Philosophes. Actually, the strongest opposition by the bishops was provoked in 1786 by the state's attempt to subdue the Belgian Church so as to promote goals influenced by the Enlightenment. The bishops were losing prerogatives, especially in the organization of theological studies (by the foundation of a state seminary) and in the regulation of ecclesiastical careers. The attempt by Joseph II to control and subdue the episcopate at the end of his reign greatly contributed to the return and triumph of ultramontanism, which eventually appeared to be the best way to preserve the Church's independence and, therefore, faith itself. Ultramontanism then appeared to be the true Roman Catholic orthodoxy. The most important contribution of Vandermeersch is to have proven through his historical research this change and evolution within the Belgian Church during the ecclesiastical reforms of Joseph II.

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DRIES VANYSACKER

### **Late Modern European**

*Mennonite German Soldiers: Nation, Religion, and Family in the Prussian East, 1772-1880.* By Mark Jantzen. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 371. \$38.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-03269-2)

Mark Jantzen's book *Mennonite German Soldiers* discusses the history of Mennonites in the regions of the Vistula River, from the beginning of the 1772 Prussian takeover of the lands where Mennonites resided to the early years after the formation of the German Empire in 1871. In particular, the book is the story of how a faith community, within the space of a century, was transformed from a community whose primary identity was faith in God and the belief that this faith required rejection of military service to a community that embraced German nationalism and accepted that military service was the highest duty of a German Christian. As such, this book becomes a study in nationalism, acculturation, toleration, and the precarious nature of all minority religious groups in the face of the ultimate claims of nation-states.

Jantzen portrays in detail the struggle between Mennonites and the Prussian state. In the government's effort to draw Mennonites into the national ethos and have them accept military service, it decided to put pressure on them in three areas: land, taxation, and marriage patterns. As long as Mennonites rejected military service, they could not buy additional land. This caused many to emigrate to Russia. As long as Mennonites rejected military

service, they had to pay a military exemption tax and local church taxes to either the Lutheran or Catholic parishes, in addition to their normal taxes. This resulted in a double-taxation system. As long as Mennonites rejected military service, they could not marry outside of their church group, since the government decreed that children of mixed marriages could not be exempt from military service. Thus, intermarriages with non-Mennonites jeopardized the future of the Mennonite church.

Jantzen's excellent book is a sequel to the study by Peter Klassen, *Mennonites in Early Modern Poland and Prussia* (Baltimore, 2009), of these same Mennonite communities. Klassen's study covers the period spanning the sixteenth-century Mennonite migration to the Vistula River regions in Poland to the 1772-95 divisions of Poland, when most of the Mennonites in this region came under Prussian rule. Thus, these two books provide readers with excellent, new, well-researched, and well-written histories of the years that Mennonites lived in the former Polish and Prussian regions.

This study is remarkably well documented, using Mennonite records, local archives, and various state archives of Germany and the former Prussia. It thus places the various movements, discussions and issues fully within the local and federal cultural, political and religious contexts.

The book includes almost sixty pages of footnotes, fifteen pages of primary documents, about twenty-four pages of bibliography (including both primary and secondary sources), and a helpful index. A few maps would have enhanced the book, especially for contemporary readers unfamiliar with the various changes to political boundaries in that area of Europe.

Jantzen's study is highly recommended for anyone interested in Mennonite history. In addition to helping readers better understand the history of this important segment of the Mennonite past, it also sheds light on the character and identity of Mennonites from this community who migrated to Russia and from there to North America and Latin America.

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JOHN J. FRIESEN

*Spiritual Elders. Charisma and Tradition in Russian Orthodoxy.* By Irina Paert. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 286. \$43.00. ISBN 978-0-875-80429-3.)

In *Spiritual Elders*, Irina Paert provides a theoretically well-informed and impressively researched account of the revival, evolution, and social and cultural significance of spiritual eldership (*starchestvo*) in Russian Orthodoxy from the eighteenth century to the present. In the process, she perceptively discusses many of the main challenges confronting, and developments



within, the Russian Orthodox Church across this time period. By structuring her analysis around the questions of the tension between charismatic and ecclesiastical—particularly episcopal—authority, authenticity and the invention of religious traditions, the adaptation of religious institutions and practices to modernizing change, and the role of gender in shaping religious sentiment and behavior, Paert also offers valuable insights into a number of important issues of interest to scholars of religion generally.

Contending that the evolution, character, and significance of spiritual eldership in Russian Orthodoxy have been influenced strongly by changing historical circumstances, Paert organizes her study chronologically. She argues that, although long a strand in Russian Orthodox monasticism, the practice of spiritual eldership had largely disappeared by the seventeenth century. The foundations for its revival paradoxically but not coincidentally were laid during the eighteenth century, at a time when monasticism in Russia was in sharp decline due to a combination of state policies, cultural Westernization, and centralizing trends within the Orthodox ecclesiastical administration. In response to these developments, some Russian monks retreated to remote regions and adopted a severely ascetic and pious mode of life while others such as Paisii Velichkovskii emigrated abroad, seeking to discover a more spiritually fulfilling form of monastic life in communities such as those on Mt. Athos. Velichkovskii eventually developed an ideal of communal monasticism that was structured on a conception of eldership based on asceticism, mystical prayer, and the guidance of younger monks by experienced spiritual fathers. This ideal was embodied in the monastic communities in Moldavia founded by Velichkovskii and was promoted by him as the authentic form of Christian monasticism both in his own writings and in the compendium of early Christian and Byzantine theological writings (the *Dobrotoliubie*, or *Philokalia*) that he produced. Hence, Paert demonstrates, when in the first half of the nineteenth century state policies toward religion became more favorable, Russian Orthodox hierarchs seeking to promote a revival of monasticism both for its own sake and as a means for religious revitalization generally adopted Velichkovskii's ideal as a model for reform and embraced—albeit not unambiguously—isolated practitioners of spiritual eldership. At the same time, Slavophil writers fashioned spiritual eldership into a symbol of Russian cultural particularity and spiritual superiority in comparison with the Catholic and Protestant West. The result of these developments, Paert shows, was a growth in the number and the visibility of spiritual elders; an expansion under their influence particularly of female religious communities; and an increased flow of lay believers visiting elders in search of spiritual guidance, advice with their concerns, and divine intercession in their lives. This latter phenomenon grew dramatically after 1861, due both to the increased mobility and access resulting from the abolition of serfdom and improvements in transportation and to an apparent increase in demand arising from social and economic dislocation and cultural flux. Expanded literacy and developments in publishing, moreover, enabled spiri-

tual elders to offer guidance and advice remotely to an even wider number of believers through personal and published collections of correspondence. By the last decades of the Old Regime, Paert argues persuasively, although growing only modestly within monastic communities, not only had the practice of spiritual eldership contributed significantly to the revival of Russian Orthodox monasticism but also its reach into lay society had been extended through adoption by prominent parish priests and lay leaders of informal religious groups. Meanwhile, its image had become a medium of cultural and political discourse, serving as a symbol *inter alia* of Russian national character, the deep spirituality of the Russian Orthodox Church and the uncorrupted Russian peasantry, and the mystical union of the tsar with his people. After the revolutions of 1917, the noninstitutional and charismatic character of spiritual eldership facilitated its persistence in Soviet conditions and enabled recognized elders to emerge in post-Soviet Russia as spiritual and religious authorities untainted by the suspicion of compromise with the Soviet state.

This latter point highlights two of Paert's central themes: the tension between charismatic and institutional ecclesiastical authority and the capacity of Russian Orthodoxy to respond and adapt to modernizing change. As Paert demonstrates, the authority of spiritual elders derived (and derives) not from any formal position or the sanction of ecclesiastical authorities, but from their reputation for holiness gained over time through their asceticism, piety, skill in giving advice, perceived ability to heal and prophesy, and other personal qualities. Although elders remained within the Church, their authority thus existed independently of the church hierarchy and depended on the exercise of their autonomous judgment, a situation that often led (and continues to lead) to tension and conflict particularly with episcopal authority. Yet this ability to act autonomously on an interpersonal and local level enabled elders frequently to respond more flexibly than other church institutions to the daily needs, cares, and concerns of Orthodox believers, especially women, in the conditions of dislocation, uncertainty, and anxiety produced by modernizing change. Hence Paert concludes that spiritual eldership, although represented as an archaic component of and means of preserving authentic Russian Orthodoxy, has provided a medium for adapting it to modernity.

Williams College

WILLIAM G. WAGNER

*Two Essays on Biblical and on Ecclesiastical Miracles* By John Henry Newman. Edited with an introduction and notes by Geoffrey Rowell. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xlviii, 457. \$40.00. ISBN 978-0-268-03607-2.)

In April 1826, Newman completed an article on scriptural miracles that had been commissioned for the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*. In it, he main-

tained that the age of miracles was limited to the Old and New Testaments, ending with the end of the apostolic age. He argued that miracles were only necessary at the beginning of the Church to secure its foundations. In the preceding month he had completed another article for the *Encyclopaedia* on "The Life of Apollonius Tyaneus, with a Comparison of the Miracles of Scripture and Those Elsewhere Related"; Apollonius was a neo-Pythagorean philosopher credited with many miracles that Newman consigned to the category of magic. Newman pointed out, although miracles are anomalous events in the natural world as we understand it, they may be quite normal in the divine scheme of things. He realized that miracles would not convert the atheist. Miracles are only likely on the "antecedent probability" that the Creator is likely to intervene in his creation—just as some occurrences are unlikely to qualify as miracles, because, for example, their object is trivial.

Newman's second essay on miracles appeared as the preface to an 1842 English translation of *The Ecclesiastical History of M. L'Abbé Fleury*. His acceptance now of the postapostolic miracles that he had rejected in the earlier essay simply reflects the development of his own ecclesiology from a Protestant to a Catholic sense of the supernatural nature of the Church. He also came to connect the earlier denial with the flippant way he had spoken about the Fathers, an irreverence that he saw as part of his drift toward liberal theology under the influence of the Oriel "Noetics." Now he sees a continuity between the history of the Old and New Testaments and that of the postapostolic Church. Since the latter also is sacred history, there is an expectation that miracles are likely to occur. To deny that miracles are still possible is to fall into the same skepticism as that of Hume toward the miracles of the scriptures. As for the argument that postscriptural miracles tend to have a legendary look about them, Newman observes that the miracles recorded in the scriptures would similarly have looked to contemporaries like Jewish sorcery. Whether or not we believe in the postapostolic alleged miracles depends, he argues, less on the evidence producible than on whether we think they are likely—that is, antecedently probable.

Geoffrey Rowell's informative introduction is unfortunately marred by two sentences that do not make sense (pp. xxv, xxviii) and have strangely escaped the notice of the editor, the general editor of the series, and the copyeditor. The composition of the second essay also is wrongly dated to 1824 (p. xii). The notes are copious and detailed, indicating an aspiration, as in previous volumes in the series, toward the status of a critical edition.

*The Madonna of the Prickly Pear Cactus: Tradition and Innovation in 19th- and 20th-Century Christian Art in the Holy Land.* By Nurith Kenaan-Kedar. (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press. 2010. Pp. 168. \$35.00. ISBN 978-9-652-17317-1.)

In *The Madonna of the Prickly Pear Cactus*, Nurith Kenaan-Kedar provides the reader with a valuable survey of the several specific sites in the Holy Land during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The reader is presented with three separate Christian traditions within the time frame that the author has chosen: the Armenian Christian, Greek Orthodox Christian, and Latin or Roman Catholic churches. Within each instance, Kenaan-Kedar provides a historical context in which to view the individual works selected as well as a comparison of works of the same theme produced over a period of centuries. In the instance of her discussion of the icon paintings of the Forty Holy Martyrs of Sebaste, the reader is presented with an early example of this composition from the fifteenth century as well as a number of later iterations of this theme. It is interesting to see how each artist, true to the essential message transmitted in these icons, has responded with the sensibilities of his or her particular time. One can see, as time progresses, the definite influence that Western styles of painting have exerted over the traditional late-Byzantine style. The result is a painting style that is neither completely Eastern nor Western but would aptly represent its place of origin as a crossroads of different cultures. Kenaan-Kedar also directs the reader's attention to the introduction of representations of local buildings or landmarks in the painter's compositions. These additions "ground" the paintings to the specific locale and community of faithful believers, making the biblical stories and the lives of the saints even more vivid to the faithful viewer. Although this addition of locale is certainly not a new idea in the history of painting, it is yet another example of the confluence of artistic ideas and conventions evident at the time of the creation of these paintings.

There is certainly a wealth of work contained in this book that bears consideration, but the two most recent churches featured in the book are worthy of mention—the Church of the Visitation at Ain Karim and the Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth. The older of the two churches at Ain Karim is a lovely ensemble of architecture and mosaic and murals that, taken as a whole, becomes one well-integrated work of art. Of particular appeal are the large window openings that bear the obvious influence of Arabic art. The window openings harken to the open fretwork and marquetry of the Arab world. The innovative design of the Church of the Annunciation allows the pilgrim to view the church within the church through an opening in the floor of the upper level. It is a vibrant architectural expression that allows the ancient and the contemporary to work in harmonious juxtaposition—a point-counterpoint duet. Both architects, however, were Italian.



It is unfortunate that this book does not contain the contemporary work of the native artists and architects working today in the Holy Land. In addition, although examples are cited of mosaics representing different ethnic Madonnas, none seems to express the artistic tradition of that place. Each was masterfully executed, but all seemed to represent the viewpoint of a foreign culture. Where is the Virgin of the Holy Land?

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MARTIN ERSPAMER, O.S.B.

*Antikatholizismus: Deutschland und Italien im Zeitalter der europäischen Kulturkämpfe.* By Manuel Borutta. [Bürgertum Neue Folge. Studien zur Zivilgesellschaft, Band 7.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2010. Pp. 488. €61.95. ISBN: 978-3-525-36849-7.)

Manuel Borutta's *Antikatholizismus: Deutschland und Italien im Zeitalter der europäischen Kulturkämpfe* is a book with a very large and ambitious scope. Indeed, its central arguments require it to be so. According to Borutta, anti-Catholicism played a far larger role in modern European history than often is acknowledged. Its central role throughout the long nineteenth century prompted liberals time and again to take action against everything from clerical influence in election campaigning to the continued existence of religious orders. Borutta demonstrates that the *Kulturkampf*, far from just referring to the decade after the 1871 unification of Germany, can just as well be applied to many other events throughout the century in both Germany and elsewhere. His two main areas of focus are Germany and Italy; yet Borutta emphasizes the transnational, European-wide scope of the struggles. Even though Borutta is interested in the interaction between the discourse and the events, another major issue that he foregrounds is the important role played by newspapers, journals, books, and other media in spreading and reinforcing anti-Catholic views. In drawing out these and many other more specific arguments, Borutta provides scholars with a well-researched and informative book.

One of the most interesting and illuminating sections of Borutta's book comes in the first part that posits anti-Catholicism in the framework of Orientalism. As evidence of incompatibility with modern progress, Catholicism was treated as static, exotic, and primitive. Borutta provides a particularly fascinating discussion of this in his comparisons of how writers depicted Catholics in Europe with how European colonizers described indigenous peoples elsewhere. Moreover, he shows that even the more positively inclined Romantics asserted the same basic vision of Catholicism as fundamentally belonging to "the Other." In the Italian case, much of the focus of this Orientalizing discourse on Rome proved particularly tricky to navigate in the recasting of the home of the pope into a city representing the new nation-state.

Also quite useful is Borutta's discussion in the third part of his book of the factors limiting the actual advance of the various secularizing efforts. Beyond the resistance of the Church and believers, factors within the camp of those attempting to limit the influence of religion also acted as a brake on secularization. The liberal vision of the relationship between state and Church as one of marriage, for example, meant that religion was still guaranteed a role—albeit quite subordinate—in the nation in all frameworks except those of *Kulturkämpfer* on the far left.

Although the liberal vision of state and Church as man and wife is integrally connected to issues of gendering, Borutta expands on the description of Catholicism as feminine throughout the book, especially in part 2. He certainly uncovers interesting material in this part as well, but it does seem one of the less innovative sections, especially given existing research like that in Michael Gross's *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2004). Although there are certainly many important differences of interpretation between the two books, Borutta might have been more generous at times in showing how much of his work could be seen as in the same vein as that of Gross's. Moreover, Borutta's points about secularization theory as an integral part of the story, not an explanation for anti-Catholicism but a product of it, are quite provocative but never seem to get as much sustained attention in the book as they deserve. Nonetheless, *Antikatholizismus* is a fine book and a welcome addition to the literature. Its impressive scope allows it to provide many insights as to how integral anti-Catholicism was to the conflicts of the nineteenth century and beyond.

Middlebury College

REBECCA AYAKO BENNETTE

*Bishop Herbert Vaughan and the Jesuits: Education and Authority.* Edited by Martin Broadley. (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press for the Catholic Records Society. 2010. Pp. xxxviii, 248. \$80.00. ISBN 978-0-902-83225-1.)

The editor has brought together from archives in England and Rome, the papers relating to a dispute in 1875 between Bishop Herbert Vaughan, subsequently cardinal archbishop of Westminster, and the English province of the Society of Jesus. The general history of the altercation has been well known for some time and addressed by a number of historians. The dispute centered on the fact that the Jesuits opened a school in Manchester, in the Salford diocese, in defiance of Vaughan's wishes. The Jesuits claimed that the privileges of the Order enabled them to act in this high-handed fashion, and Vaughan would have none of it. He went to Rome determined that he would have the authority of a diocesan bishop upheld, or he would resign his see. In the end a compromise of sorts was worked out whereby the Jesuits, in the person of Father General Peter Beckx, agreed to close the school and Vaughan agreed not to demand an investigation into the exempt privileges claimed by the Society.

The dispute is of interest for a number of reasons, not least because it occurred within twenty-five years of the restoration of the hierarchy in England. But also because, as Broadley indicates in his introductory essay to the collection of documents, it was one more instance of the struggles between the Jesuits and the diocesan clergy that had been a feature of English Catholicism since the days of Elizabeth I.

In this instance the confrontation between the bishops, all of whom were dragged into the dispute and who collectively petitioned the Holy See on Vaughan's behalf, and the Jesuits would ultimately lead in 1881 to the pontifical constitution *Romanos Pontifices*. That document would prove to be the basis for regulating the relationship between bishops and religious orders until the codification of the Canon Law in 1917. One towering figure who, in the 1875 dispute, seemed to play only a minor, if vital, role was Henry Edward Manning, made a cardinal in that very year. Manning was convinced, as he wrote to Vaughan in March 1875, that the English Jesuits were 'altogether abnormal, dangerous to themselves, mischievous to the Church in England' (p. 56).

This is a valuable collection and will be of immense use to students of nineteenth-century English church history. The collection is not, however, as comprehensive as might have been expected. The editor, for admittedly cogent reasons, has not included exchanges of letters that are available in three booklets published simultaneously with the dispute. This choice gives an uneven perspective. Thus, for example, we have the letters written from Italy by Father Alfred Weld, the English assistant to the Jesuit General, but none from Father Peter Gallwey, the English Provincial, to Weld. The editor does not always indicate at first mention the role and significance of correspondents. He misidentifies the author of "Appendix ten," since from internal evidence it cannot be by Weld, but undoubtedly draws on a letter written by Weld. Some pagination is missing from the appendices. There also are a number of misprints. These are, however, minor blemishes in what is an otherwise splendidly produced volume.

Ultimately, as with so many ecclesiastical disputes, none of the protagonists really emerges with their reputations unsullied. The Jesuits tried to besmirch both Vaughan and the Xavieran Brothers who already had a school in Manchester. Weld could say of the brothers that they represented no threat to the Society, since, in his words, "they have not got educated men and are not likely to have them. . ." (p. 116). He had previously asked Gallwey to "get some facts . . . to show how uneducated the Xaverians themselves are" (p. 24). For his part, Vaughan objected to a petition that a number of laymen in Manchester signed in protest against the forced closure of the Jesuit school on the basis of the fact that for the most part they were men of "inferior social and intellectual standing" (p. 152).

*Mes missions en Sibérie*, suivi de *Confession d'un prêtre devant l'Église*. By Archimandrite Spiridon. Translated by Pierre Pascal and Michel Evdokimov with an introduction by Michel Evdokimov. [L'histoire à vif.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2010. Pp. 255. €20,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09373-6.)

The first of these two memoirs by Archimandrite Spiridon, a Russian monastic priest of the early-twentieth century, was first translated from the Russian by Pierre Pascal and published in 1950. Michel Evdokimov, an Orthodox priest of the Western European Archdiocese based in Paris and an emeritus professor of comparative literature at the University of Poitiers, has translated the second part—a confessional open letter about Spiridon's service as a military chaplain and a statement he sent to the 1917–18 Moscow Council that was charged with reform of the Russian church.

This is a wonderful, first-person account of a life of dedication to pastoral ministry by a monastic priest who was born in 1875 and died in 1930. The first memoirs are colorful, recounting deprivations and adventures of the most inspiring sort as a missionary in Siberia. Spiridon comes across quite strongly as a pastor with a compassionate and discerning heart. He recognizes the hard life of people in this desolate, harsh region and the goodness of the Buddhists—even envisioning Christ and the Buddha as brothers, leading people to salvation/enlightenment. When he became a military chaplain, he was troubled by the act of communing soldiers who would then kill other human beings in battle.

Perhaps the most passionate expression of Spiridon's soul comes toward the end in his open letter to the Moscow Council and the epilogue. Although St. Tikon (Bellavin), the newly restored patriarch of Moscow and head of the council, received the letter, Spiridon never received a reply. Spiridon, to be sure, speaks from the experience of the decadence of the church in Russia at the turn of the twentieth century, a realization that finally took incarnation in the convocation of the Moscow Council in 1917. Spiridon pleads for the bishops, the teachers, and leaders of the church to repent and cast off their enslavement to canons and traditions, to distance themselves from the state and from power both spiritual and political and return to the simplicity and community spirit of the early Church. His is a call for the most basic Christian conversion and renewal, acutely relevant today not only within the internal Eastern Orthodox churches but also in the churches in communion with Rome and those of the Reformation. He notes that Christ himself might appear more like an anarchist to the institutional church in the radical nature of his words and actions in the gospels. St. Maria Skobtsova used a similar image in her provocative essays, imagining Christ leaving the incense, candles, icons, and chant of the church sanctuary to abide with the poor, the despised, and sick in the streets, past the church door and gate. Like her and other prophetic voices such as Alexander Schmemmann, John Meyendorff, Paul Evdokimov and the martyred



Alexander Men, Spiridon expresses the same Spirit-driven passion and compassion. What he saw—hierarchs resolute in opposing reform, content with their power; churches preferring political and cultural power—is still evident today. In these stirring pages, however, we hear another voice, one reminiscent of those in the scriptures, saying otherwise.

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MICHAEL PLEKON

*The Cambridge Companion to C. S. Lewis.* Edited by Robert MacSwain and Michael Ward. [Cambridge Companions to Religion.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. xx, 326. \$90.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-521-71114-2; \$29.99 paperback, ISBN 978-0-521-71114-2.)

The Cambridge Companion to Religion series presents important religious topics as seen through the eyes of prominent scholars in theology and religious studies. The inclusion of C. S. Lewis (1898–1963) to this canon is a necessity for both professional theologians and laymen alike. Thanks to the efforts of Robert MacSwain and Michael Ward, this lacuna has been satisfied.

Lewis is more than just the author of the *Chronicles of Narnia*, books written for children that have enjoyed some publicity of late due to their discovery by Hollywood. Lewis was a scholar, Christian apologist, poet, novelist, distinguished professor, and literary critic. The *Cambridge Companion* brings together a collection of essays about Lewis's accomplishments by scholars and intellectuals—all of whom are experts in the field of Lewisania.

In the introduction MacSwain explains that the goal of the *Cambridge Companion* is to give a fair and balanced account of Lewis's contributions to literary and theological studies. He examines Lewis's unvarnished reputation among Evangelicals as well as his critical detractors among British atheists. He writes, "His detractors are certainly not all British and those who regard his thought as valuable and interesting can be found across the theological spectrum, including British and North American Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox" (p. 2). MacSwain recognizes that Lewis is the most influential religious author of the twentieth century (even to the twenty-first century) despite the criticism of mainstream academic theologians. He notes, "Meanwhile, Lewis continues to sell millions of books a year and to shape the religious faith of thousands" (p. 4).

The *Cambridge Companion* is divided into three parts, which each contain essays commenting on a particular field of Lewis's writings. Part I discusses Lewis as scholar. The five essays included discuss Lewis as literary critic, literary theorist, intellectual historian, and classicist. The last of the essays, written by Mark Edwards, examines Lewis's use of classical themes.

The essays in part II relate to Lewis the thinker, focusing on the topics of religion, apologetics, and philosophy for which Lewis is most famous. The

ten essays in this part discuss Lewis on scripture, theology, naturalism, moral knowledge, discernment, love, gender, power, violence, and suffering. Not all the essays are in agreement with Lewis's stated positions. Ann Loades comments on Lewis's essay on the ordination of women ("Priestesses in the Church"). She writes, "The primary difficulty here is that Lewis had his own 'theology' of gender which is perhaps more imaginative metaphysics than sober theology. . . ." (p. 168).

Part III discusses Lewis the writer in six essays. It is likely that Lewis's fiction has attracted the widest audience because of its appeal to both Christians and non-Christians. *The Pilgrim's Regress* (written shortly after his conversion), *Surprised by Joy* (his autobiography), *The Great Divorce*, the *Chronicles of Narnia*, the *Ransom Trilogy* (popular among science fiction enthusiasts), and *Till We Have Faces* (his personal favorite) are examined with precise explanations. The last essay, by Malcolm Guite, discusses Lewis's poetry—probably the most neglected of Lewis's contribution to the literary genre. Although some scholars feel that Lewis himself had settled for the rank as a minor poet, Guite writes: "The time has come to revisit this judgement, made many years ago, and to look afresh at Lewis's poetic output" (p. 294). This Guite does in the hope that Lewis's poetry will enjoy the wider audience it deserves.

The *Cambridge Companion* includes a short chronology of Lewis's life, biographical notes on the contributors, and a list of abbreviations. The latter feature, in conjunction with an ample index and bibliography of Lewis's writings, affords the reader an excellent resource for Lewis's scholarship.

The *Cambridge Companion to C.S. Lewis* ranks among the best of what is available in Lewis studies.

New York C. S. Lewis Society

CLARA SARROCCO

*Mémoire des deux mondes: De la révolution à l'Église captive.* By Archbishop Basile Krivochéine. Translated from Russian by Nikita Krivochéine, Serge Model, and Lydia Obolensky. With presentation, revision, and notes by Serge Model. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2010. Pp. 526. €44,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09222-7.)

Vsevolod Krivoshein was born in the Russian Empire in 1900, the son of Alexander Krivoshein, who was the minister of agriculture of Tsar Nicholas II between 1908 and 1915. When Lenin and the Bolsheviks overthrew the provisional government in 1917, and civil war broke out in 1918, Krivoshein joined the White forces of General Anton Denikin. In 1920, with the White Army on the verge of defeat, he went to the Sorbonne to study Russian history, particularly the history of Russian Orthodoxy. In 1924 he entered the monastery at Mount Athos, taking the religious name of Basil, and studied

Orthodox theology and patristics. In 1951 he was ordained a priest and continued his study of patristics at Oxford. In 1959 the Russian Orthodox Church named him archbishop for the Russian Orthodox Diaspora in Belgium, a community that dated from the nineteenth century and increased after World War II. As leader of the Russian Orthodox community in Belgium, he wrote extensively on spirituality, the Church Fathers, and church-state relations. He participated in ecumenical dialogues and conferences and was an observer at the Second Vatican Council. He became a sharp critic of the Russian Orthodox Church's compromises with the Soviet government and the Soviet regime's attempts to use Orthodoxy to push its foreign policy. In contrast to Orthodox leaders in the Soviet Union, he defended Orthodox dissidents, including Alexander Solzhenitsyn and priest Dmitri Dudko, but he also criticized other dissidents such as A. E. Levitin-Krasnov for their visceral attacks on church leaders. He was both a pragmatist and a pastor. On the one hand, he loved Russia, wanted the Church to survive the Bolsheviks, and worked with the Soviet-ordained ecclesiastical structure to try to improve it. On the other hand, he was an unequivocal enemy of communism's assault on the human spirit, the Church, spirituality, and man's yearning for truth and justice. He died in 1985, leaving a rich literary and spiritual legacy.

The present volume, his memoirs, is divided into two parts. The first part is Krivoshein's recollections of his youthful experience during the Russian Revolution and civil war before he entered religious life. Here he provides valuable information about prisons, bureaucracy, peasantry, violence, war, and many other subjects during the revolutionary era. He noted that the peasants, who were deeply religious and solidly anticommunist, sat out the civil war, ultimately to their own peril. Solzhenitsyn found the eyewitness account so valuable that he mined it extensively for his own work on the Revolution. Part 2 consists of Krivoshein's memories of his relations with and evaluation of a series of Russian Orthodox leaders, including Metropolitan Nikodim (Rotov) and Patriarch Pimen. It is a rare account from a critical but sympathetic observer of Russian Orthodoxy's paradoxical accommodation with the Soviet government during the Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev periods and of the inner political maneuvering, often exploiting believers' faith, between the Department for External Church Relations of the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate and Orthodox faithful outside of Russia.

Throughout his life, Krivoshein remained committed to the Christian faith, Orthodoxy, and Russia. He was a critic, but also a loving and profoundly religious pastor who worked tirelessly for Russian society and its rich Christian culture. His book is a valuable contribution to the history of Russia and Orthodoxy in the twentieth century.

*Patterns and Persons: A Historiography of Liturgical Studies in the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century.* Edited by Louis van Tongeren, Marcel Barnard, Paul Post, and Gerard Rouwhorst. [Liturgia Condenda, 25.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2010. Pp. viii, 500. €59.00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-042-92301-0.)

Liturgia Condenda is a series of monographs published under the auspices of the Institute for Liturgical and Ritual Studies at the University of Tillburg in the Netherlands. The institute promotes studies by scholars of many countries and languages as they explore liturgy from a multidisciplinary point of view.

This volume, however, is by Dutch authors and focused on the historiography of the liturgy in the Netherlands during the twentieth century. Its larger intent is to invite readers to consider how liturgical studies have evolved. The editors are from the faculties of Tillburg and Utrecht, and are both Protestant and Catholic, and the book has a balanced ecumenical perspective based on the country's religious heritage. The book has four unequal parts. Part 1 is an introductory chapter (by Gerard Rouwhorst and Louis van Tongeren) introducing the reader to an overview of the religious history of the Netherlands in the twentieth century; much of what comes later can be understood only from the vantage point of the original separation and "silo" mentality of the Netherlands that changed palpably in the latter part of the century.

Part 2, "Patterns," has six chapters. Two are overviews of the Dutch liturgical movement in the Catholic Church (Louis van Tongeren) and the Protestant church (Klaas-Willem de Jong). Two chapters focus on art: music in the Catholic world (Anton Vernooij) and the plastic arts as fostered by the Van der Leeuw Foundation in the Dutch Reformed world (Marcel Barnard). The last two chapters in this section explore the architecture of Catholic churches (Paul Post) and Protestant churches (Justin Kroesen).

Part 3, "Persons," provides biographical sketches of nine key figures of the liturgical movement in the Netherlands, presented in chronological order based on their year of birth. Seven are Catholic, and two are Protestant. The figures profiled include liturgical theologians and historians (Gerardus van der Leeuw, Jan Prein, Frits van der Meer, Cees Bouman, Gerrit Lammens, and Herman Wegman), two musicians (Eligius Bruning and Hendrik Andriessen), and the scholar of liturgical Latin, Christine Mohrman. None of the subjects is still alive, which was a criterion for inclusion.

Part 4, "Balance and Perspective," provides an epilogue by Barnard and Post. The chapter concludes the work with some critical observations about liturgical studies and its prospects, both in the Netherlands and elsewhere. A postscript to the chapter indicates that the whole team of authors was asked to comment on the final chapter and made lively and sometimes con-



tradictory observations, which the authors attempt to convey fairly and comprehensively.

The key to the interpretation of the work as a whole is the prism of the liturgical movement. Despite criticism from their collaborators, the authors of the final chapter posit the thesis that the liturgical movement no longer provides an adequate perspective to understand liturgical studies. They understand the liturgical movement to be primarily historical and textual. Under the impetus of the broader scope of the curriculum at Tillburg, they expand liturgical studies to include ritual studies and a more comprehensive social science perspective. They raise the question of liturgy as something done from within (a concern of a particular church group and in the realm of "theology") and something that needs to include that which is outside the group (the concern of "religious studies"). This final chapter provides a provocative conclusion to a well-conceived and written book, which will be of interest to historians, liturgical and sacramental theologians, and those interested in the life of the churches. One blemish on this fine work is the translation of some of the articles. Some ill-chosen words and faulty grammar cause the occasional stumble in what is in general a smooth English-language presentation.

*The Catholic University of America*

MICHAEL WITCZAK

*La condanna del modernismo: Documenti, interpretazioni, conseguenze.*

Edited by Claus Arnold and Giovanni Vian. (Rome: Viella. 2010. Pp. 260. €30.00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-883-34440-4.)

The 2002 opening of the Vatican archives to scholars through 1922 has enabled a series of highly illuminating publications on the modernist period, the most recent being the present volume. Claus Arnold introduces this superb collection with an astute observation: To understand the modernist crisis on its own terms, one must see it in the context of the struggle between Christianity and "modernity" from the early Renaissance to the present; ecclesiastical opponents saw modernism as but an acute phase of this age-old confrontation. Decisions made during this acute phase had, Arnold observes, precedents in Pope Leo XIII's interventions regarding biblical criticism, which Pope Pius X escalated to a worldwide antimodernist campaign with chilling consequences lasting to the present day.

Annibale Zambarbieri begins his chapter on the censure of Ernesto Buonaiuti by thanking Hubert Wolf and his associates for publishing descriptions of Vatican archival holdings that facilitate research into the microhistory and thus the composition of the "mosaic" of the modernist crisis, with sharper delineations of the protagonists, the theological issues, and the enduring repercussions. Zambarbieri's contribution outlines the charges against Buonaiuti, among which were "ambiguous language," the dangerous

influence of Maurice Blondel, and failure sufficiently to credit the intellectual content of Christian beliefs as incompatible with the contemporary mentality.

Arnold details the internal story of the process against Alfred Loisy from the initial "indexing" of five of his works (1903) to the drafting of *Lamentabili*, and the publication of *Pascendi dominici gregis* (1907)—the latter accompanied by Pius X's letter to the world's bishops and religious superiors on the execution of antimodernist measures. Arnold provides the drama that other kinds of historical treatments cannot supply. No one interested in the historical development of modern theology should miss this section.

Giovanni Vian's chapter on the reception of *Pascendi* by the bishops of France and Italy adds a fascinating and chilling piece to the mosaic. The church-state friction particularly in these two countries heightened the bishops' vigilance against modernism. Most hierarchs around the world, aided by apostolic visitations (promoted by the staunchly antimodernist Cardinal Gaetano de Lai), adhered strictly to the provisions of *Pascendi*. References to the encyclical in church documents "into the third millennium have been frequent enough to reinforce church discipline to combat" modernist seductions (p. 136).

The relationship between Lucien Laberthonnière and Blondel following the publication of *Pascendi* is fairly well known from previously published works. Giacomo Losito, however, fills out the story, using the minutes of the fifty-seven meetings of the vigilance committee (1907–25) of the Archdiocese of Paris and important unpublished correspondence. Far clearer now is why the two collaborators had a falling out after the Holy Office "indexed" the series of the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne* edited by Laberthonnière.

Judith Schepers's account of the curial interpretation of the antimodernist oath of 1910 guides readers through the oath's complex development within the Holy Office, its debated wording, and its final official interpretation, thus clarifying the oath's enduring historical significance—how, until 1967, it permanently stamped many church officials with a paranoia about "modernists" as the Church's "fifth column." An appendix includes key Latin documents.

The most affecting chapter is the one by Raffaella Perin, who details how the antimodernist campaign played out in the fractious Diocese of Vicenza. Using heretofore unknown correspondence, Perrin shows the terrible toll the campaign took (and continues to take) on the lives of flesh-and-blood clerics as well as on the Church as a whole. She appropriately highlights the role of De Lai, who was "rigidly antimodernist" (p. 208n5).

This collection shines a bright light into some dark corners of contemporary ecclesiology.

Marquette University

DAVID G. SCHULTENOVER, S.J.

*Roads and Ruins: The Symbolic Landscape of Fascist Rome.* By Paul Baxa. [Toronto Italian Studies.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 232. \$55.00. ISBN 978-0-802-09995-2.)

Baxa argues that fascist urban planning in Rome—the *sventramenti* (gutting) of whole quarters of the old city and the building of new roads—was determined by the experience of World War I and, in particular, the horrors of fighting on the Carso, the eastern front line against Austria-Hungary that now is the border with Slovenia. The fascist veterans of that terrible front allegedly refashioned Rome to reproduce the shattered, ruined landscape of the battlefield and the open spaces of the zone between the Carso and the river Piave, behind which Italian forces regrouped following the catastrophic rout of Caporetto in October 1917. In this way, they could both punish Rome, center of “legal Italy,” for its equivocal attitude to the war and reshape the capital according to the experiences of Italy’s most recent and important history.

This is not entirely implausible—historians of Italian fascism over the last twenty years have sought to understand its actions by closer reference to its ideologies, passions, and prejudices, and fantasies. But Baxa takes his argument too far. Another part of the explanation might be that the fascist conquerors of the “March on Rome” of October 1922 that enabled Benito Mussolini’s rise to power, were overwhelmingly ‘northerners’ by virtue of their provinces of birth—such as Mussolini (Forlì), Dino Grandi (Bologna), Italo Balbo (Ferrara), Giovanni Giuriati (Brescia), and Cesare Maria De Vecchi (Turin). Like the Piedmontese who seized Rome from the pope in September 1870, the fascists despised Rome and sought to bring it under their control, in both cases by radical town planning.

In their reshaping of Rome, the fascists were inevitably influenced by notions of modernism. The result was the disappearance of many of the “picturesque” smaller streets and squares, and the opening up of the remains of the various forums and the creation of wide, often ceremonial, roads worthy of a twentieth-century capital city. For Baxa, these roads represented the culmination of futuristic modernity, the triumph of speed through the motorcar, and he may be right.

He examines Pope Pius XI’s response to the great fascist urban project and argues that apart from the demolition of some important churches and religious houses, the pontiff was concerned about the “paganizing” agenda that he perceived to lie behind it. His worst fears were realized by Hitler’s visit to Rome in May 1938. Ironically, Pius himself indulged in some *sventra-*

*meni* after the establishment of the State of the Vatican City in 1929. Many of the old Vatican streets were swept away; and when the triumphal Via della Conciliazone was built from the Tiber to St. Peter's, most of a whole quarter, the Borgo, was demolished.

Sometimes the reader is left confused by Baxa's use of street names, because he does not always explain what they were called before and after fascism. Thus he repeatedly talks about the "Corso Umberto I." One surmises that he means what Romans now call il Corso or the Via del Corso—that is, the street between the Piazza Venezia and the Piazza del Popolo. Oddly, on page 97 he actually quotes a contemporary fascist writer who calls it by its proper name, Via del Corso. A book on topography and town planning must, for obvious reasons, contain maps. This one does not. It is consequently very difficult to understand some of the issues that Baxa seeks to explore—in particular, the project to build the Palazzo del Littorio (headquarters of the Fascist Party) on what is now the Via dei Fori Imperiali, between Via Cavour and the Colosseum, and why the site was eventually abandoned for the Forum Mussolini up the Tiber. It is unclear if this omission is an oversight on the part of the author or is one that can be attributed to the University of Toronto Press.

Despite its defects, this is a thought-provoking and fascinating read for anyone familiar with the history and topography of the Eternal City, prompting a fresh way of looking at its cityscape.

*University of Cambridge*

JOHN POLLARD

*Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the Resistance.* By Sabine Dramm. (Translated by Margaret Kohl). (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009. Pp. 304. \$29.00 hardcover. ISBN 978-0-800-66322-3.)

In the foreword to Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York, 1958, 1995), George Bell, bishop of Chichester, wrote that "Dietrich himself was a martyr many times before he died" (p. 11). Against the "idolatry" of Hitler and his supporters, contended Bell, Bonhoeffer had stood as "one of the first as well as one of the bravest witnesses" (p. 11). In arguing largely against this long-prevailing Bonhoeffer hagiography, Sabine Dramm offers sobering balance.

Dramm is especially successful in explaining how Bonhoeffer's family and collegial contacts brought him into the orbit of those within the German military opposed to Hitler and his criminal regime, including Hans von Dohnanyi (Bonhoeffer's brother-in-law) and Major General Hans Oster. In spite of his reputation as an opponent of Hitler and in spite of the fact that he faced police restrictions on his rights of residence, speaking, and publishing, Bonhoeffer was able to use these contacts (remarkably) to gain a



position under the German Military Intelligence Foreign Office starting in late 1939. While serving in this clandestine center of resistance, Bonhoeffer was protected from frontline military duty (against which his Christian conscience objected). He also served as a bridge between the resistance and the Christian Churches abroad, particularly in Great Britain. As a purported secret agent, Bonhoeffer made several journeys to neutral Switzerland, where he met, among others, Karl Barth. Here, he hoped to serve notice that a viable resistance movement did exist in Germany and was prepared to act if only it were given reassurance of cooperation from the Allied powers. (Barth remained skeptical.) Temporarily free of the censor while in Switzerland, Bonhoeffer also took the opportunity to reestablish his correspondence with Bell (p. 79). Bonhoeffer subsequently met with Bell personally in the Swedish town of Sigtuna in May 1942, where he informed Bell that a coalition of civil servants, trade union officials, and army officers was prepared to launch a coup against Hitler and end the war. Quixotically, most of Bonhoeffer's fellow conspirators hoped that particularly the Western Allies would treat Germany leniently in the event that Hitler and his criminal regime were removed. In fact, Bell's influence with the British government was negligible. Unknown to Bonhoeffer or his fellow conspirators, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had already instructed all British officials to treat any overtures from the German opposition with absolute silence. Starting in 1942, the Allies were on the same page—regardless of any regime-changing internal developments, Germany must surrender and submit unconditionally.

As Dramm rightly argues, observers who see in Bonhoeffer and the "resistance" (a term the resisters themselves did not use) a bridge between the Weimar Republic and post-1945 German democracy do so at their own risk. Bonhoeffer's vision for a Germany without Hitler was in fact tinged with authoritarian-leaning elitism. This was true for most of his colleagues. To concede that Bonhoeffer and his conspirators had an inconsequential impact on the outcome of the war, however, is not to argue for their insignificance. For his part, Bonhoeffer used his contacts in Switzerland in late 1942 to arrange for the emigration of fourteen Jewish men and women who faced deportation and the death camps. Although he could not speak for the otherwise generally compliant Christian churches in Germany more broadly, Bonhoeffer, as a thoroughly respected Lutheran theologian, could offer "intellectual pastoral care" (p. 240) to German public officials who struggled to come to terms with their Christian ethics that otherwise rejected violence as a legitimate means of resistance, even against a murderous tyrant.

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JEREMY ROETHLER

*Nazis on the Run: How Hitler's Henchmen Fled Justice.* By Gerald Steinacher. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xxviii, 382. \$34.95. ISBN 978-0-199-57686-9.)

Historians have long known that relatively few Nazi war criminals faced justice; those tried at the Nuremberg War Crimes Court, and individuals apprehended much later, such as Adolf Eichmann (tried and executed in Israel in 1962) and Klaus Barbie (sentenced in France in 1987 to life imprisonment; he died in 1991). Thousands of others escaped. This has given rise to conspiracy theories, notably the claim by the Jewish Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal that a powerful secret organization of former SS members, ODESSA (Organization der ehemalig SS-Angehörigen), facilitated the escape of thousands. In *Nazis on the Run* Gerald Steinacher writes: "An all-powerful, mythical organization like ODESSA never existed" (p. xviii). In support he cites Heinz Schneppen's *Odessa und das Vierte Reich: Mythen der Zeitgeschichte* (Berlin, 2007).

Such an organization was unnecessary. In "the chaos of the post-war years [with] millions of refugees in transit" (p. 2), escape from justice was easy. Steinacher's book is the fruit of exhaustive primary research, documented in fifty-two pages with 1154 endnotes, plus twenty-two pages of bibliography and sources. The result is a mind-numbing account of how countless individuals got away.

Most fled to "the Nazi bolt-hole" of South Tyrol (p. 32). To this day ethnically and linguistically German, the province was detached in the Versailles Treaty of 1919 from the collapsed Austro-Hungarian monarchy and given to Italy. Once these individuals reached South Tyrol, they were in Italy, where "fake IDs were not a problem after the war" (p. 42). Moreover, the Italian authorities "had great interest in encouraging the emigration of refugees as quickly as possible" (p. 64). Most boarded ships in Genoa and Naples for Argentina and other South American countries. The International Red Cross also was helpful. Although there is no evidence that the organization deliberately supported an escape route for ex-Nazis (p. 99), it had issued at least 120,000 transit documents by 1951 (p. 56). Even before that date the United States was actively recruiting former Nazis for service in the cold war against the USSR, and Juan Perón's Argentina was doing the same to build up its economy and military.

Readers of this journal will be especially interested in the role of Catholic clergy in assisting escapees. Two names recur constantly in Steinacher's account: the Croatian monsignor Krunoslav Dragonavić and the Austrian bishop Alois Hudal—the latter a notorious loose cannon who was increasingly embarrassing to the Vatican and was never Pope Pius XII's protégé, as Steinacher claims (p. 126). The two men facilitated hundreds of escapes. However, their activities never constituted the much-trumpeted "Vatican Ratline." Steinacher concedes that "the Vatican was not a monolithic bloc": there were "different voices and positions within the Catholic Church" (p.

285). A full account of these “different voices” may be obtained from *Hunting Evil: How the Nazi War Criminals Escaped and the Hunt to Bring Them to Justice* (London, 2009) by Guy Walters, who, like Steinacher, is a non-Catholic. Steinacher does not understand that conditional baptism, often administered to those seeking church documentation, was routine practice and not a trick devised to facilitate escape (pp. 148ff). Although he credits West Germany with publicly acknowledging German guilt for the Holocaust (p. 275), he is silent about that nation’s payments of reparations to Israel. Steinacher’s most serious omission is complete silence about the documentation of church persecution by the Nazis supplied to the Nuremberg War Crimes trials by Pope Pius XII. He met personally with Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson, the chief U.S. prosecutor; and Jesuit Edmund Walsh, who transmitted the Vatican documentation, said the material was “of great value to us.”<sup>1</sup>

*Archdiocese of St. Louis*

JOHN JAY HUGHES

*Saving the Holy Sepulchre: How Rival Christians Came Together to Rescue Their Holiest Shrine.* By Raymond Cohen. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. xvi, 308. \$27.95. ISBN 978-0-195-18966-7.)

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the holiest worldwide Christian shrine, has been the topic of much research focusing on the struggles between the churches over strongholds within and surrounding the church. This book, written by Raymond Cohen, professor emeritus of international affairs at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, focuses on a different perspective—attempts at coordination and cooperation between rival churches for the restoration and maintenance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The book covers the periods of the British occupation and Mandate (1917–48), Jordanian rule (1948–67), and oversight by the Israeli government (since 1967). Focusing on the human perspectives behind the scenes, it opens with the 1927 earthquake and the damage it caused to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the lives of the monks who served there. The book flashes back to the history of the basilica and the rivalries between the major churches in Jerusalem since the fourth century. A major landmark was the “status quo” arrangements at the Holy Places—designed in 1853 by the weakened Muslim Ottoman Sultan Abd al-Majid—that Cohen considers as an informal system for coexistence among the three major churches in Jerusalem and a way to alleviate international pressures and conflicts such as preceded the Crimean War.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Patrick H. McNamara, *A Catholic Cold War: Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., and the Politics of American Anti-Communism* (New York, 2005), p. 123; see also Nicholas Doman, “The Nuremberg Trial,” *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, 32, no. 1 (1946), 83–91, here 83.

The British government of Palestine was concerned that the rivalries among the churches in the Holy Places as backed by European powers ultimately would undermine its rule over Palestine. It set up a commission headed by Lionel George Archer Cust that presented its memorandum in September 1929. It became the British Mandate's manual on the status quo and has been respected by the rival churches in Jerusalem until the present day. Cohen vividly describes how the British administration managed repairs of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, overcoming conflicts within as well as between the churches through personal contacts behind the scenes.

A serious fire occurred at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1949 as the Jordanians were repairing damage from the 1948 war. Because of the fire, the dome was in imminent danger of collapse. King Abdullah of Jordan took personal responsibility for repairing the church. Cohen sees the king's incentive as the desire to reject the initiatives to internationalize Jerusalem and to prove to the United Nations and worldwide Christianity that the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan would be a capable caretaker of the Christian holy places. The Jordanian view was that it was the government's responsibility to restore the church, which it would accomplish with or without the cooperation of the local churches. Cohen gives major credit to the Jordanian governors of Jerusalem, especially Hasan al-Khatib, in moving forward with the process of repair. An impressive, honest civil servant educated in Ottoman-era Muslim law, Khatib treated the church heads with courtesy and firmness as backed by Amman. He induced the churches to sign an agreement of cooperation in 1952 so that the restoration could commence. However, the restoration did not begin until 1961 because of strife within the major churches in Jerusalem and Jordan's problems with Egypt's Gamal Abd al-Nasser and Nasser's promotion of pan-Arabism. By 1966, the danger of the collapse of the dome's ceiling had been alleviated.

Following the 1967 war, Israel annexed East Jerusalem and officially united it with the Israeli West Jerusalem, putting the Church of the Holy Sepulchre under direct Israeli rule. Unlike the British and Jordanians, the Israeli authorities declared their abstention from any involvement in the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre Church and inter-communal rivalries except for cases of violence. Cohen quotes Israel Lippel, the deputy director general of the ministry of religious affairs at the time: "We are not interested in the Christians accusing the Jews once again of murdering Jesus and I do not think that we should interfere in these matters. They should deal with it by themselves" (p. 191). Hence, Israel played a very minor role in the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Church conflicts brought about several deadlocks regarding the restoration. It was UNESCO rather than Israel that applied pressure on the three major churches in Jerusalem to come to an agreement regarding the restoration plans. Finally, an inauguration ceremony was held in 1997 for the restored dome, attended by the three patriarchs of Jerusalem—a rare demonstration of unity.



As the ruler of East Jerusalem, Israel has had the obligation of keeping law and order, preventing violence, and maintaining the status quo in the Holy Places. Has the Israeli stand of noninterference in intercommunal strife proved itself? Cohen describes the collapse of the delicate balance in between the Copts and Ethiopians in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre compound due to changing relations among Israel, Egypt, and Ethiopia. He does not elaborate on other cases of law breaking, most obviously the encroachment of the Muslim *waqf* into the properties of the Franciscans and Greek Orthodox in the church compound in 1997 and the annexation of two rooms that belonged to the Greek Orthodox patriarchate by al-Khanka al-Salahiya mosque. The three patriarchs of Jerusalem filed an official complaint with the Jerusalem police, met with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, and urged Netanyahu to intervene. The court in Jerusalem issued a decree to stop work at al-Khanka, but no action was taken.

The book concludes that only an outside force such as a firm government approach could make the rival churches in Jerusalem cooperate. It compares the British and the Jordanians attitudes toward the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and refrains from referring to the Israeli policy or lack of policy regarding this issue. This book is an important contribution to the research of Jerusalem and the Holy Places. Well documented and vividly written, it is recommended for researchers; the general public; and, above all, the lovers of Jerusalem.

*The Technion—Israel Institute of Technology*

DAPHNE TSIMHONI

*Ein Jahrzehnt der Hoffnungen. Reformgruppen in der bayerischen Landeskirche 1966-1976.* By Angela Hager. [Arbeiten zur Kirchlichen Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B, Band 51.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2010. Pp. 352. €70,00. ISBN 978-3-525-55742-6.)

Speaking in 1971 to the Synod of the Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (EKD), Bavarian Protestant state bishop Hermann Dietzfelbinger warned his colleagues, “we stand today in a faith struggle compared to which the church struggle of the Third Reich was merely a skirmish” (p. 12). In the eyes of many traditional Lutherans in the Bavarian State Church—and, indeed, across Germany—it seemed that the influence of modern theology, popular culture, and left-wing student politics posed a dire threat to the integrity of the church and its historical mission. Many young pastors and laypeople, for their part, felt an equally urgent need for church reforms that would promote democracy, a more equitable structure, and political reorientation, thus saving the church from irrelevance in the increasingly secular modern world. Yet for all of the controversy that surrounded these conflicts during the late 1960s and early 1970s, historians have only recently begun to examine them in much depth. Historical scholarship on Protestants in postwar

West Germany lags far behind the state of research on postwar German Catholicism, not to mention work on the churches under both the Nazi and East German dictatorships. For this reason, Angela Hager's new book is a welcome foray into relatively uncharted territory.

Focusing on the period 1966–76, Hager examines the role of three reform groups that sought to transform both the structure and the broader culture of the Bavarian state church: the Arbeitskreis Evangelische Erneuerung, a broad, reform-oriented circle of clergy and laity; the Vereinigung Bayerischer Vikare, an organization founded to represent the interests of vicars (pastoral interns); and the Landeskönvent bayerischer evangelischer Theologiestudenten, a group representing Bavarian Protestant theology students. The first major section of the book examines the founding and organization of these groups in the context of the larger cultural, political, and theological movements of the 1960s and 1970s. The second goes into more detail on the groups' major actions and goals, including in-depth examination of several specific controversies in which they were engaged. These include the push for ratification of the Leuenberg Concord, which opened full communion between most of Europe's major Protestant churches; advocacy for the ordination of women; criticism of traditional understandings of the pastorate and the local parish; efforts to broaden pastoral training to include more engagement with humanistic and social scientific learning; and support for greater (left-of-center) political and social engagement by the churches. The third major section analyzes oral and written interviews with important figures in these movements in an attempt to understand how they viewed (and view) their own role in the movements and events under examination.

The book provides an excellent general background on Germany's Protestant churches during the 1960s and 1970s, concisely summarizing recent research in the field. It also draws attention to several interesting controversies in the Bavarian church. These include the fight over the "Engagement Paragraph" in Bavarian church law, which required pastors and theology students to submit background information on potential spouses for the approval of the church hierarchy, and the "Ordination Dodger" (*Ordinationsverweigerer*) controversy, in which several vicars, already licensed to administer the sacraments, refused to undergo full ordination as a symbolic protest against the hierarchical structure of the church. It also examines Bavarian church debates on larger issues such as 1970s-era changes in West German relations with the Eastern Bloc (*Ostpolitik*) and reactions to the controversial Program to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches. Despite these strengths, the book is written for a relatively narrow audience of specialists and is unlikely to have great appeal to those not already well versed in German Protestantism.

### American and Canadian

*Native Americans, Christianity, and the Reshaping of the American Religious Landscape.* Edited by Joel W. Martin and Mark A. Nicholas. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 235. \$75.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-807-83406-0; \$27.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-807-87145-4.)

The title of this volume is misleading because the “American religious landscape” is larger than the book’s geographic and interpretive scope. Still, these essays contribute valuably to a healthy scholarship on indigenous Christianities. Three essays—one on Jesuit Jean de Brébeuf by Emma Anderson, another on Illinois Marian devotions by Tracy Neal Leavelle, and one on the Ojibwe/Anishinaabe by Michael D. McNally—encompass indigenous Catholicisms. Others by Joanna Brooks, Daniel Mandell, Rachel Wheeler, and Douglas L. Winiarski focus on indigenous New England Protestantisms, and one by David J. Silverman features those in New York and Wisconsin. Two studies, one on the Cherokee by Joel W. Martin and another on California by Steven W. Hackel and Hilary E. Wyss, pursue a comparison with New England missions. Another by Laura M. Stevens contextualizes New England missions in their Scottish and British sources. Michelene Pesantubbee’s foreword, the editors’ introduction, Mark A. Nicholas’s conclusion, and Michael D. McNally’s retrospective and forward-looking legacy essay round out the volume.

Although the editors’ emphasis on the essays’ interdisciplinary character also is a bit overstated—this is not a text that stresses either method or theory (but see Nicholas)—the contributors do derive from multiple disciplinary homes such as history (6), religious studies (5), literature (3), and Native studies (1). The editors note aptly that the essays represent a sea change in the study of North American missions. All reject Christianization as a progressive achievement. Similarly, the contributors are not politically correct inheritors of the victimization scholarship that reacted against the uncritical valorization of Christian missions. These essays focus on the multiplicity of the motivations and outcomes of indigenous agency. Their reconstructed Christianities recognize identity; adaptation; resistance; and, more often than not, a religious and political critique of the colonial encounter. As evidence of the volume’s consolidation of the missionization field, each essay has rich citations that provide readers access to primary and secondary sources.

An important indigenous perspective—the rationality of Native Americans’ religious syncretism—is only partially visible in these essays. Because many of the essays take up missionization within tribal cultures with previous colonial histories and peoples with post-traditional subsistence, political, and religious practices, it is difficult to see the surviving reli-

gious philosophies and life values of precolonial indigenous peoples. For all of that, the essays document the Christianities as developing religious world-views aiming for cultural survival. These include historical developments in the terms *kitchi manitou*, the *Great Spirit*, the *great and good spirit*, and discourses focusing on God and Jesus Christ. Although these theological transformations have yet to be traced ethnographically and historically (see McNally, p. 298), close study of these rhetorical shifts would reveal the fault lines of historical religious change and the ruptures and reconfigurations of indigenous ways of reasoning about—and ways of acting on—cosmic being, modes of knowing, and the survival and adjustment of religious values that have sustained Native American identities into the present.

As the volume's careful framing suggests, understanding indigenous perspectives on religious change has developed richly in a single generation. These essays capture a crucial insight. Although missionaries brought an alien purposefulness to the encounter, indigenous peoples everywhere acted as the crucial arbitrators of both the process and the evolving outcomes of missionization.

Arizona State University

KENNETH M. MORRISON

*The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America.*

Edited by Chris Beneke and Christopher S. Grenda. [Early American Studies.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. vi, 401. \$45.00. ISBN 978-0-812-24270-6.)

Collections of essays, despite the hazards of the form, have grown in popularity in recent years. Pulling together multiple pieces into a coherent whole is well beyond the ken of most such volumes, while editing to a high standard can be an elusive goal. Too often, a few high points are hidden among less noteworthy contributions. This collection avoids many of the pitfalls of the form. Most of the contributions are based on in-depth primary research or provide sweeping overviews chock-full of well-documented examples. A remarkably high number make important interventions into our understanding of early American religious differences and the tensions they engendered. With the exception of John Corrigan's brief and focused analysis of the biblical texts referring to the Amalekites, the interpretive frameworks are broad. Although the essays vary in the extent of their innovation and substance, the quality is generally exemplary. The coherence across essays may be somewhat murky, and the editors' introduction does not entirely satisfy on this score, but the volume on balance makes a worthy addition to the literature on early American religious history.

More than half of the dozen contributions address the experience of a particular group or groups. William Pencak analyzes that of the Jews in early America, organized around the themes of antisemitism, toleration, and appre-



ciation. Joyce Goodfriend surveys three groups who were outside the Reformed Protestant community that the governor of New Netherland Peter Stuyvesant favored: Lutherans, Jews, and Quakers. Christopher Grasso explores the persistent prejudice against atheists and freethinkers in the early republic. Richard Pointer and Jon Sensbach canvass the experiences of Indians and Africans respectively. Not so much Catholics themselves as anti-Catholic fears are the subject of Owen Stanwood's similarly broad essay. Andrew Murphy revisits the Keithian schism that sundered the early Pennsylvania Quaker community, endorsing the arguments made by George Keith himself about the causes of the controversy.

A number of the essays fit into the classic literature on church-state relations, toleration, and religious liberty. Susan Juster analyzes prosecution of three religious crimes—heresy, blasphemy, and Sabbath-breaking—across numerous colonies over time; she demonstrates the persistence of concern over these issues accompanied by a hesitation to inflict the harshest penalties. Ned Landsman shows how the Union of 1707 inadvertently permitted constitutional arguments against a Church of England establishment for the British North American colonies. Coeditor Christopher S. Grenda contributes a long and detailed analysis of the reasoning behind debates about toleration, linking an intellectual history to a discussion of the practical effects of each set of views. Coeditor Chris Beneke argues for the impact of the American Revolution on religious freedom, embracing the idea of irreversible progress while acknowledging its vulnerability to charges of “Whiggism” (p. 283). Except that Grasso's treatment of “infidels” and to a lesser extent some of Pencak's observations about Jews fly in the face of Beneke's conclusions, the editors' own articles serve as helpful framing devices for the entire volume. Their individual contributions exceed their jointly authored introduction to the collection; in that piece they unconvincingly argue that the corpus of work departs drastically from previous literature.

Catholicism, although the focus of only one essay, makes an appearance in a number of others. Sensback treats briefly the experiences of Catholic Africans; Pointer does the same for Native American converts allied with the French. The status of Catholics in the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary era come into the discussions of Beneke and Grenda in particular. For readers of this journal, however, the greatest benefit of this volume will be in the understanding of the general context for religious difference and accommodation in British North America and the new United States.

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*Oxford, OH*

CARLA GARDINA PESTANA

*With Anza to California, 1775-1776: The Journal of Pedro Font, O.F.M.*  
Translated and edited by Alan K. Brown. [Early California Commentaries,  
Vol. 1.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011. Pp. 464. \$55.00.  
ISBN 978-0-87062-375-2.)

"On the whole," admitted the late Alan K. Brown, "it is impossible at times not to dislike Father Font" (p. 39). It is not the specters of racism, sexism, or homophobia of our own day—which we would expect from Pedro Font—but rather the friar's open disclosure of his difficult personality. He is petty, peevish, jealous, critical, and complaining, and at the same time keenly observant, dutiful, and meticulous. To the surprise of his readers then and now, he simply lets it all hang out. He scruples not at all to call a fart a fart (nor does Brown hesitate to translate it so).

Font, accomplished Franciscan and a Catalanian by birth, served as chaplain and "cosmographer" on the famed trek of Juan Bautista de Anza in 1775-76 shepherding colonists overland from Sonora to California. The friar preached, sang, played his psaltery, observed and recorded latitude, described everything that piqued his curiosity, deftly drafted maps and mountain profiles, and kept daily field notes. At the conclusion of the eventful, eight-month round-trip, he prepared a shortened version of his field notes, both in draft and as the clear copy he sent to his superiors. A year later, he had a book-length "final text" ready.

Brown's volume is a tour de force of historical editing. He combines creatively all of Font's versions, taking into account "the multitude of additions, corrections, and deletions," to present for the first time a unified and fluid translation "incorporating all of the information that he found worth recording" (p. 71). Font's commentaries clearly offered in hindsight, not on the trail, are presented in smaller type (surely for economic reasons). Where such asides go on at length (occasionally with as many as forty long lines on a page), it can be hard on the reader's eyes. Such musings, however, often are captivating, as when Font anguishes over why God has allowed "the ignorance, misfortune and wretchedness in which the Indians whom I saw all along the way as far as San Francisco harbor live" (p. 138). Brown's informative footnotes are set in even smaller type. An extensive table, "The Days' Marches: Distances and Bearings in the Three Texts and in Anza's Journal," forms a concluding appendix. Most days the friar, sick much of the time, reckoned they had gone farther than the soldier.

This landmark edition calls to mind a similarly rich primary source by Font's equally condescending Franciscan contemporary, Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, edited by Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angélico Chávez as *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776* (Albuquerque, 1956). Although both friars offer much not contained elsewhere in the documentary record, Font's focus is on Spain's newest far-northwestern colony whereas Domínguez's is on the oldest. The contrasts and similarities are revealing.

Sadly, editor and translator Brown died in September 2009, with his monumental manuscript in “next-to-last draft” (p. 13), but Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz skillfully saw it through to publication.

As for the Indians’ flatulence, Font portrays them seated on the ground, lifting a haunch and letting the dust fly. Once, when lighting Anza’s cigar, an Indian “standing very seriously in front of him with the match stick in his hand, let out a formidable fart, and although the commander told him that was not something that was done, he kept smiling quite undisturbed” (p. 135). Thereby, we learn as much about the friar as about his subject.

*University of New Mexico*

JOHN L. KESSELL

*A Gift of Angels: The Art of Mission San Xavier del Bac.* By Bernard L. Fontana. Photographs by Edward McCain. [Southwest Center Series.] (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2010. Pp. xx, 353. \$75.00. ISBN 978-0-816-52840-0.)

This handsome book is the culmination of the author’s many years of study of one of the most important Mexican colonial buildings in the United States. Fontana’s first book about the building and site was *Biography of a Desert Church: The Story of Mission San Xavier del Bac* (Tucson, 1961). In the present volume, he provides the known facts about this Franciscan building erected between 1780 and 1793, which replaced an earlier Jesuit church, as well as fresh information on the church and especially on its decoration. His method is to guide the reader through the building, with the help of plans and photographs, to discuss the paintings that cover the walls and the sculptures in riches and altarpieces.

Following the introduction, the book is organized by areas of the building, as a visitor might walk through them. This is a good way to think about buildings and the works made for them, as it enables the reader to understand the relationships between the church and its artworks. For art historians, Fontana’s approach to the art and its iconography sometimes lacks context. There are selections of iconographic comparisons for each work that are usually interesting, but sometimes puzzling. Fontana does note the existence of similar sculptures in other churches built by the Franciscans toward the end of the eighteenth century in Mexico. He also provides useful information about the processes of restoration of the church over the years.

The visual materials that complement the text will be very useful for anyone interested in this church and the others related to it on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. The plans of the building are especially helpful. The text and illustrations will encourage scholars to examine more closely the complex history of Bac as a Jesuit and Franciscan site on the frontier. The sculpture is a good case in point, because it is clear that the pieces are from

different periods and are not homogeneous. Some came from Mexico City, others from elsewhere in Mexico. Others were made locally, and some have mixed origins. Local art production also included wall paintings that abound at San Xavier. Unfortunately, some of these have been repainted or greatly restored. However, with recent discoveries of wall paintings in the region, scholars should be able to link the different sites, especially those relevant to the period of Bac's construction and decoration. This is a useful and visually impressive book (as well as one that is reasonably priced).

*Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*  
*Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*

CLARA BARGELLINI

*Southern Manuscript Sermons before 1800: A Bibliography*. Ed. Michael A. Lofaro. (Knoxville: Newfound Press. 2011. Pp. xxvi, 735. \$34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-979-72926-3.)

Graduate students and historians studying religion in the colonial South and the early national period will be happy to see the publication of this book. This volume brings together citations, titles, and brief descriptions of more than 1600 manuscript sermons preached in the South before 1800 by more than 100 clergy representing a variety of denominations: Roman Catholic (forty-two clergy), Anglican/Episcopal (forty clergy), Congregational (three clergy), Baptist (seven clergy), Methodist (six clergy), Presbyterian (eleven clergy), and Lutheran (two clergy), as well as one Quaker preacher. Many of these documents may have been unknown to many scholars before publication of *Southern Manuscript Sermons before 1800*. For instance, few historians were likely aware of the large number of sermons available at the E. Garner Ranney Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland. Other people may have been unaware of the relatively large body of Roman Catholic sermons preached in the colonial South.

The collection includes a number of helpful appendices, one listing the religious affiliation of the preachers whose sermons are represented in the collection and a keyword-short title index. The keyword index is broad in scope, listing topics as diverse as "Hail Mary, On the"; "yellow fever, epidemic in Baltimore"; "Holy Orders"; and "Green, Bishop William Mercer," who had come to own at least one of Virginia colonial Anglican James Maury's manuscript sermons by the 1860s.

Also available online in a searchable database (<http://dlc.lib.utk.edu/sermons>), this source should help scholars locate sermons that will eventually expand our understanding of the Southern religious mind in the colonial period. One might wonder whether historians will find more differences or similarities in the discourses preached by members of different denominations. How will historians address, for example, sermons that discuss "the new birth," a term usually thought to suggest evangelical leanings, although



Anglicans hostile to the Great Awakening (such as Maury) also used the term in their sermons?

This is an important collection of citations that will prove helpful to scholars from a range of fields—from history and literature to psychology. However, this book is not without problems. The Reverend Deuel Pead, previously identified by Richard Beale Davis as an Anglican, shows up here as a Baptist. In addition, the collection clearly does not include all of the collections of manuscript American sermons before 1800. The Bishop Payne Library at the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria, Virginia, for instance, does not even appear in the list of “United States and British Repositories Investigated,” although the archives there include a collection of manuscript sermons written by the Reverend William Douglass.

These issues aside, *Southern Manuscript Sermons before 1800* is a valuable source, not only for collecting in one place citations to so many relatively obscure sermons but also for the commentaries that accompany each entry, including a reference to secondary works that have already published edited versions of the particular sermon.

Alabama A & M University

EDWARD L. BOND

*Mrs. Mattingly's Miracle: The Prince, the Widow and the Cure That Shocked Washington City.* By Nancy Lusignan Schultz. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 274. \$30.00. ISBN 978-0-300-11846-9.)

Nancy Lusignan Schultz's new book is both fascinating and strange. It fascinates because of the wondrous historical event that is at the center of this story. Her book is strange because of Schultz's unusual presentation of the event. The *Mrs. Mattingly* and *widow* in the book title was the thirty-nine-year-old Ann Carbery Mattingly, a resident of Washington, DC, suffering from end-stage breast cancer. Mattingly was well known in her parish of St. Patrick's, and the priests and parishioners launched a novena for her on March 1, 1824. The *cure* recounted was her miraculous healing from breast cancer on March 10, 1824. The *prince* was German priest and nobleman Alexander Leopold Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Schillingfurst.

In June 1821 Hohenlohe's intercession had brought about the healing of the paralyzed Princess Mathilde von Schwartzenberg. This event caused a sensation in Europe, and many people came to Hohenlohe seeking healing. On the tenth of each month Hohenlohe would offer his Mass and prayers of intercession for those who were unable to come to him. On March 10, 1824, Father Stephen Dubuisson, a Jesuit who ministered to Mattingly, offered a Mass at St. Patrick's church at two o'clock in the morning in the hope that it would coincide with Hohenlohe's offering of Mass in Germany. Shortly after he took Mattingly a host consecrated at his Mass, she was miraculously healed.

The cure was immediately the talk of Washington. Schultz reports that in the two days that followed her cure 500 people came to visit Mattingly, including many politicians and government officials. Ambrose Maréchal, archbishop of Baltimore, was concerned that the story of Mattingly's cure would be met by some with skepticism and thus instructed her pastor to collect affidavits from witnesses to the miracle, including both Protestant and Catholic witnesses. The archbishop's concerns were well founded, as the story of the Mattingly miracle was reported negatively in several East Coast newspapers. Also, a number of Protestant journals treated the miracle as a fraud perpetuated to mislead the simple-minded. However, facts are stubborn things, and the critics were never able to demonstrate that what had happened to Mattingly was anything less than miraculous.

Schultz offers much additional information about the life of Hohenlohe, but in the end he remains a mysterious character. Believed by many to be holy and devout, Hohenlohe was criticized by others, including some church authorities, as being vain and worldly. Even Princess Mathilde's estimation of him must have been mixed, as in 1848 she requested that church authorities compel the prince to repay money that he had borrowed from her in 1831.

Still, whatever Hohenlohe's personal shortcomings, many people were healed of very serious illnesses through his intercession. Between 1824 and 1838, there were fifteen such miraculous cures in Washington and Maryland alone attributed to the intercession of Hohenlohe. All but one of those cured were women; ten of these women were religious sisters. As for Mattingly, after a few years, the notoriety of her miraculous cure faded, and she lived a quiet life until her death on March 9, 1855. She was buried the following day, thirty-one years to the day of her cure.

Although Schultz's book is amply documented with endnotes, it sorely lacks a bibliography. The strangeness of the book is the insertion of supernatural stories at the beginning of each chapter. Although they are supposedly "based on historical material," Schultz has allowed herself "imaginative free play in writing them" (p. 22). These stories are interesting but do not really pertain to Mattingly's miracle. Additionally, Schultz suggests, but does not demonstrate, that somehow the Mattingly miracle and reactions to it offer lessons on nineteenth-century ecclesiology, gender roles, and slavery. The real lesson of this miracle is in the power of one woman's faith.

*Office of the Historian*  
*Archdiocese of Washington*

RORY T. CONLEY

*Beyond the American Pale: The Irish in the West, 1845-1910.* By David M. Emmons. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 472. \$34.95. ISBN 978-0-806-14128-2.)

The present book began life as a “relatively uncomplicated account of western Irish,” but soon transformed itself into a “cluttered storyline of a people beyond a cultural as well as a geographical pale” (p. 460). To fully develop his thoughts, writes the author, the University of Oklahoma Press allowed him a larger than usual word limit. The result is a large, dynamic book about a people, a religion, a region, and a culture. Happily, this hefty volume is exceptionally well written.

An earlier book by David Emmons, *The Butte Irish* (Urbana, IL, 1989), is considered a model for the study of an ethnic group located in a specific town or region. Researching and writing *Beyond the American Pale* allowed Emmons to draw wider conclusions about the Irish by extending his field of vision to many different western locations. How deep is the research? The author has considered the influence of the Irish in 210 western cities or settlements, eighty-two mining locations, and ten railroad towns.

Emmons begins his task with enthusiasm in the introduction by debunking some assumptions about Irish immigration to America. Next, he examines some exaggerated myths about the West. All of this is relevant to “Part I. Unwelcome Strangers: the Irish and the American West,” the first five chapters in this two-part book. Among the most interesting considerations advanced by Emmons are the attitudes by the Irish immigrants toward slaves and Indians—two minority groups with whom they could identify. In the mind of many Americans, for example, rigid Catholicism was a form of slavery. Moreover, the British viewed the Catholic Irish as savages and therefore justifiably conquered, just as they had the Indians of America.

“Part II. An Alternate Frontier: The Irish in the American West” moves the story of Irish immigration across the 100th meridian. Of course, labor, both unorganized and unionized, is a major part of the story. Capitalism loved Irish laborers who worked in the mines, laid railroad track, and cleaned homes, but not when they dominated labor unions, as so often occurred. In the latter scenario, they became papists in need of assimilation into Protestant America. When the Irish resisted, they were kept beyond the American pale.

The glue that binds together the two parts of Emmons’s book is Catholicism. In the late-nineteenth century Butte, Montana, was the most Irish city in America in terms of percentage of total population, which made it the most Catholic city in America. That fact alone also made it the most antiwestern city. The West was Protestant country, notwithstanding the notable efforts of Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries. Emmons argues that the West was not a place of equal opportunity if an individual was Irish, Catholic, or both. The irony is, writes Emmons, that the West was viewed as

a place where people could go to be free, yet when the westering Irish took that to mean they were free to practice their clannishness and Catholicism they immediately became unwelcome.

Emmons, now professor emeritus at the University of Montana, has been at work on this project for thirty years. This is an outstanding contribution to Irish studies, the American West, and American history.

*Gonzaga University*

ROBERT CARRIKER

*The Beginning of Print Culture in Athabasca Country: A Facsimile Edition & Translation of a Prayer Book in Cree Syllabics by Father Émile Grouard, O.M.I. Prepared and Printed at Lac La Biche in 1883.* Translated by Patricia Demers, Naomi McIlwraith, and Dorothy Thunder, with an introduction by Patricia Demers. (Edmonton, Canada: University of Alberta Press. 2010. Pp. xxviii, 457. \$80.00. ISBN 978-0-888-64515-0.)

This book is a unique contribution to sociocultural history and to Aboriginal language studies. It introduces the reader to a forgotten document and calls attention to an often neglected dimension of early missionary work—its attention to language. The original text brings to light the process of recontextualizing Christianity through the complex translation of beliefs into indigenous languages and its reflective dimension. It is relevant to note that the original text was prepared and printed in the Oblate Mission, Notre Dame des Victoires in Lac La Biche (a community with Cree, Métis, Saulteaux, and Montagnais residents), in Athabasca Country with a Paris-made press by Father Émile Grouard, M.O. (1840–1931). Thus, the book also opens a window to the dissemination of print culture in western Canada, as the authors have written in the preface, and to the exploration of “the fusions of Cree, French, and Latin linguistic patterns” (p. x).

The foreword, written by Arok Wolvengrey of the First Nations University of Canada, provides the most appropriate comments situating the work in the contemporary context and calling attention to the difficult tasks of the authors/translators, given the temporal distance from Grouard’s work and even possible misunderstandings on his part. In the preface the translators make clear that the transcription and transliteration, as well as the English translation of the phonemic system of the sound and word patterns of Cree Syllabics (geometric characters representing syllables), represented a challenge. Given the changes of meaning, the representation of Cree sounds, and the differences in sentence patterns between the time of the original publication to today, the authors/translators have included both a direct transcription of Grouard’s Syllabics in Roman font and a transliteration of Cree in italics, according to current linguistic practice.

The introduction brings to the forefront the missionary work of Grouard. Before Grouard traveled to Lac La Biche, he spent thirteen years in the



Northwest, became conversant with Aboriginal languages, and learned printing and painting during two years spent in France to recover his health. In September 1876 Grouard went to the Notre Dame des Victoires Mission at Lac La Biche, a place where the aims of the Oblates and those of the Hudson Bay Company often intersected. It is important that the authors also examine the work of the Grey Nuns, their gendered position in the mission, and their spiritual notion of sacrifice that needs to be understood even as their work now can be construed as oppressive of the Aboriginal peoples. Grouard and other early missionaries were open to the mediation of culture and language in the process of Christianization, contrary to the assimilationist patterns of the residential schools later in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. The point is not to argue about the desirability or not of conversion that happened at the intersection of the colonization process, but to underscore the approach at a time of ultramontane missionary zeal.

The afterword, rightly titled "Language and Devotion: A Missionary Use of Cree Syllabics," is a major contribution to cultural and linguistic history. The authors, having positioned themselves at the interface of oral culture and textual representation, engage in a cultural linguistic analysis of the challenges they encountered in the process of transcription, transliteration, and translation. This book represents a major milestone in Aboriginal studies.

*Queen's University*  
*Kingston, Canada*

ROSA BRUNO-JOFRÉ

*Miracle on High Street. The Rise, Fall, and Resurrection of St. Benedict's Prep in Newark, N.J.* By Thomas A. McCabe. (New York: Fordham University Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 322. \$26.95. ISBN 978-0-823-23310-6.)

The story of St. Benedict's Prep is not only miraculous but also inspired, as author Thomas McCabe so aptly and consistently illustrates throughout the course of this highly detailed volume. What is most evident at first and last within the pages of this retrospective is the diligence and pluck that each generation of administrators, students, alumni, and supporters exhibited to keep St. Benedict's going through constant challenges and a reprieve from near extinction to re-emerge as a verifiable success story.

At first glance, the chronicle of St. Benedict's is one that often is shared with other Catholic secondary institutions in varied forms that launched from modest origins and subsisted from semester to semester by a combination of honest toil and force of will. Beyond the parochial nature of this work in a strictly religious sense; the geo-social implications that faced the school are also important to note. Therefore, the telling of St. Benedict's history with that of New Jersey's largest city shows a rare and valuable glance into a symbiotic and respectful story of how "The Prep" benefited from and aided its host city in turn. Its reach transcended the Catholic Church, as

Newark emerged as one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the nation. The early German monks who administered St. Benedict's not only taught their fellow ethnic coreligionists but also Irish, Italian, and Eastern European individuals. Most recently, Latino and African American men, among other ethnicities, have contributed to its unique and steadfast character.

In substantive terms, McCabe traces the developmental steps of his subject in chronological form. The contents are broken down by traditional chapter blocks extolling major eras of development over the years. The full scope and resilience of St. Benedict's history from the "forgotten" anti-Catholic riot of 1854 predating its official founding fourteen years later through the more famed Newark Riots of 1967 that have defined the city and precipitately led in part to the temporary closure of St. Benedict's in 1972 before re-opening one year later. Aside from these situational "bookends" of aggression that has fostered anxiety and fueled desire, McCabe mentions that everyday concerns remain constant and ever present despite financial issues, fluctuations in enrollment, competition from public schools, and other factors that threatened its stability. Hope remains alive on High Street despite varied obstacles, but McCabe shows how strength of character has carried the day since 1868.

From a stylistic point, this text reads like a drama that is evident from the introductory text onward as this book transcends that of a straight facts-and-figures type of institutional history. McCabe presents a vivid account that combines historical analysis, statistical data, press accounts, archival resources, and anecdotal information among other germane information of note. The arrangement is very well balanced, as curriculum, faculty, student life, athletics, social life, neighborhood, and special milestones that constitute the core parts of any academic study are thoroughly and expertly covered in proper detail. Just like their mascot, the "Gray Bees," this tome is alive with the vibrancy and virtues that mark the Rule of St. Benedict, "*ora et labora*" that McCabe ultimately imparts to his audience throughout the course of this opus.

Overall, there is something in this story for everyone, as it is a time-honored tale of modest origins with waves of success and crisis, but is ultimately a tale of passion and success. As McCabe notes, perhaps the miracle of St. Benedict's has been the long and enduring impact of one venerable institution that remains alive due to industry, endurance, and well-placed faith.

*Seton Hall University*

ALAN DELOZIER

*Faith in the Fight: Religion and the American Soldier in the Great War.* By Jonathan H. Ebel. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 253. \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-691-13992-0.)

The subtitle of this book defines its main subject: religion and the American soldier in the Great War. The author notes accurately that his

book is the first on this topic since the publication of *Religion among American Men* (New York, 1920). It has two distinct advantages over the earlier work. First, it relies heavily on letters, diaries, and memoirs of participants that were not available in 1920. Ebel found many of his sources in the New York Public Library's collection of U.S. World War I narratives and in several postwar collections of letters and other accounts of the experiences of soldiers. The public source was *The Stars and Stripes*, the official newspaper of the American Expeditionary Force. Second, it takes a broad view of the term *American soldier*, embracing a variety of military personnel: soldiers, airmen, and noncombatant workers. Many of the latter were women who served in a multitude of support agencies. This expansive view pays many dividends in providing a wider range of motivations and firsthand experiences.

The author has at least two goals and two arguments. One goal is to give voice to the religious ideas of participants in the war. He achieves this with considerable success by bringing to life the memories of a wide variety of individuals. Another goal is to establish the religious dimensions of the war. At the very least, he says, historians of American religion should begin to include them in their histories, to weave the voices of the soldiers and war workers "into the increasingly complex tapestry of American religious history" (p. 196).

The first argument is "the necessity, though not the sufficiency, of religion as a cause of American involvement in the Great War" (p. 194). It was, he claims, religion that put a large number of the participants in the war. The argument is not new, but the author makes it through the lives and words of those at the front, rather than the words of President Woodrow Wilson and some of the leading clergymen. The second argument is that World War I was not the "death of an old order and the birth of a new," but that it demonstrated the continuity of the past with the future. It was about "the reassertion of religious ideas and ideals in the face of war and in war's aftermath. It is, in short, a story of reillusionment" (p. 18). The American soldiers, in his broad meaning of the term, were more frequently advocates of prewar faiths "than they were revolutionaries against them."

The book features an introduction, six chapters, and a conclusion. Chapter 1, "Redemption through War," reveals that all kinds of Americans—men and women, Protestant and Catholic—saw the war in remarkably similar religious terms, as a way to achieve redemption. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with theological issues, including God, suffering, death and salvation, and the efforts of the participants to "theologize" the violence and devastation of the war. Ebel uses the arguments in Rudolf Otto's *Das Heilige* (Breslau, 1917; trans. *The Idea of the Holy*, 1923) to explore the memories of several of the combatants as they tried to come to grips with the presence of the numinous in the terror of the war.

Chapter 4, "Christ's Cause, Pharaoh's Army," has both an intriguing title and powerful subject. African American participants fought a two-front war, one in Europe and another at home, experiencing what W. E. B. DuBois called a double-consciousness. Ebel's readers will meet Vernon Smith, Isaac Sanders, Willie Thomas, Julius Mitchell, and others as they struggled to carry out their duties under the heavy burden of racism. Just as compelling are the stories of Carolyn Clarke, Addie Hunton, and others in chapter 5, "Ideal Women in an Ideal War." The final two chapters are "There Are No Dead" (about soldiers' visions of the afterlife) and "The Same Cross in Peace" (about the rise of the American Legion).

*Faith in the Fight* is a complex study, fitting to describe and analyze the experiences of those who participated in an event far more complex than most Americans think. It offers a strong argument for the recovery of World War I in American histories, those of religious life and those of the nation as a whole.

Lycoming College (Emeritus)

JOHN F. PIPER JR.

*Rising Road: A True Tale of Love, Race, and Religion in America.* By Sharon Davies. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 327. \$27.95. ISBN 978-0-195-37979-2).

The establishment of the English-speaking colonies in North America was an anti-Catholic experiment. Except for Maryland, the Christian colonies were antipapist. The prejudice against Roman Catholics and Roman Catholicism continued throughout the course of the history of the United States until recent times; one may argue that expressing anti-Catholic prejudice is still publicly acceptable. Sharon Davies, professor of law at Ohio State University, vividly recounts one violent and fatal act of anti-Catholic prejudice in *Rising Road: A True Tale of Love, Race, and Religion in America*. This thoroughly researched and well-written narrative recounts the murder of James Coyle, a Roman Catholic priest, on August 11, 1921, in Birmingham, Alabama, by Edwin Stevenson, a Methodist minister. Stevenson's daughter, Ruth, had converted to Catholicism and had married a Hispanic Catholic, Pedro Gussman, in a service officiated by Coyle.

What is fascinating and significant about Davies's work is her judicious handling of the sources at her disposal. Using court transcripts, newspaper accounts, and church documents, Davies chronicles the anti-Catholic mood of the region, the state of race matters in the South, and the understanding of legal and extralegal justice in the early decades of the twentieth century. Davies demonstrates that Stevenson was not on trial when his case was finally brought before Judge William Fort's court; rather, this was a trial that would uphold family values, Protestant hegemony, and racial purity in the South.



A good portion of this work centers on the efforts of the county solicitor, Joseph R. Tate, to bring Stevenson to justice and those of Hugo L. Black, future Supreme Court justice and Ku Klux Klan member, to save him from the electric chair. Black and his colleagues portrayed Stevenson and his wife, Mary, as dutiful, yet somewhat indulgent, parents to a spoiled and disrespectful daughter. Black and company presented the Catholic Church as “other,” feeding into the religious bias of the region against the “intolerable alien.” The Hugo Black defense team, by questioning Gussman’s ethno-racial status, provided a justification for Stevenson’s action: Gussman violated that which was never to be violated in the South—racial purity. As the editors of the anti-Catholic *New Menace* argued before the trial took place, Stevenson should not be punished, as they believed that he “would rather have seen his daughter in her grave than a member of the papal church, married to a Catholic, destined to bring into the world a generation of half breed slaves to the papal system. . .” (p. 203). A jury of Stevenson’s white peers acquitted him on October 21, 1921, some ten weeks after he had shot Coyle in cold blood.

In a work that is suitable for graduate and undergraduate students as well as one that will appeal to the general public, Davies presents a cautionary tale of racial and religious intolerance. Such intolerance, unchecked, led to murder, unpunished. As Alabama governor Emmett O’ Neil commented after Stevenson’s acquittal, “We have not advanced far from savagery or barbarism if murder is to be justified on account of the religious creed of the victim” (p. 281).

*Fordham University*

R. BENTLEY ANDERSON, S.J.

*“Go to the Worker”: America’s Labor Apostles.* By Kimball Baker. [Marquette Studies in Theology, No. 70.] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2010. Pp. 275. \$30.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-874-62749-7.)

Independent historian Kimball Baker has written the best book to date on American Catholic leaders who answered Pope Leo XIII’s appeal to “go to the worker.” There are ten essays and four brief “social action vignettes” covering many of the major figures in Catholic labor history from the 1930s through the postwar era, ending with Monsignor George G. Higgins. Baker has done his homework, reading the Catholic labor press, interviewing most of his subjects, and consulting the best work in labor history. Most of the essays are far more than biographical profiles. They are studies in local labor history informed by awareness of local political and social as well as ecclesiastical history. Best of all, Baker knows his labor history, including the often complicated stories of internal union politics, where Catholic influence was sometimes important and always controversial. Although the focus is on leaders, the local stories communicate clearly the struggles and the courage of the rank and file.

The pope's appeal was to priests, and Baker includes essays on important clergymen who devoted all or part of their ministry to the labor movement. Here we are reminded of the close connections between pastoral work and labor action when most Catholics were working-class wage earners. He also offers essays on two important lay leaders, John Cort and Ed Marciniak. Baker worries that all his subjects are white males, except for a one-page vignette on pioneer factory inspector Linna Bressette, who served for three decades as an aide to John A. Ryan and Raymond McGowan. Those two pioneers do not get chapters, although their names, and that of Dorothy Day, appear throughout. Most of the stories are about less well-known figures in Chicago, Brooklyn, New York, Pittsburgh, and Boston.

Baker helps readers understand the fight on the ground for union recognition and the importance of Catholic support or indifference. He admires the coalition building where Catholics joined with workers of other faiths and with socialists, even communists, and he carefully explains the need for—but ambiguity of—the divisive battles that freed some unions from communist control. He recalls that church support for labor unions affirmed the goal of improving wages, hours, and working conditions, but also insisted on the need to build labor-management cooperation. Eventually, these leaders thought that industrial America, to achieve justice and ensure democracy, would have to explore new structures similar to the “vocational group” corporatism of Pope Pius XI. Ryan taught them to call the goal “industrial democracy,” and the CIO for a time flirted with “industry councils.” Baker, better than most historians, helps us understand how and why that goal faded after World War II and is now lost to Catholic and American memories.

Academic historians should know that this is serious, well-researched, and clearly presented history, but it is far from neutral. Baker unapologetically favors unions, collective bargaining, and larger reforms to strengthen democracy. He believes, as did the subjects of his book, that the enemy was unbribed capitalism.

*College of the Holy Cross (Emeritus)*

DAVID O'BRIEN

*For Both Cross and Flag: Catholic Action, Anti-Catholicism, and National Security Politics in World War II San Francisco.* By William Issel. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2010 Pp. vii, 206. \$40.00. ISBN 978-1-439-90028-4.)

In *For Both Cross and Flag* William Issel accomplishes what he set out to do; he “restore[s] our appreciation of the impact of European political and religious rivalries in the political cultures of American cities in the first half of the twentieth century” (p. 2) by telling the story of Sylvester Andriano, a Catholic, Italian American lawyer living in San Francisco. Andriano's story

warrants attention, because in 1942 he was declared a security risk and prohibited from living on the West Coast by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and California's Tenney Committee (TC), largely in response to the testimony of members of the Communist Party. Issel first encountered Andriano's story when researching "competition between the Communist Party and the Catholic Church in San Francisco in the 1930s and 1940s" (p. 6). After working his way through the collections of papers, correspondence, and testimony related to the case, he concluded that Andriano was innocent of the charges against him and decided to tell his story. Issel wanted not only to correct the record but also "to demonstrate how international and national events impinged on the political culture of a major American city from World War I to World War II" (p. 6) and how "Andriano's exclusion [from the West Coast] derived also from his militant Catholic activism" in promoting Catholic Action (p. 5). As seen, Andriano's story is a complex one that encompasses religion, culture, immigration, World War II, and politics at the local, national, and international levels.

Beginning with the introduction, which presents an overview of the case, Issel skillfully guides the reader through the layers of Andriano's story and presents his central point: that anti-Catholicism played a key role in the decision of the Communist Party and anti-Catholic fellow Italian immigrants to target him. Chapter 1 introduces the reader to Andriano, offering a brief biography of his family roots, immigration to the United States, education at Saint Mary's College of California, and career as a lawyer. Then in chapters 2 through 9, Issel shifts his focus to Andriano's leadership position in Catholic Action and prominence in San Francisco's Catholic community. He presents Andriano's work in the context of the religious and political movements, historical events, and cultural developments that put Andriano on a collision course with the Communist Party and eventually led to his ordeal with HUAC and TC. He makes it clear how Andriano's close relationship with Archbishop John J. Mitty and Mayor Angelo Rossi, his contribution to settling the dock workers' strike of 1934, and his work to promote Catholic Action drew the ire of the local Communist Party, which sought to undermine the Catholic Church's influence among the workers. Consequently, when Issel covers the UAC and TC hearings in chapters 10 and 11, the reader clearly understands how Andriano found himself a casualty in the battle between the Communist Party and the Catholic Church in San Francisco.

Issel closes with an epilogue in which he presents a series of conclusions that draws his work together and returns the reader to his theses regarding immigrants, politics, and anti-Catholicism. He ends with a final note regarding the timeless importance of Andriano's story, stating, "Few San Franciscans recall the name Sylvester Andriano, but his story is important because it serves as a cautionary tale about how easily government officials can make mistakes that lead to the abuse of citizenship rights during wartime" (p. 172). Issel has told a story whose importance lies in its cautionary nature and its

reminder regarding the influence of immigrants' homeland politics and religious affiliation in domestic politics.

*Mount Marty College*  
*Yankton, SD*

HELEN CIERNICK

*America and the Vatican: Trading Information after WWII.* By Robert F. Illing. (Palisades, NY: History Publishing. 2011. Pp. 245. \$25.95. ISBN 978-1-933-90969-1.)

Robert F. Illing spent the bulk of his career as a U.S. foreign service officer, including five years as an assistant to Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., who was appointed the personal representative of President Richard Nixon to Pope Paul VI in 1970. Lodge was not accorded diplomatic rank or salary with this post, which he held until 1977, and never maintained his permanent residence in Rome. He was reimbursed for his expenses, however, when he made official visits to the Vatican, and the government paid for a permanent suite at the Grand Hotel, which served as the official office of the mission. Illing notes that Lodge made fourteen official visits during his five-year tour in Rome, spending an average of five to six weeks in the city each year. As assistant to Lodge, Illing remained in Rome and acted as a kind of chargé d'affaires, despite the lack of official diplomatic relations between the United States and the Holy See, as was the case until 1984.

Illing is a man of many interests. Those interests often are on display in this loosely woven narrative, which includes historical and cultural observations, personal anecdotes, some diplomatic history, and theological opinions. The book includes an index, but is without footnotes or bibliography. Some facts, stories, and events are repeated across chapters, and the tone of the whole is overwhelmingly personal. The complete work might best be understood as a memoir. Illing is an admirer of both Lodge and Paul VI, and is quite explicit in his esteem for all things "progressive." In Paul VI, Illing finds a reflection of his own liberal preferences. All else is dismissed somewhat derisively, including some Catholic teachings. This is especially the case in the chapter "The Population Conundrum," in which the author appears baffled by the apparent intransigence of the Holy See on the matter of contraception and birth control in contrast to the official position of the government he represented. Illing's lack of theological, ecclesiological, and historical background is clear throughout the book.

The chapters that intend to sum up large periods of history are sometimes filled with little more than gross caricatures. This is overwhelmingly apparent in the fourth chapter, "Historical Growth of Papal Power," which it might have been better to omit. His summary of the relationship between Benjamin Franklin and the nuncio to Paris (the third chapter) fails to credit any of the scholars who have long since brought this relationship to light.



Rather, with his photocopies of contemporary documents found in the Vatican archives, he might leave some with the impression that this story is his discovery. The second chapter, which outlines the history of bilateral relations between the United States and the Papal States/Holy See, is more helpful, but again, is still sketchy and lacks attribution of sources.

The chapters that review particular diplomatic relations with regard to specific nations while Illing served at the Vatican contain useful memories of an ancillary participant and professional diplomatic observer. The story of Cardinal Josef Mindszenty might be of some interest to a wider audience, as may be the review of U.S. relations with the Holy See in light of the Vietnam War. But it is doubtful that Illing's nation-by-nation review ("Covering the Waterfront") would, in the main, be of interest to the general public. More intriguing, perhaps, would be the string of personal encounters, along with impressions, that included visiting U.S. presidents and other politicians, General Josip Tito, and Gloria Swanson.

*Mount Olive College*  
*Mount Olive, NC*

JAMES F. GARNEAU

*Tri-Faith America: How Catholics and Jews Held Postwar America to Its Protestant Promise.* By Kevin M. Schultz. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 256. \$34.95. ISBN 978-0-195-33176-9.)

In part 1 of this valuable book, Kevin Schultz documents the origin, development, and general acceptance of the "tri-faith" idea in the second quarter of the twentieth century. "Tri-Faith America" meant that the country could no longer be understood simply as a "Protestant nation"; rather, Catholicism and Judaism had attained equal status as spiritual constituents of American identity. By the 1950s, that view shaped what Schultz calls "standard operating procedure" (p. 43) in American social thought. In part 2, he analyzes significant shifts in American thinking related to this development.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews, formed in 1928 in reaction to Ku Klux bigotry, was the key agency in systematically promoting the tri-faith idea. Its message of tolerance and brotherhood was reinforced in the wartime years by the prevailing sense of cultural crisis and the conviction that America's democratic values were rooted in the "Judeo-Christian tradition." The NCCJ's programmatic activities in training camps, enthusiastically supported by military authorities, made the organization "one of the most extensive propagandists for what the nation was fighting for" (p. 49). The same linkage of tri-faith/Judeo-Christianity with Americanism was carried over into the cold war battle against "godless communism."

Schultz's account of how the "three faiths of democracy" (p. 50) came to be regarded as the leading markers of diversity in American society is well

researched and convincing. However, his treatment of Will Herberg's *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (Garden City, NY, 1955), the classic contemporary analysis of the phenomenon, is surprisingly ungenerous. His summary of its argument is incomplete; he calls Herberg's critique of American religiosity cynical and characterizes his interpretation as derivative—Herberg was merely “the most famous of the bunch” of sociologists who had been theorizing along the same lines for years (pp. 88–89). This dismissive evaluation of Herberg's work seems quite wrongheaded. However, Schultz's review of the overall impact of the tri-faith idea is more rewarding. Here he argues, first, that the tri-faith vision legitimated “communalism”—that is, the right of minority groups to maintain a distinctive identity—and implicitly suggested that groups as such have rights. Second, it was associated with a shift in constitutional thinking whereby church-state separation was grounded in the need to protect minorities from discrimination. Third, by being associated with the Jewish campaign to exclude religious questions from the census, the tri-faith idea helped establish the principle that religion is a strictly *private* matter. Finally, it “softened the ground” for the civil rights movement by supplying a language that Reverend Martin Luther King and other leaders could “tap into” in their struggle for equality and by making “American pluralism an accepted part of the nation's identity” (p. 185). However, the leaders of tri-faith America did not formally embrace the cause of racial justice until the 1960s, and Schultz is highly critical of the “sometimes willful blindness” (p. 194) that kept them from including racial minorities in their campaign for brotherhood and tolerance from a much earlier date.

The broadly interpretive claims Schulz makes in part 2 are definitely provocative, but also plausible and well worth further investigation. There are, however, some disquieting errors of detail in part 1. Schultz mistakenly calls Whittaker Chambers a “Catholic convert” (p. 90); and he errs in respect to the dating of Father Charles Coughlin's antisemitic agitation (p. 30), Carlton Hayes's service as ambassador to Spain (p. 31), and Servant of God Fulton J. Sheen's elevation to episcopal dignity (p. 63). To assert that Stuart Symington—rather than the courtly Joseph N. Welch—“famously asked [Sen. Joseph R.] McCarthy if he had any decency” (p. 90) has to be called a howler.

*University of Notre Dame (Emeritus)*

PHILIP GLEASON

*Power, Politics, and the Missouri Synod: A Conflict that Changed American Christianity.* By James C. Burkee. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 256. \$29.00. ISBN 978-0-800-69792-1.)

Unlike most of American Lutheranism, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod takes pride in the fact that it has never merged with another church body. Founded in 1847, it once flirted with a like-minded Lutheran church regarding altar and pulpit fellowship as well as experienced—also unlike most of American Lutheranism—the pain of schism.

James Burkee, associate professor of political science at Concordia University Wisconsin, did not experience the Lutheran civil war of the 1970s as did most of those who have written about it to date. The present book, the first nonpartisan account, narrates the evolution of a conservative movement that succeeded in driving more moderate voices from the synod by the mid-1970s.

At the center of the conservative element was Herman Otten, whose seminary faculty in 1957 refused to certify him for ordination after he leveled charges of heresy against them. Burkee considers Otten the synod's "most infamous figure" (p. 8), yet finds him among its most pitiable characters. Since 1962, Otten has published the *Christian News*, a weekly "church tabloid" (p. 43), in which he has vilified individuals and institutions and through which "he defined conservatism for the Missouri Synod, created a sense of crisis," and "turned a handful of anxious pastors and laymen into a movement" (p. 6).

Yet Burkee finds little consensus within the so-called movement and even less trust. Using extensive quotations from interviews with key players from the era, he weaves an account of growing discontent fueled by Otten's publication, a drumbeat that led to blatant politics by the synod's 1969 biennial convention, "as awkward and schizophrenic a gathering as Missouri Lutherans had ever seen" (p. 90). With the election of Jacob Preus, the conservative candidate who ousted the more moderate incumbent, the synod set on a path to clean house of all things liberal, in particular Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. Seven years later, the schism was complete with the departure of 250 congregations.

Burkee correctly puts Missouri's conservative-moderate conflict within the larger context of the rising polarization of American society during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Calls for law and order like those that put Richard Nixon in the White House echoed in Missouri conservatives' demand for purging the St. Louis seminary of liberal theology. Despite describing the conflict as "a war of ideologies, primarily but not exclusively theological in expression" (p. 45), Burkee's narrative is largely devoid of any discussion of the profound theological differences represented by the two camps.

The story told here is instead a sordid tale of secret meetings, threats, electioneering, blackmail, backbiting, and backstabbing. The book's title would be more accurate without commas—power politics became the order of the day with the conservative takeover of the synod, which "is today as politically managed and charged as ever" (p. 12). Unfortunately, the author does not make a convincing case for the claim of his subtitle. The conflict did, however, change American Lutheranism, most dramatically the Missouri Synod itself, a body Burkee concludes "has become an also-ran, struggling for existence and relevance even as it continued the fight to define itself" (p. 183).

The book offers valuable insight into what Robert Wuthnow has called the restructuring of postwar American religion and serves as a case study of the extremes to which the conservative/liberal divide can impact churches. Burkee's account of an "all-out war that has not ended and whose outcome is uncertain" (p. 11) leaves the reader little sense of hope. Primarily an unmasking of perpetual malcontent Otten, whose unbridled arrogance and disproportionate influence remain unmatched in Missouri Synod history, it is not, as Martin Marty suggests in his foreword, a happy story.

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MARY TODD

### Latin American

*Bonfires of Culture: Franciscans, Indigenous Leaders, and the Inquisition in Early Mexico, 1524-1540.* By Patricia Lopes Don. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 263. \$34.95. ISBN 978-0-806-14049-0.)

An intriguing feature of the early evangelization of central Mexico is the extraordinary manner in which the natives flocked with genuine zeal to be baptized at the hands of Franciscan friars. It all seemed to confirm Hernán Cortés's efforts to reassure the emperor Charles V that the conquest of Mexico had more than made up for his losses in Europe by adding vast new territories populated by people who would merely need instruction rather than forced conversion. Unfortunately, this initial enthusiasm soon was replaced by disillusionment. The apparent enthusiasm for baptism was likely the result of the Mesoamerican tradition of incorporating the victor's deities into the pre-existing pantheon, but the practice was in no way meant to be accompanied by the outright rejection of the other deities. As evidence of indigenous recidivism increased, therefore, so did a sense of betrayal and a growing distrust among the friars in the face of what they could only interpret as duplicity and bad faith. This led to a flurry of inquisitorial trials in the late 1530s under the leadership of Archbishop Fray Juan de Zumárraga that reached a tragic climax in 1539 with the burning at the stake of the Cacique de Texcoco, Don Carlos Ometochtli Chichimecateuctli.

The documents relating to these episodes have been widely available to historians since Luis González Obregón published them in 1912. Nevertheless, this is the first scholarly monograph that attempts a detailed reconstruction of the trials, placing them authoritatively in their historical context and delving into the circumstances behind each case and the chain of intrigue on both sides of the cultural divide. The author is as comfortable in the Inquisitorial methods deployed in Spain to deal with conversos and moriscos as she is in analyzing the structures and dynastic intricacies of the Valley of Texcoco and the Sierra de Puebla. She thus sheds as much light on



the attitudes of Zumárraga and his illustrious coreligionist, fray Andrés de Olmos—both of whom had been involved in witchcraft trials in the Basque region before setting off to evangelize New Spain—as she does on the motives of the likes of Martín Ocelotl, Andrés Mixcoatl, the keepers of *tlaquimilloli* (the puzzling sacred bundles containing prehispanic relics), and the cacique de Texcoco himself.

The fluidity and adaptability that the author brings to light in her reconstructions also allow her to provide a thoroughly convincing reinterpretation of the Boban Calendar Wheel, now in the John Carter Brown Library, which she dates to the years shortly after the execution of Don Carlos. It is a beautiful example of the mid-way process between pictographic and alphabetic documentation in Nahuatl to which both natives and Spaniards clearly contributed. It therefore is a pity that the analysis of the Calendar Wheel should not be better integrated into the main argument of the book, for it would have allowed the author to resist a tendency to present a rather neat picture that draws too sharp a dividing line between the flexible adaptability of the indigenous actors (who allegedly did not know “moral temptation” [p. 157] and thus managed to “shape the contours of Franciscan teaching in ways that showed little regard for Franciscan dreams” [p. 191]) and the comparatively monolithic, “black and white” morality of the Franciscans (which, according to Patricia Lopes Don, prevented them from understanding “the natives’ values and moral dilemmas” [pp. 58, 174]). But this is a minor quibble in what is otherwise a very solid and illuminating study, whose evident merits will prevent it from gathering much dust in libraries in the foreseeable future.

University of Bristol

FERNANDO CERVANTES

*Indigenous Miracles: Nabua Authority in Colonial Mexico.* By Edward W. Osowski. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 261. \$50.00. ISBN 978-0-816-52855-4.)

Mesoamerican peoples were long familiar with miraculous occurrences, and they therefore readily incorporated those of the Spaniards into their new beliefs in Catholicism. Indeed, over the course of the colonial period native leaders appropriated select miracles to suit their purposes and, in many ways, made them indigenous. Their Christian piety consequently affirmed their legitimacy as stalwart members of New Spanish society.

Miracles in central Mexico were, of course, cause for celebration, with bell ringing at the churches and entire communities rallying for the occasion. Apparitions, a dead child suddenly come to life, a stone cross on the move, and spontaneous sacred images were among the many marvelous events that the natives personalized. Early miracles included the widely known visitations experienced by Fray Martín de Valencia, head of the

Franciscan Apostolic Twelve, which occurred in a cave on a hilltop in Amecameca, Chalco. Now known as the Sacromonte, that hill (Chalchihmo-moztli Amaqueme), as the Nahuatl historian Chimalpahin (b. 1579) recounted, was the site where Amecameca's founding rulers established their kingdom in 1241—not a coincidence. Thus inviolable, the cave was configured by subsequent leaders into a sanctuary with an image of the Santo Entierro (the Holy Burial of Christ, another miracle in its own right) and served as a pilgrimage destination for centuries.

Other indigenous miracle sites were not necessarily as prosperous over the long term, due largely to demographic change and interference by Spanish authorities. Undaunted, native leaders sent out alms collectors, who traveled the countryside with a sacred image ensconced in a box strapped to the back of a mule. Musicians and women often accompanied them, and frequently the latter contacted women in distant towns to arrange for exclusive viewing of the saintly icon. The fame of the miraculous cult and the additional revenue benefited the home community and its leaders, and such alms collectors became familiar travelers across the region, much to the chagrin of the Spaniards.

By the eighteenth century Bourbon viceroys were implementing various regulations to gain greater control over ostentatious political and religious celebrations in Mexico City and neighboring communities. Two targets were the annual Corpus Christi and Semana Santa festivals, in which the native peoples were heavily invested. For example, San Juan Tenochtitlan and Santiago, the indigenous cabildos in the capital, organized the stately mile-long, floral-covered arches that framed and shaded the Eucharist as it was carried about the city in procession. In collaboration with the native interpreter general, invitations were sent to rural towns, requisitioning delegations with construction materials, boughs of flowers, food, and money for the eight-day celebration. Delegations struck deals regarding the placement of their arch, as proximity to the cathedral door was a sign of influence.

Corpus Christi was truly the grandest and most sacred of all Christian festivals in New Spain, and the native celebrants' pious fulfillment was without question. Yet there were other advantages: the great prestige enjoyed by the rulers from distant towns who took part, the inexorable authority of the governors in San Juan and Santiago who held sway during the festival, the economic boon for retail merchants (Spaniards included) in the capital, and the ongoing satisfaction and legitimacy invoked by the public display of indigenous religiosity.

Semana Santa was important as well for the Indians, who marched in the processions but also rented costumes and served as pagan Roman centurions. They re-enacted the Passion and watched over the body of Christ and then professed themselves true believers on the final day of the festival, essentially reiterating their spiritual conquest by the Spaniards. There also

were seasons of Passion plays (first written in Nahuatl, the natives' language, and later translated into Spanish to be more ecumenical—and all in spite of viceregal mandates to the contrary).

*Indigenous Miracles* emphasizes the Christological, rather than the Marian, devotions in New Spain and focuses on regional, rather than urban, miracle-related activities. Edward Osowski also stresses the influence of local leaders as the mainstays of the wondrous celebrations, but the evidence also speaks of class and ethnic pluralism and corporate communities expending remarkable capital and effort for the benefit of all. It is an important book, revealing indigenous creativity, adaptability, and sustainability for centuries. Yet there are some points of concern. According to Chimalpahin, the date of the beginning of the worship of the Santo Entierro is 1583, but Osowski renders it as 1584 (pp. 37, 39) and 1589 (p. 56); San Juan Tlacotenco is rendered as San Juan Tlatelolco (p. 62); spiritual alms collectors and spiritual tax collectors are deemed to be synonymous entities; and the index has little utility. Nevertheless, *Indigenous Miracles* brings to light a trove of new information and fine history about the vitality of native spiritual life at the end of the colonial era. It is a most welcome contribution to the field.

Tulane University

SUSAN SCHROEDER

*Framing the Sacred: The Indian Churches of Colonial Mexico.* By Eleanor Wake. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2010. Pp. xxii, 338. \$65.00. ISBN 978-0-806-14033-9.)

Eleanor Wake's impressive new book on the perennially fascinating topic of the indigenous impact on the built and visual culture of early New Spain is a welcome addition to the literature in English. Its elegant, jargon-free writing; methodical overview of the secondary literature; and deft detective work based on extensive fieldwork will make this book invaluable as a primer for the subject for undergraduates, graduates, and interested members of the general public.

The book takes us on a journey through time and space—both real and cosmic—beginning with overviews of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican beliefs and rituals centered on geography, the calendar, agriculture, and fertility, focusing on the role of plants and especially flowers, the leitmotif of this book. Chapters 2 and 3 explore familiar territory, telling the story of the implementation of Christianity by the conquerors on the existing sacred environment and the indigenous reappropriation of their own world through selective adaptation and interpretation of these alien forms and beliefs. We see again the ingenious systems of indoctrination used by the friar missionaries and the ways that the Nahua employed them to their own ends, as well as the cycles of tolerance and intolerance imposed by a Church that at times had little idea of what was going on. Chapter 4 rehearses the history of the

building of the great mission churches and the ways in which their unique structures (open chapels, *posas*) reflect the pre-Hispanic ritual environment and its colonial inheritor and how they represented continuity as much as novelty for the indigenous populations. Her relation of indigenous depictions of churches to representations of the *altepetl* (Nahua community) is particularly helpful.

Much of this material is well known even to a nonscholarly audience and indebted to George Kubler, Joseph Baird, John MacAndrew, Jeanette Peterson, Samuel Edgerton, and Jaime Lara—just to name some of those writing in English. Yet there is not enough acknowledgment of the work of these pioneers and contemporaries, or even a clear statement about what is original and what is not. As a consequence, the survey of the literature in the introduction seems dated—the author's points are well taken about the indigenous contribution to colonial culture, but she fights a battle against a Eurocentric mainstream literature that was won two decades ago. More problematic is her claim that she is using sources "hitherto not included in a study of this kind" (p. 8) such as *lienzos* (map documents), which are the foundation of a groundswell of recent scholarship (e.g., Barbara Mundy and Lara, both of whom she cites, but not enough). Her neglect of Lara's work and dismissiveness toward that of Edgerton prevents her from opening up a fresh scholarly dialogue, and it is an oversight not to bring in some of the literature on colonial South America (Ramón Mujica, Adrian Locke, Thomas Cummins, Elena Phipps), which deals precisely with issues of indigenous participation in colonial architecture and visual culture and has been engaging the Mexican material directly for more than twenty years.

Wake is at her most impressive in the later part of the book (chapters 5 and 6). Her meticulous and original study of the location and identification of pre-Hispanic embedded stones in colonial churches and their possible alignment with solar activity and radial sightlines with elements of sacred geography (mountains in particular) is very provocative, as is her unprecedented identification of this sacred geography in the backgrounds of Christian mural paintings. Also intriguing is her emphasis on flowers and their relationship to flower imagery in the Nahua *Cantares Mexicanos* (sacred songs)—although in this case the reader wishes she had gone further, reproducing some of the texts in full and going back over the material treated earlier in the book. In fact, it would have been preferable to have these splendid texts at the beginning rather than the conclusion.

In sum, this is a very useful book for students and the lay public, with significant new observations to whet the appetite of the scholarly community, but also not sufficiently appreciative of the work of others nor entirely up to speed with the larger state of the question.

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GAUVIN ALEXANDER BAILEY



*Agents of Orthodoxy: Honor, Status, and the Inquisition in Colonial Pernambuco, Brazil.* By James E. Wadsworth. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. 2007. Pp. xviii, 269. \$82.50. ISBN 978-0-742-55445-7.)

Studies on the Portuguese Inquisition have increased and have led to very important publications in recent years. Gone are the days when works that dealt with the Holy Office centered mostly on the lists of heretics such as the New Christians (Jews converted to Catholicism who continued to profess their faith in secrecy). Such studies have allowed us to analyze many aspects of the societies subjected to the Inquisition. However, as the subject also gained new followers amid the scholars in research centers and universities, the focus also has changed.

James Wadsworth is an author who belongs to this new generation of scholars who have intensified the studies on the Holy Office by embracing such other perspectives. In *Agents of Orthodoxy*, he presents to the reader a detailed and institutional study on the presence and practices of the Portuguese Inquisition in the Captaincy of Pernambuco, one of the most important regions of colonial Brazil. Working with an extensive and varied manuscript documentation found in Portuguese and Brazilian archives and usually difficult to read, as well as using an updated bibliography, the author delves into the archives of the Inquisition and studies the Pernambuco case from 1613 through 1821, successfully analyzing the structures of the Holy Tribunal in Brazil.

Wadsworth demonstrates how social uplift marked Portuguese American society as it adhered to the Iberian values of purity of blood; legislation granted access to military orders as well as public and ecclesiastical functions to those deemed noble. Such was the case for the agents who served or worked for the Tribunal of the Holy Office, including the *Familiars*, the author's main focus. Only after a very detailed and long investigation that attested to their "purity of blood" could they be approved to enter the privileged group of officers chosen for the Inquisition bureaucracy. They were laymen who played a significant role in the inquisitorial structure created in colonial Brazil, especially in the absence of a tribunal in the region. These agents received most denunciations, accompanied the prisoners during the *autos de fé*, guarded them in jail, and imprisoned suspects as well as enjoyed several privileges.

Wadsworth has unveiled this web of agents in Pernambuco and provided an extremely interesting socioeconomic profile of this group. He thoroughly discusses limitations on the agents from the late-seventeenth century onward, including Don Pedro II's curbing the number of *familiars* who could benefit from the exemption of taxes and tributes as well as other advantages. Given the many conflicts that arose over these measures, the author concludes that the motivation for pursuing such a post was because

of the prestige and honor that it conferred on its occupant. *Agents of Orthodoxy* is certainly a book worth reading by those who want to better understand the many meanderings and secrets of the Lusitanian Holy Tribunal in America.

*Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro*

DANIELA CALAINHO

### Far Eastern

*A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610.* By R. Po-chia Hsia. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xiv, 359. \$57.50. ISBN 978-0-199-59225-8.)

Among the abundance of publications and events in 2010, to honor the 400th anniversary of the death of Matteo Ricci, R. Po-chia Hsia's book is surely among the most remarkable both for academic and lay readers. Ricci was the best-known Jesuit in late-Ming China. In the past 400 years, his fame and story have continuously been interpreted, circulated, and debated. Given such extensive research on this legendary figure, to write about Ricci is definitely not easy. The summary on the back cover of this book calls it "the first critical biography of Ricci."

Hsia's narrative starts with the triumphal ending to Ricci's glorious burial in Beijing in 1611, then ventures into his life—from his birthplace in Macerata, Italy; to Rome; his journey on the Portuguese seas as well as to India and Macao; and finally his arrival in mainland China—in the subsequent twelve chapters. It reveals a vivid missionary tour in the changing world from Europe to China. Guided by the author, this historical account lasts into Ricci's posthumous periods: in the epilogue, the undulating fate of Ricci's documents and the China mission, as well as the public interest and academic research surrounding him up to the present, are all critically reviewed. Hsia occasionally reminds readers of his position as a "reader" of Ricci's life—by means of fine photos he had taken of Macerata, Guangdong, Nanjing, and other places—simultaneously showing a historical distance and personal connection between the narrator and narration. This historical journey can be read with much greater interactive interest.

Moreover, as a well-reputed scholar in the field of early-modern Europe, Hsia has contributed his insights on the use of Ricci's sources in the following three ways. First, Ricci wrote his own version of the journey two years before his death. This work much resembles a life memoir of Ricci himself. The best-selling book on China in seventeenth-century Europe (first published in 1615) was an appropriated text based on Ricci's memoir and edited by another Jesuit, Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628). For a long time, Ricci's account in manuscript and Trigault's text in print have been considered the most important and most often cited works for an understanding of Ricci. In

this book, however, Hsia actually makes more use of Ricci's letters than is available in Ricci's account, revealing Ricci's private voice and persona. The unprecedented advantage of those personal letters is their simultaneity and spontaneity with the years in which the occurrences are described. In addition to this new method of telling Ricci's story, Hsia also encompasses many of Ricci's Chinese works and related Chinese primary sources in his narrative, so that this book can be considered as the first truly balanced account of Ricci. Hsia also gives the first full translations of some Chinese Christian sources. In addition, this book is the first in Hsia's oeuvre to appeal in a serious and favorable way to scholars of Chinese history. As the work of a well-established scholar of European history delving into an intercultural context, Hsia's accomplishment is both amazing and admirable. Third, Hsia's archival discovery of a manuscript journal of the Jesuit Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and his moving portrait of this overlooked missionary are among the most original and surprising aspects of the research for this book. By highlighting the tension and difference between Ruggieri and Ricci (pp. 102 ff.), Hsia's descriptions open up a neglected aspect of the early China mission. The figure of Ruggieri was "partially obscured by the posthumous glorification of Ricci" (p. 88).

There are two minor points to mention. Possibly because of limited space and editing concerns, the notes for sources seem considerably reduced. A few descriptions might have been improved if they had been accompanied by their sources—for example, the comments on Ricci's Chinese style by a Nanchang mandarin (p. 167); the story of Ricci's first journey to Beijing (pp. 170–72); and the miserable, first martyrdom of a Chinese Jesuit, Wang Mingsha (Francisco Martins, pp. 265–66). In addition, Beijing does not encompass Ricci's full story. The scope of Ricci's journey and Hsia's lively portraiture are not fully suited to the book's title, "a Jesuit in the Forbidden City."

The value of this book lies in its research on the Jesuit China missions and cross-cultural history of both sides. The style of this book is a blend of interesting and readable narration and thus will appeal to a wider readership.

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HUI-HUNG CHEN

*Aborigeno con gli Aborigeni per l'evangelizzazione in Australia: il testo della Relazione (1883) per Propaganda Fide del vescovo Rudesindo Salvado.* By Giulio Cipollone and Clara Orlandi. [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, Atti e Documenti, 32.] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2011. Pp. 497. €45,00. ISBN 978-8-820-98533-2.)

Rosendo Salvado was born in Spain on March 1, 1814, and died in Rome in 1900. He was ordained as a Benedictine at Naples in 1839 and left for

Western Australia in 1846 to give his life to the Christianization and civilization of the Aborigines. In Rome in 1883 he wrote a report for Propaganda Fide that forms the body of this splendidly presented and well-illustrated book, although it lacks adequate maps. The first half is a useful introduction by two Italian scholars who could have benefited from the help of a competent historian of Australia. For many years, the estimate of Aborigines in Australia in 1788 was about 300,000, which is that given on page 91. Nowadays, that estimate has risen to at least 700,000; some say 1 million. In earlier times, low estimates helped to obscure the rapid fall in Aboriginal numbers, bordering in places on extinction after white settlement. Furthermore, there are many spelling mistakes in names and places. For example, the eminent scientist of the Australian National University, Jim Bowler, would be amused to find himself rendered here as "Jim Boiler" (p. 79n26).

On arrival, Salvado acted on his conviction that he must go out and live among the Aborigines in the bush where they had not already been vitiated by contact with the whites. His provisions were soon exhausted, forcing him to live off the land on kangaroos, lizards, snakes, and the like while sleeping on the ground in a different locality each night. In addition to their nomadic lifestyle the Aborigines also went "walkabout," which led him to conclude that doing so was not an aimless activity but a kind of religious act that united them with their "country" and its sacred places. Salvado rapidly decided that both the Christianization of the Aborigines and the development of civilization among them, twinned in the great Benedictine tradition, demanded stability. Hence the need for a monastery about which the Aborigines could live and become self-reliant by engaging in agriculture and the rearing and tending of flocks, principally sheep. New Norcia, eighty-four miles from Perth, was founded in 1847, although many years passed before it resembled a monastery in the physical sense.

The vicissitudes suffered by Salvado in the bush were as nothing compared to those to which Bishops John Brady and Joseph Serra, his mentally unstable superiors in Perth, subjected him. Finally, New Norcia became an *Abbazia Nullius* in 1867 with Salvado already, and to his dismay, a bishop since 1849, as abbot for life. The turn in fortunes from then on was remarkable. Monastic life flourished, as did the Aboriginal community. Baptized, educated, married, and cared for, they worked happily on the monastic lands as builders, shepherds, mill hands, female telegraphists, nurses, and stockmen.

New Norcia rapidly became an unrivaled example of apostolic zeal poured out for a people whose dignity was never infringed. To Salvado, the Aborigines were not savages but, as he called them, *Australiani* capable of achieving any level of education and culture to which they were given access. That the local civil authorities contributed so generously to the development of New Norcia, and especially with land grants, is greatly to



their credit. Their main source of chagrin was that the New Norcia cricket team, in which the monks played no role, invariably defeated the gentlemen of Perth summer by summer.

The regrettable outcome for this fine venture by the Libreria Editrice Vaticana could be that it remains unread. Couched in the quaint and, in part, archaic Italian of Salvado, it demands translation lest its treasures lie hidden as they have been since 1883.

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JOHN MOLONY

## BRIEF NOTICES

Eccher, Luciana (Ed.). *Documentazione papale in archivi trentini tra XII e XIII secolo*. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Fonti, 9.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2010. Pp. 212. €17,50 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-13930-6.)

The relatively slender volume presents in chronological order all papal documents known to have survived in archives of the late-medieval diocese of Trent and for the period from the oldest preserved (privilege) of 1177 to 1296. Their total amounts to seventy-four items of which sixty-seven appear fully transcribed among the "Documenti" (pp. 65–164); the remaining seven figure only in brief Italian regests. The editor justifies their exclusion by stating that "of several documents . . . a critical edition has been made recently, which renders a new one less than useful" (p. 61). An edition in accordance with current scholarly standards is indeed what Luciana Eccher has set out to accomplish, and the exhaustive presentation of each text as well as the generous inclusion of five "Apparati," or analytical indices (pp. 165–202), certainly support her claims to philological conscientiousness and accessibility.

Eccher's introduction (pp. 10–61) highlights in the opening bibliographical section (pp. 10–25; complemented by the bibliography, pp. 203–12) that a mere two of her documents underwent registration at the papal curia. In addition, she states that forty-one of her seventy-four texts survive in the original, others in late-medieval copies. To be sure, the papal documentation in the Tridentine archives promised by the title does not always refer to sources available in the archives today. Eccher's seventy-four testimonies feature a considerable number (more than twenty) that are no longer extant except in the transcriptions of eighteenth-century antiquarians.

For general historians, Eccher's introductory remarks on the original recipients of her documentation (pp. 27–53) are particularly intriguing. It turns out that more than forty of the surviving papal letters for Trent from 1177 to 1296 were directed toward a single addressee, the "poor women" of San Michele in Trento (*cf.* pp. 31–42). The extraordinary density of this material on the earliest stages of the women's religious movement and its progressive institutionalization in the forms of, first, the order of St. Damian and, later, the Poor Clares, will be of special interest to students whose research falls outside the scope of local Tridentine affairs. WOLFGANG P. MUELLER (*Fordham University*)

Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate, and Bruce L. Venarde (Eds. and trans.). *Two Women of the Great Schism: The Revelations of Constance de Rabastans, by Raymond de Sabanac, and Life of the Blessed Ursulina of Parma, by Simone Zanacchi*. [The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: The Toronto Series, 3.] (Toronto: ITER, Inc., and Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, University of Toronto. 2010. Pp. xi, 131. \$13.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-772-72057-3.)

This volume is a fascinating glimpse into the lives of two “ordinary” women who, against social norms, were able, through visionary authority, to intervene in the politics of the day. In addition to providing access to female experience, these texts give a vivid sense of the deep and pervasive influence of the Great Schism on the mental world of contemporary Christians—the topic of Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski’s *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378–1417* (University Park, PA, 2006).

The *Revelations of Constance de Rabastans* is an account by her confessor of the spiritual insights of a young woman from Toulouse who in the 1380s began receiving visions that led her to denounce the Avignon papacy. Although she became for some a type of oracle, for others she was a political nuisance; indeed, authorities in Toulouse had her jailed. The *Life of the Blessed Ursulina of Parma* was written in 1472 at the behest of the abbess of the convent that possessed Ursulina’s body. The *Life* describes in conventionally hagiographic terms the dramatically unconventional life of Ursulina, a diminutive visionary born in 1375, who was moved by divine command to intervene in the Schism by traveling to Avignon and Rome to preach to Clement VII and Boniface IX.

A concise, lucid, and insightful introduction—ideal for students—discusses the biographies of the two women in relation to the relevant historical circumstances of the Schism and the local politics of the regions of Languedoc and in Parma, as well as the history of female sanctity and politically engaged visionaries. The editors also take up questions of literary genre and the complex relationship between subjects and authors in these texts, which were written by men to represent the voices and experiences of women. F. THOMAS LUONGO (*Tulane University*)

Jung, Martin H. *Philipp Melanchthon und seine Zeit*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2010. Pp. 168. €17,90. ISBN 978-3-525-55006-9.)

The year 2010 marked the 450th anniversary of Philipp Melanchthon’s death. Such events tend to stimulate historical scholarship, and 2010—much like 1997, the 500th anniversary of Melanchthon’s birth—saw a number of interesting new studies on this eminently significant but often underappreciated German Reformer. Those works include this new biography by the Reformation historian Martin H. Jung. A concise work at 168 pages, it seeks to

provide an overview of Melanchthon's life and work for a general readership. One can easily imagine congregational study groups, college students, and other nonspecialists using the book as an introduction. Such readers need, of course, to be able to read German, as Jung's work is not available in English.

Given its brevity, Jung's work can only skim the surface of its subject matter. Jung's approach, which places Melanchthon within a larger Reformation-historical narrative rather than letting the man's thoughts and deeds dictate the storyline, makes good sense for an audience of nonspecialists, but it sometimes seems to give a bird's-eye view on a great number of very small people, one of whom has an "X" on his back. As a result, Melanchthon's considerable—and often distinctive—influence on the early Reformation remains rather vague. Jung's account is far more compelling, however, when it turns to the later years of the Reformer's life. In fact, his coverage of the years between 1540 and 1560 makes up almost two-thirds of the book and is both perceptive and interesting, especially since this period of the German Reformation often is neglected. These sections alone make it easy to recommend this book to anyone interested in a compact overview of Melanchthon's life and work. KENNETH G. APPOLD (*Princeton Theological Seminary*)

Beebe, Rose Marie, and Robert M. Senkewicz (Eds.). *"To Toil in the Vineyard of the Lord": Contemporary Scholarship on Junipero Serra*. (Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History. 2010. Pp. 144. \$12.50 paperback. ISBN 978-0-883-82312-5.)

This book is an outgrowth of a 2009 conference held at Santa Barbara Mission, which aimed to make materials on Fray Junipero Serra more readily accessible to researchers and others interested in the friar's canonization. Although the six short but salient essays composing the volume are not intrinsically related, they are well written and might best be remembered as the first in a series of studies that will surely adorn the tricentennial of Serra's birth in 2013. Following a chronology of California's most written-about personage is an introduction by Robert M. Senkewicz providing an overview of the major works about the friar since publication of Francisco Palóu's classic *Relación Histórica* in 1787. James and Patricia Sandos then give an insightful exposition on the "Indian Responses to Mission San Diego," which the authors claim did not satisfy all the parties involved. Steven W. Hackel discusses the role that Serra played in baptism, followed by the two editors' examination of plans about a mission in the Santa Barbara channel area that was eventually established by Serra's successor. The collection of essays concludes with an interesting exposition by Brother Lawrence Scrivani on "Seeing the Serra Documents through the Eyes of an Archivist" about the magnificent collection of materials assembled in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives by the late friars Zephyrin Engelhardt and Maynard J. Geiger. FRANCIS J. WEBER (*Mission Hills, CA*)



## NOTES AND COMMENTS

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### Association News

The American Catholic Historical Association's spring meeting will be held on the campus of Tulane University in New Orleans on March 23–24, 2012. Tulane University and Loyola University of New Orleans are cosponsoring the meeting; cochairs of the program committee are Thomas Luongo (Tulane University) and David Moore (Loyola University). The complete program will be available online by mid-January. For registration information, visit the ACHA's Web site, [www.achahistory.org](http://www.achahistory.org).

The Association's next annual meeting also will be held in New Orleans on January 3–6, 2013.

### *The Catholic Historical Review*

JSTOR has made the first eight volumes (1915–22) of *The Catholic Historical Review* publicly available in its new "Early Journal Content" service. Users are asked to acknowledge JSTOR as the source of the content and to provide a link to its Web site, [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org).

### Congresses, Conferences, Meetings, and Lectures

The fifth annual Antonine Tibesar OFM Lecture was delivered on November 5, 2011, at the Franciscan School of Theology in Berkeley, California, by William Taylor, former professor of Latin American history at the University of California, Berkeley. His topic was "Placing the Cross in Colonial Mexico."

At the conference "Delirious Naples: For a Cultural, Intellectual, and Urban History of the City of the Sun," which was held at Hofstra University on November 16–18, 2011, and at the Casa Italiana Zerilli-Marimò, New York University, on November 19, Caroline Bruzelius (Duke University) read a paper on "The Convent of Santa Chiara between Heaven and Earth: Prayer, Politics, and Power in Late Medieval Naples," and Salvatore Napolitano (University of California, Los Angeles) read one on "The Sansevero Chapel: Art, Magic, and Masonic Ideology in 18th-Century Naples."

The Accademia Ambrosiana, Classe di Studi Borromaiici, held its annual *Dies Academicus* in Milan on November 24–25, 2011, on the theme "Prima di Carlo Borromeo: Istituzioni, religione e società a Milano agli inizi del '500."

Paolo Prodi delivered the *prolusion*. The papers will be published in the next volume of the *Studia Borromaeica*, including Paul Grendler's "The Schools of Christian Doctrine, Fifteenth-Century Catechisms, and Jesuit Catechesis."

The 2012 American Conference for Irish Studies will be held on March 14–17 in the Hotel Monteleone in the French Quarter of New Orleans. Its theme will be "Erin at Home, Erin Abroad: Capturing the Irish Experience," and Christine Kinnealy, Cormac O Grada, Dan Barry, and Stephen Watt will be the plenary speakers. Details about the conference are available on its Web site, [acisnola2012.org](http://acisnola2012.org).

The American Cusanus Society will have sessions at the Fifty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Washington, DC, on March 22–24, 2012, and at the Forty-Seventh International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, on May 10–13, 2012. The society's Gettysburg Conference will be held on October 12–14, 2012, on the theme "On Christian-Muslim Dialogue Focusing on Cusanus' *Cribratio alkolani* and *De pace fidei*." For further information visit the society's Web site, [haverford.edu/library/reference/mschaus/cusanus/cusanus.html](http://haverford.edu/library/reference/mschaus/cusanus/cusanus.html).

"After Constantine: Religion and Secular Power in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages" is the theme of the Thirty-Ninth Sewanee Medieval Colloquium, which will take place on March 30–31, 2012, at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee. The program and other information can be viewed at the Web site [www.sewanee.edu/Medieval/main.html](http://www.sewanee.edu/Medieval/main.html).

The Fourteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law will be held on August 5–11, 2012, at the University of St. Michael's College in Toronto. The program committee has announced the six plenary speakers. Information about the congress can be found on the Congress Web site, [medieval.utoronto.ca/events/ICMCL/index.html](http://medieval.utoronto.ca/events/ICMCL/index.html).

A conference on "Vatican II: Teaching and Understanding the Council after 50 Years" will be held at the University of St. Thomas in St. Paul, Minnesota, on September 20–22, 2012. The conference will focus on the place of the Second Vatican Council in teaching at Catholic colleges and universities today. Father John O'Malley, S.J.; Father Michael Joncas; Sister Maureen Sullivan, O.P.; and Sister Katarina Schuth, O.S.F., will be the keynote speakers. Paper proposals are solicited on such themes as the theological reception of the Council, the Council across the academic disciplines, the Council in the age of globalization, the Council in the current North American cultural landscape, and the Council and the advancement of the common good. Proposals of a maximum of 300 words should be sent to [Vatican2@stthomas.edu](mailto:Vatican2@stthomas.edu) by January 30, 2012. Further information on the conference is available at the Web site [www.stthomas.edu/theology/Vatican2](http://www.stthomas.edu/theology/Vatican2).

### Quincentenaries

The Somascan Fathers are celebrating the quincentennial of their founding by St. Jerome Emiliani. The jubilee celebrations opened in Venice on September 25, 2011, and will close in Somasca on September 30, 2012. Pope Benedict XVI marked the anniversary with a "Message to the Order of Clerics Regular of Somasca on the 500th Anniversary of the Prodigious Liberation of Their Founder, St. Jerome Emiliani" (dated July 20, 2011, on the Vatican Web site).

Cardinal Kurt Koch, president of the Pontifical Council for Promoting the Unity of Christians, announced in an interview with the German Catholic agency KNA that the Holy See and the World Lutheran Federation are preparing a joint declaration on the Reformation in view of the forthcoming 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's Ninety-five Theses. The joint commemoration of this event could be the occasion for a mutual *mea culpa*, according to the cardinal, who considers a common purification of memory to be necessary.

### Causes of Saints

Twenty-two Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate who were killed during the Spanish Civil War were beatified in Madrid on December 17, 2011. The Oblate priests were chaplains to three communities of nuns and assisted in neighboring parishes. The Oblate students taught catechism in parishes, and the Oblate choir solemnized the liturgical celebrations. Their religious activity so annoyed the revolutionary committee of the neighborhood that the religious were subjected to insults and intimidation. On July 20, 1936, churches and convents were set on fire, especially in Madrid. Two days later, armed militiamen assaulted the monastery and detained thirty-eight members of the community, putting them under guard. Searching the house for weapons, they found only religious objects, which they threw from the upper floors and burned in the street. On July 24, seven religious (one priest-professor, Juan Antonio Pérez Mayo; two subdeacons; and four students) were summoned; sentenced without interrogation, trial, or defense; and taken away to be slain. The rest were unexpectedly set free and sheltered in private homes. In October, however, under a search-and-capture order, they were again taken to prison; there they endured hunger, cold, terror, and threats, which they accepted with heroic patience and charity. On November 7, a priest, José Vega Riaño, and a student were shot. On November 29, thirteen others—Francisco Estéban Lacal, the provincial superior; Vicente Blanco Guadilla, the local superior; Gregorio Escobar García, a newly ordained priest; Juan José Caballero Rodríguez, a subdeacon; six student brothers; and three coadjutor brothers—were taken from the prison to Paracuellos de Jarama, where they were executed. All died professing the faith and forgiving their executioners; despite the psychological torments of their captivity, none apostatized or lamented that they had embraced the religious vocation.

### National Monument

The National Cuban Commission on Monuments has declared the Cross of Parra a national monument. The commission had carried out a scientific analysis to verify the historicity of the cross, which Christopher Columbus planted on December 1, 1492, and which is now preserved in the parish church of Our Lady of the Assumption in Baracoa, the oldest city in Cuba. At the end of a Mass of thanksgiving celebrated there on August 15, 2011, Dionisio Guillermo García Ibáñez, archbishop of Santiago, raised high the cross and with it blessed some 2000 faithful gathered in the square. Wilfredo Pino Estévez, bishop of Guantánamo-Baracoa, began the ceremony with words of welcome, and the historian Eusebio Leal announced the commission's declaration. He also noted that some days before, Cuban president Raúl Castro had presented the topic of faith as a cardinal topic of liberty; Leal said that that address was as important for Cuban Catholics as the Edict of Milan was for Christians of the fourth century. As Columbus recorded in his diary, Baracoa was the first place on the island where he set foot; he arrived on November 27, 1492. Pope John Paul II erected the Diocese of Guantánamo-Baracoa during his visit to Cuba in January 1998.

### Raphael's Madonnas

In preparation for his apostolic visit to Germany in September, Pope Benedict XVI had Raphael's Madonna of Foligno sent from the Pinacoteca in the Vatican Museums to the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen of Dresden, where it is on display until January 8 alongside Raphael's Sistine Madonna; the latter has been in Dresden since 1784, when King Augustus III of Poland purchased it. The two large altarpieces were begun around the same time in 1512. Papal secretary Sigismondo dei Conti commissioned the Madonna of Foligno, and Pope Julius II personally requested the Sistine Madonna for the church of St. Sixtus in the newly annexed territory of Piacenza. The two works were completed a few years apart and were never seen together. The Madonna of Foligno was already in place in the church of Ara Coeli in Rome when the Sistine Madonna was shipped to the monastery of St. Benedict in Piacenza in 1513 or 1514. This is the first time that the two masterpieces can be viewed side by side. Elizabeth Lev's essay in the September 24, 2011, issue of *Zenit* describes and compares the two works.

### Book Prizes

The Nanovic Institute for European Studies at the University of Notre Dame is soliciting nominations for the Laura Shannon Prize in Contemporary European Studies. The prize will be awarded for "the best book in European studies that transcends a focus on any one country, state, or people to stimulate new ways of thinking about contemporary Europe as a whole." Books in history and social sciences are eligible. Publishers may nominate up to three



books, and an author may nominate his or her own book. The amount of the prize is \$10,000. The deadline for submissions is January 27, 2012. Additional information and the entry form may be found at the Web site [nanovic.nd.edu/programs-partnerships/shannon-prize](http://nanovic.nd.edu/programs-partnerships/shannon-prize). Questions may be addressed to Monica L. Caro, the institute's assistant director for operations, at [mcaro@nd.edu](mailto:mcaro@nd.edu).

One of the six books that the jury for the Cundill Prize in History at McGill University selected in October to compete for the world's largest nonfiction history book award (US\$75,000) is *Padre Pio: Miracles and Politics in a Secular Age* by Sergio Luzzatto (New York, 2010). In 2010 the Cundill Prize was awarded to Diarmaid MacCulloch for his book *A History of Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (London, 2009). He gave a public lecture at McGill University on December 1, 2011. The award was established by the late alumnus of the university, F. Peter Cundill, to recognize and promote literary and academic achievement in history.

### Research Tools

Ad Dudink and Nicolas Standaert of the Department of Sinology in the Catholic University of Leuven have opened access to a new "Chinese Christian Texts Database" (CCT-Database), Web site [www.arts.kuleuven.be/sinology/cct](http://www.arts.kuleuven.be/sinology/cct). It contains sources concerning the cultural contacts between China and Europe from 1582 to c. 1840 in religion, philosophy, science, art, and other fields. It is divided into two sections. The "primary" sources are approximately 1050 Christian text documents dating from roughly the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they include printed books, manuscripts, pamphlets, and maps. The "secondary" sources include more than 4000 items. Searches can be made in the whole database or in the primary or secondary sources separately. Access to the database is free, but the use of its contents must be acknowledged.

### Publications

A special issue of the *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum—Journal of Ancient Christianity* (Band 15, Heft 1, 2011) is devoted to the theme "Patristik vor Beginn des Ersten Weltkrieges zwischen Altertumswissenschaft und Theologie." The following eight articles attempt to show how patristic research was conducted a century ago in several countries: Hans Christoph Brennecke, "'Patristik' oder 'altchristliche Literaturwissenschaft'? Eine historische Leitwissenschaft der protestantischen Theologie in Deutschland am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 7–46); Volker Henning Drecol, "Die katholische Patrologie an deutschen Universitäten im Jahr 1911" (pp. 47–74); Peter Gemeinhardt, "Die Patristik um 1911 in ihrem Verhältnis zur Religionsgeschichte" (pp. 75–98); Uta Heil, "Die Patristik in der *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. Eine Blütenlese" (pp. 99–123); Mischa Meier, "'Ein dogmatischer Streit'—Eduard Schwartz (1858–1940) und die

‘Reichskonzilien’ in der Spätantike” (pp. 124–39); Ward De Pril and Johan Leemans, “Patristics in Belgium around 1911: Universities and Beyond” (pp. 140–62); Hacik Rafi Gazer, “Armenier und Armenien in der Patristik im ausgehenden 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts” (pp. 163–79); and Alessandro Capone, “Gli studi patristici in Italia (1900–1914)” (pp. 180–96).

The articles in the second number of the *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire—Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis* for 2010 (vol. 176) deal with *scriptoria*, chanceries, or chartularies in four sections. Under the heading “Van scriptorium tot kanselarij—Du scriptorium à la chancellerie” are Jens Schneider, “Monastères et *scriptoria* en Lotharingie (IX<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècles)” (pp. 21–39), and Steven Vanderputten, “Collectieve identiteit, sociaal gedrag en monastieke *memoria* in het *liber traditionum* van de priorij van Saint-Georges te Hesdin (1094–circa 1185)” (pp. 79–112); under “Chancelleries épiscopales et chapitres cathédraux—Bisschoppelijke kanselarijen en kathedraalkapittels” are Jean-Louis Kupper, “La «chancellerie» des évêques de Liège (X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup>)” (pp. 115–27); Nathalie Barré, “Chancellerie épiscopale, chancellerie canoniale: unicité ou pluralité des institutions à Cambrai au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle?” (pp. 130–46); Benoît-Michel Tock, “L’élaboration des chartes épiscopales à Thérouanne au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle” (pp. 148–85); J. W. J. Burgers, “De bisschop, de heren en de stad. Het oorkon-dewezen in Utrecht circa 1250–circa 1320” (pp. 187–215); and under “Organisation: personnel et gestion—Organisatie: personeel en beheer” are Valeria Van Camp, “Trois clercs de chancellerie hennuyers au service des comtes de Hainaut, Hollande et Zélande (1299–1345): au centre d’une réforme administrative?” (pp. 315–41); Alexis Wilkin, “Enquête sur l’impact de l’incendie de 1185 sur les archives de la cathédrale Saint-Lambert de Liège et sur la rédaction d’un premier cartulaire” (pp. 381–413); and Jean-Charles Bédague, “Archives, archivage et archivistique à la collégiale de Saint-Omer à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle à la lumière d’un inventaire de 1480” (pp. 415–58).

“Enjeux de pouvoir à Notre-Dame de Paris” is the theme of three articles published in the July 2011 issue of the *Revue historique* (135 anée, Tome CCCXIII/3, n° 659), as follows: Guillaume Gross, “L’*organum* aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles: le discours musical comme stratégie de communication ou la légitimation implicite de l’autorité épiscopale” (pp. 487–509); Véronique Julerot, “Jean Simon, évêque de Paris (1492–1502): les réseaux d’un succès” (pp. 511–25); and Christine Jéhanno, “Entre le chapitre cathédral et l’hôtel-Dieu de Paris: les enjeux du conflit de la fin du Moyen Âge” (pp. 527–59).

A conference on “L’Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Minori (Caracciolini): religione e cultura in età postridentina” was held at Chieti on April 11–12, 2008. The proceedings of that conference, edited by Irene Fosi and Giovanni Pizzorusso, have now been published in the first issue for 2010 of *Studi Medievali e Moderni* (vol. XIV) in three parts: Parte prima, “S. Francesco Caracciolo e la fondazione dei Chierici Regolari Minori: aspetti spirituali e

istituzionali tra Italia e Spagna": Roberto Rusconi, "Chierici, regolari, minori: gli Ordini religiosi nell'Italia del Cinquecento" (pp. 13-31); Nello Morrea, "Francesco Caracciolo, l'Uomo, il Fondatore, il Santo" (pp. 33-90); Bruno Forte, "*Le Sette Stazioni sopra la Passione di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo* di San Francesco Caracciolo: presentazione critica" (pp. 91-98); Silvano Giordano, "Francesco Caracciolo e la Monarchia Cattolica" (pp. 99-113); Massimo C. Giannini, "«Accrescere il culto divino, et l'honore, et servitio della religion cattolica». Le origini e i primi anni di vita dei Chierici Regolari Minori (1588-1608)" (pp. 115-35); Parte seconda, "I Chierici Regolari Minori e la cultura del Seicento": Massimo Moretti and Giulia Semenza, "I Chierici Regolari Minori nella storia e nelle arti del Ducato di Urbino" (pp. 139-69); Antonio D'Amico, "I Caracciolini a San Ginesio e la chiesa di Santa Maria *in Vepretis* con un'attribuzione a Niccolò Berrettoni" (pp. 171-208); Federica Favino, "I Chierici Regolari Minori fra teologia e nuova scienza: Giovanni Guevara e il caso Galileo" (pp. 209-28); Adelisa Malena, "Alessandro Regio e la *Clavis aurea* (1682)" (pp. 229-44); Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Filippo Guadagnoli, i Caracciolini e lo studio delle lingue orientali e della controversia con l'Islam a Roma nel XVII secolo" (pp. 245-78); Aurélien Girard, "Des manuels de langue entre mission et érudition orientale au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: les grammaires de l'arabe des Caracciolini" (pp. 279-95); Andrea Trentini, "Il caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli controversista e islamologo, Un'analisi dei suoi scritti apologetici contro l'Islam" (pp. 297-314); Parte terza, "Fonti per la storia dei Chierici Regolari Minori": Paola Zito, "Le biblioteche dei Caracciolini nel 1600 (Napoli e Roma) secondo il ms. Vat. Lat. 11318" (pp. 317-30); Giuliana Adorni, "Le fonti per la storia dei Caracciolini presso l'Archivio di Stato di Roma" (pp. 331-48); and Silvia Iannuzzi and Livia Martinoli, "Il fondo «San Lorenzo in Lucina» della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma" (pp. 349-61).

Five articles in the October 2011 issue of the *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* (vol. 85) deal with the "Sœurs d'écoles en Alsace." Following a "Liminaire" by Luc Perrin (pp. 471-73) are Dominique Dinot, "L'éducation des filles de la fin du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'en 1918" (pp. 475-90); Jean-Luc Hiebel, "Le statut scolaire local de 1870 à nos jours" (pp. 491-509); Claude Muller, "La croix et la femme: Les sœurs de la Divine Providence, un État dans l'État" (pp. 511-22); Jean-Noël Grandhomme, "La congrégation des sœurs de la Divine Providence de Ribeauvillé pendant la seconde guerre mondiale, 1939-1945" (pp. 523-56); and Luc Perrin, "Vers la sortie de l'école" (pp. 557-69).

The *U.S. Catholic Historian* has devoted its summer 2011 issue (vol. 29) to "Religious Biography and Autobiography," offering nine articles in ninety-one pages: Patrick W. Carey, "England, Brownson, and Dulles: Religious Biography and the Catholic Tradition" (pp. 1-7); Jean Gartlan, "Barbara Ward—Lay Woman Extraordinaire" (pp. 9-16); Patrick J. Hayes, "Redemptorist Biographers: Digging into the Lore and Legend of the Baltimore Province" (pp. 17-26); Richard Gribble, C.S.C., "Religious Biography: The Melding of History

and Christianity" (pp. 27-33); Stephanie Jacobe, "Thomas Fortune Ryan and the Issue of Identity in Catholic Biography" (pp. 35-41); Cecilia A. Moore, "Writing Black Catholic Lives: Black Catholic Biographies and Autobiographies" (pp. 43-58); Timothy Matovina, "Latino Catholic Biography" (pp. 59-66); Anne Klejment, "Dorothy Day and César Chávez: American Catholic Lives in Nonviolence" (pp. 67-90); and Michael S. Carter and Paula Kane, "A Discussion of Biographies in the Classroom" (pp. 91-94).

### Personals

At the request of George Niederauer, archbishop of San Francisco, Pope Benedict XVI has conferred the *Benemerenti* medal on Jeffrey M. Burns, archivist of that archdiocese, in recognition of his long service in its archives.

### Obituary

#### Joachim F. Smet, O. Carm. (1915-2011)

Leading Carmelite historian Joachim Frederick Smet, O.Carm., died at Providence Hospital in Washington, DC, on October 4, 2011, six days before his ninety-sixth birthday. Father Smet, who was a member of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1957, belonged to the North American Carmelite Province of the Most Pure Heart of Mary.

Father Smet was born in Chicago on October 9, 1915, to Belgian immigrants Joseph Smet and Juliana van Royen Smet. As a child, he spent two years in Belgium, where he was introduced to the Dutch language—one of the many languages he used extensively as a historian. He attended the Carmelite minor seminary in Niagara Falls, Canada; professed his simple vows in 1935 and his solemn vows in 1943; and was ordained to the priesthood in May 1942. He had received the name *Joachim* as a Carmelite friar, cherishing the signature of one of the witnesses to his simple profession—that of Blessed Titus Brandsma, O.Carm.

Father Smet received a master's degree in Latin from The Catholic University of America in 1943 and a bachelor's degree in library science from the University of Chicago in 1944. He earned his doctorate in ecclesiastical history from the Gregorian University in Rome with a dissertation that he published as *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières* (Rome, 1954).

During his seminary years, Father Smet determined that he would write an accurate and reliable history of his order. For too long, that history often was ill served by those willing to repeat fictional renditions of Carmel's history. The first general chapter of the Carmelites following World War II made the



unprecedented decision to assign the composition of a history of the order to a young friar who had not yet commenced his doctoral studies. In 1948 Father Smet arrived in Rome to begin those studies and lived there with only a few interruptions until his death.

Over the years, Father Smet accepted without complaint duties that kept him away from research on his history of the order. He served from 1954 to 1993 as editor of *Carmelus*, a polyglot journal dedicated to Carmelite studies. From 1959 to 1965 he served as an Assistant General, a position that entailed numerous meetings and extensive global travel. Moreover, no matter how busy he was, Father Smet warmly welcomed inquiries from all over the world by those who sought advice about the history of the Carmelites. In addition, it was well known that, for years, he took a long, daily walk to a convent in Rome to preside at the Eucharist.

The historian Smet also was a published poet and a translator of poetry. A selection of his poetry was published as *Familiar Matter of Today* (Rome, 2007). For years, he spent endless hours acquiring and cataloguing books for the Carmelitana Collection housed at Whitefriars Hall in Washington, DC. This library is the largest collection of Carmelitana outside of the Carmelite library at the Centro Internazionale Sant'Alberto in Rome, and numerous scholars consult it.

Despite the frequent calls on his time, Father Smet worked steadily on his history of the order. In the 1960s he issued *An Outline of Carmelite History* (Washington, DC), an offset edition of notes. In 1975 a Carmelite provincial prematurely published the first volume of Father Smet's history. After the publication in English of Father Smet's long-awaited *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel* (4 vols. in 5, Darien, IL, 1976-88), it subsequently was translated into Dutch, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Spanish, and Tagalog.

Only months before he died, Father Smet published *The Mirror of Carmel: A Brief History of the Carmelite Order* (Darien, IL, 2011), a one-volume condensation of his history. The *Mirror* omits the numerous notes and bibliographies of the multivolume *The Carmelites*, but scholars will appreciate its extensive indices (pp. 707-97). Scholars can easily access the four-volume history through the *Mirror*, which retains chapter headings and subheadings of the original.

While Father Smet was working on his history of the order, he published extensively. His colleagues honored him with a *Festschrift* that contains a bibliography of his writings from 1937 to 1989 (pp. 467-92): *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet, O Carm.*, edited by Paul Chandler and Keith J. Egan (Rome, 1991). Carmelite Media intends to republish Smet's four-volume history.

Father Smet was a much-cherished colleague whose gentle presence, quiet humor, and nonintrusive concern for others invoked St. Thomas Aquinas's virtue of *eutrapelia*—someone who keeps one's community joyful. Father Smet's monumental contribution to Carmelite history will serve, one hopes, as an inspiration to members of the Carmelite community to imitate his ministry of scholarship by taking up where he left off. He knew that he had not written the final word on the history of Carmel, as he often indicates in the *Mirror* where more research is needed if the Carmelite tradition is to be well known by an order that needs to understand its own past as it happened—both the glorious and inglorious. Moreover, there is a much wider community that will be enriched by a reliable history that began with a small group of hermits on Mount Carmel about 1200 AD.

*Saint Mary's College (Emeritus)*  
*University of Notre Dame (Adjunct)*

KEITH J. EGAN

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE

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### General and Miscellaneous

- Die Entfaltung des ontologischen Prinzips der Subsidiarität in der Enzyklika Pius XI. *Quadragesimo anno* 1931. Heinz Sproll. *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 47 (2009), 89-141.
- Note sui rapporti tra Italia, Islam e impero ottomano (secoli XV-XVII). Mustafa Soykut. *Archivio Storico Italiano*, CLXIX (2, 2011), 221-39.
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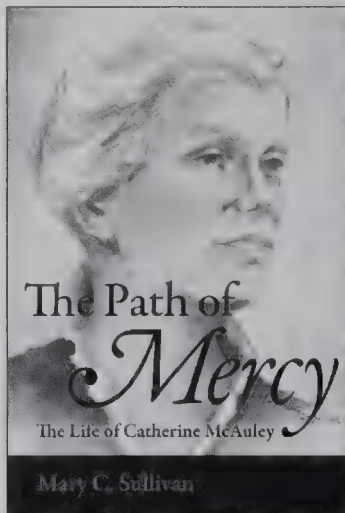
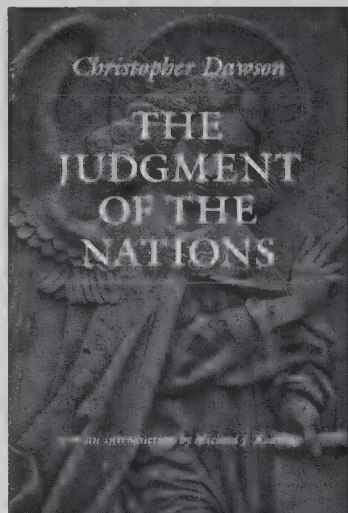
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Larissa Juliet Taylor  
President  
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## JOAN OF ARC, THE CHURCH, AND THE PAPACY, 1429–1920\*

BY

LARISSA JULIET TAYLOR

*In modern times, Joan of Arc has been depicted as a victim of the medieval Church, a saint who has been used to justify various and opposing ideologies, or a feminist icon. The author argues against oversimplifications, for Joan lived in a political world of intrigue, court factions, and complex dynastic relationships that provided the backdrop for her military successes and the cause of her downfall. In her own time, Joan was viewed not as a saint, but first and foremost as a soldier and leader fighting for the French cause.*

**Keywords:** Charles VII, King; Jeanne d'Arc, Sainte; Joan of Arc, Saint; Orléans

On this 600th anniversary of the birth of Joan of Arc, probably the most famous figure in medieval history, I would like to reevaluate her life and afterlife. "Everyone knows" that Joan of Arc was burned by the Church and later deemed a saint by it. Two quotations demonstrate the disparity of views. In a postmodern critique, Françoise Meltzer contends that "the Church has no power to contain or control her; she must be excised. . . . In condemning Joan, the Church Militant asserts and demonstrates its power."<sup>1</sup> Pope Benedict XV declared at her canonization in 1920 that Joan represented "a most brilliantly shining

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<sup>1</sup>Françoise Meltzer, *For Fear of the Fire: Joan of Arc and the Limits of Subjectivity* (Chicago, 2001), pp. 99, 117–18.

light of the Church Triumphant.”<sup>2</sup> I will argue against the first notion and at least challenge Joan’s qualifications as a saint in the second, relying on four sets of documents: the 1431 trial record, the 1450–56 nullification testimonies of more than 100 witnesses from Joan’s childhood through her battles and the trial, Pope Pius II’s 1461 commentary, and the arguments made by the Devil’s Advocates in the beatification proceedings of 1869–1909. In my extensive research on Joan, I have come to admire the strength of character, bold leadership, and native intelligence that guided her through the minefields of court life, warfare, and hostile interrogations. But after she defeated the English in several major battles, Joan became the singular focus of their anger and fear. A specific, English-controlled church court executed Joan for political and military reasons, although it couched its decision in religious language. Moreover, her behaviors and actions in her own time—and how she was viewed then—were very different from the St. Joan of the modern world.

The complexity of Joan’s relationship with churchmen and others became evident as soon as she arrived at the court of the future Charles VII in 1429. Joan likely came to the notice of the court as a result of the intrigues of the dauphin’s powerful mother-in-law, Queen Yolande of Aragon, whose son, René of Anjou, was raised in the household of Charles II, duke of Lorraine. Among the few facts we know from before Joan’s departure from Domremy and Vaucouleurs is that it was only after meeting with the duke that she was finally given leave to proceed to Chinon to present her mission to the dauphin, Charles. On her arrival in February 1429, some of those at the castle laughed; others called her crazy; and yet others saw a potential means to stall further English and Burgundian incursions into Armagnac (French) territory.

Joan encountered enemies in a court divided. On the one side were Yolande’s followers and, on the other, Charles’s chief advisers—Georges de la Trémoille and Regnault de Chartres, archbishop of Reims and chancellor of France. Both counselors believed from the beginning that sending a peasant girl to war was preposterous. In any case, the French leadership was not about to send an untried girl into battle, even as a figurehead. So she was sent quietly to Poitiers for the first of many examinations in her short public career. For the next three weeks, at least eighteen churchmen interrogated Joan. Regnault de Chartres presided; and the questioners included the inquisitor of Toulouse, at least three Dominicans, bishops, professors of theology,

and canon lawyers.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, we have only the conclusions of the Poitiers examination. Charles VII's counselors probably destroyed the deliberations after Joan's capture at Compiègne in 1430,<sup>4</sup> but we know some of what transpired thanks to the 1456 nullification testimony of Guillaume Seguin, a Dominican professor of theology. His colorful testimony reveals an impatient and feisty girl, for, when he asked her what language her voice spoke in,

she responded that it was a better language than his, since he spoke in the Limousin dialect. He then posed another question, as to whether she believed in God; she responded yes, and better than he did. Then he said to Joan that God would not want them to believe in her if nothing was shown that would make them believe; and that they, as counselors, could not recommend that the king give her soldiers on her simple affirmations . . . unless she could give them something more. She said: "In the name of God, I have not come to Poitiers to give signs; but take me to Orléans, and I will show you signs."<sup>5</sup>

The conclusions were intentionally vague, recommending that the king neither reject Joan nor believe in her too readily. However, since they found nothing against her, they suggested that Charles send her to Orléans to see if she could accomplish what she had promised. By then, he had nothing to lose. Some notable churchmen, including Archbishop Jacques Gélou of Embrun, who initially had argued against using Joan, concurred, even on the issue of her male clothing. Using the traditional medieval inversion of the "power of the weak,"<sup>6</sup> he argued,

<sup>2</sup>"... eandem splendidissimum lumen Ecclesiae triumphantis." *Acta Apostolica Sedis, Commentarium Officiale*, Year 1920, 12:227.

<sup>3</sup>Deborah A. Fraioli, *Joan of Arc: The Early Debate* (Woodbridge, UK, 2000), p. 47.

<sup>4</sup>Charles T. Wood, "Joan of Arc's Mission and the Lost Record of Her Interrogation at Poitiers," in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (New York, 1996), pp. 19–30, here pp. 22–23.

<sup>5</sup>"Elle lui répondit que c'était un meilleur langage que le sien, le témoin parlant le limousin. Il lui posa une autre question, à savoir si elle croyait en Dieu; elle répondit oui, et mieux que le témoin. Alors le témoin dit à Jeanne que Dieu ne voulait pas qu'on crût en elle, si rien ne montrait qu'on dût lui faire créance; et qu'eux, conseillers, ne recommanderaient pas au roi de lui confier des hommes d'armes, sur ses simples affirmations . . . à moins qu'elle n'eût autre chose à avancer. Elle répondit: "En nom Dieu, je ne suis pas venue à Poitiers pour faire signes; mais menez-moi à Orléans, je vous montrerai les signes." Pierre Duparc, trans., *Procès en nullité de la condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1986), IV:151. Henceforth referred to as *Nullité*.

<sup>6</sup>See, for example, Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean, eds., *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women* (Urbana, IL, 1995).

if God so desires, He can vanquish by the power of a woman; doing so confounds human presumption, the pride of those who put their confidence in themselves is brought down, and He chooses the weak to confound the strong.

Gélu insisted that Joan *must* wear men's clothing if she were to live among soldiers.<sup>7</sup>

The two months after Poitiers and before Joan was sent to Orléans were not wasted, despite Joan's impatience. The court recast old prophecies to fit her, and created and disseminated new ones.<sup>8</sup> Joan was outfitted with armor; had a standard and banner made; and I believe was trained in horsemanship, fighting, and artillery—skills that all who saw her remarked upon, stating that although in other ways she was a simple girl, in matters of war she was like a captain of twenty or thirty years.<sup>9</sup> Marguerite de la Touroulde, wife of one of the king's counselors, commented that "she was simple, knowing absolutely nothing of anything other than deeds of war."<sup>10</sup> Neither the king's council nor the Poitiers Conclusions suggest that Joan would be anything more than a figurehead. Whether or not she heard divine voices, she had to accomplish two goals: bolster French morale and frighten the English. She turned out to be so much better than the court could ever have imagined at both.

Joan soon proved to all around her that she was no figurehead. Although unversed in strategy, she understood instinctively what those captains of twenty or thirty years did not and quickly showed her leadership skills. To use a sports analogy, Joan was like a quarterback who goes with a no-huddle or hurry-up offense, which often is used to disrupt the defense. Between May and September, Joan

<sup>7</sup>"Dieu, qui, s'il le veut, peut vaincre par une femme; humaine présomption est confondue, l'orgueil de ceux qui mettent leur confiance en eux-mêmes est rabaissé, Dieu choisit ce qui est faible pour confondre ce qui est fort . . . La Pucelle, par sa mission même, est autorisée à porter des vêtements d'homme. C'est plus convenable. Obligée de vivre avec des guerriers, elle a dû s'accommoder aux lois de leur discipline." Jacques Gélu, in Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Ayroles, ed., *La Vraie Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1890, repr. 2005), I:42–43, 46.

<sup>8</sup>Fraioli, *Early Debate*, pp. 55–68.

<sup>9</sup>See, for example, Jean, duke of Alençon, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:70; Thibault d'Armagnac, lord of Thermes, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:85–86; Pierre Milet, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:90; Aignan Viole, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:91. Most of the chronicles of the time confirm Joan's skills as a leader and a soldier.

<sup>10</sup>"Jeanne était fort simple et ignorante, ne sachant absolument rien d'autre . . . que le fait de la guerre." Marguerite de la Touroulde, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:61.



received two arrow wounds, was knocked off a ladder, and stepped on a spiky trap in the field. Many talked about her skills with artillery. Whereas even at Orléans other French military leaders were too cautious, frequently consorting with the enemy and exchanging chivalric gifts,<sup>11</sup> Joan was intent on taking the fight to the English. She attacked when and where she could, without concern for the “rules” that had often hampered and defeated French armies in times past.

During the one-week siege of Orléans, Joan lashed out at the city’s *bailli*, Raoul de Gaucourt, when he tried to prevent an assault on one of the English *bastilles*. According to one of the dauphin’s men, Joan called “Gaucourt a bad man, adding, ‘whether you want it or not, the soldiers will come and they will win.’”<sup>12</sup> They did. At the assault on the English position at Jargeau, when Joan shouted to her comrade, the future Jean II, duke of Alençon, “Go, gentle duke, to the assault!,” he responded that it appeared to him that they were acting prematurely. Joan retorted: “Do not hesitate! The time is now when it pleases God.” She added that “you work and then God will work for you.” A bit later she said to him, ‘Oh, gentle duke, are you afraid?’”<sup>13</sup> When the courage of those around her faltered, Joan urged her men on, sometimes with jokes and fanciful stories and other times in chastisement, saying, “Go boldly!” and “By my Martin!” (meaning her baton). Joan demonstrated her leadership on the battlefield when she defied the king, his counselors, and some of her fellow captains by allowing Arthur de Richemont, the exiled constable of France, to join the French forces at Beaugency to confront an English army coming from Paris. Her choice resulted in decisive victories, but ultimately it would cost her dearly at court.

Joan’s motivation may have been divine, but on the battlefield she showed herself ever eager to fight. Although she claimed to hate

<sup>11</sup>For example, on February 22, 1429, the English leaders sent the Bastard of Orléans “figs, raisins and dates, in return asking for a black velvet robe, which was duly sent.” Paul Charpentier and Charles Cuissard, eds., *Journal du siège d’Orléans, 1428-1429* (Orléans, 1896), p. 53.

<sup>12</sup>“Jeanne dit alors au sire de Gaucourt qu’il était un mauvais homme, en ajoutant ‘que vous le vouliez ou non, les hommes d’armes viendront, et ils gagneront...’” Simon Charles, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:83.

<sup>13</sup>“Avant, gentil duc, à l’assaut!” Et, comme il paraissait au témoin qu’on agissait prématurément, en partant si vite à l’assaut, Jeanne lui dit: “N’hésitez pas! L’heure est prête quand il plaît à Dieu”; elle ajouta qu’il fallait travailler quand Dieu le voulait: “Travaillez et Dieu travaillera. . . Ah! gentil duc, as-tu peur?” Jean, duke of Alençon, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:67.

bloodshed, her actions caused both French and English blood to flow. After taking the town of Jargeau, the village was plundered, and a massacre followed. Although local militiamen may have carried out the carnage after Joan and the other leaders returned to Orléans, she bore at least partial responsibility for the outcome. An admittedly hostile source, the Bourgeois of Paris, states that she motivated her men to attack Paris on the Feast of the Nativity by promising that she would take the city "and each soldier would become rich from the city's goods and they would put everyone to the sword and burn down all the houses where they met with any opposition."<sup>14</sup> Could she have said this? It is not impossible, considering what she wrote in her famous Letter to the English that was delivered before she arrived in Orléans. In it, she told the English leadership that if they did not leave France, "Wherever I find your people in France, I will make them leave whether they want to or not. And if they do not obey, I will have all of them killed."<sup>15</sup> Joan was so incensed when the king called off the siege of Paris after two days that the king's chronicler and others reported that she broke the blade of her famous sword of St. Catherine when she attacked some camp followers. An irate king told her that she should have used her baton rather than her special sword.<sup>16</sup> When her trial judges asked her whether it was right to attack Paris on the Feast of the Nativity, she replied flippantly that "it is good to observe the feasts of Our Lady . . . from beginning to end."<sup>17</sup> She expressed no regrets, although much blood was spilled, especially on the French side. The failure on September 8, 1430, unavoidable without treason from within, marked the beginning of the end.

Despite successive victories that cleared the English from the Loire Valley, in large part due to Joan's unaccustomed tactics, Charles lagged behind on the route to his coronation. As he and his counselors debated whether they should bypass Troyes or besiege it, Joan inter-

<sup>14</sup>"Leur Pucelle. . . leur avait promis. . . tous seraient enrichis des biens de la cité; que l'on mettrait à l'épée ou que l'on brûlerait dans les maisons tous ceux qui y mettrait quelque opposition." Bourgeois of Paris, in Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne*, III:521-22.

<sup>15</sup>"En quelque lieu que je attaindré vous gens en France, je lez en feray aller, veulent ou non veulhent; et se ilz ne veullent obéir, je le feré toulx mourir." Jules Quicherat, ed., *Procès de condamnation et de rehabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite La Pucelle* (Paris, 1849), V:95-98.

<sup>16</sup>Jean Chartier, in Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne*, III:159; duke of Alençon, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:70.

<sup>17</sup>"Respondit quod est bene factum servare festa beate Marie . . . a principio usque ad finem." Pierre Tisset and Yvonne Lanhers, eds., *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, 1960), p. 141. Henceforth referred to as *Condamnation*.

rupted their discussion. She told Charles: "Order your troops to besiege the city of Troyes without these endless deliberations. In the name of God, before three days have passed, I will have you enter the city either by love or by force."<sup>18</sup> Joan entered the trenches to fill them with branches and straw as she and her men prepared for the attack, but within three days, the city's bishop, speaking for the citizens, negotiated its capitulation. The coronation in Reims in July 1429, when Joan stood next to Charles in military garb, proved the high point of her career. After that, she demonstrated both a sense of invincibility and an increasing sense of pride as she wore knightly clothing and accepted costly gifts.<sup>19</sup>

When the king, his counselors, and even Yolande of Aragon pursued truces with Burgundy, Joan took it upon herself to write to cities that had surrendered to the French but were now endangered. In August 1430, she wrote to the citizens of Reims:

I am not at all content with truces like these, and I don't know if I will hold to them; if I do so it will only be in order to protect the king's honor. They will not abuse the blood royal, because I will hold and maintain the army of the king together.<sup>20</sup>

Despite her skills on the battlefield and during her examinations and trial, Joan came close to committing treason during winter 1430 because of her willfulness.

<sup>18</sup>"Ordonnez à vos troupes d'assiéger la ville de Troyes, sans poursuivre de plus longues délibérations, car, en nom de Dieu, avant trois jours je vous ferai entrer dans cette cité, par amour ou par puissance et force." The Bastard of Orléans, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:9.

<sup>19</sup>Charles, duke of Orléans, who was captive in England, had ordered the city's treasurer to make for Joan a long man's coat and short surcoat to be worn over armor "in consideration of the good and useful services the Maid had rendered for us against the English [using] two ells of fine Brussels crimson for the coat and doublet ... and one ell of dark green for the surcoat ... and white satin, sandalwood, and other cloth." "Ayans considération aux bons et agréables services que ladicté Pucelle nous a faiz à l'encontre des Anglois ... deux aulnes de fine Brucelle vermeille dont fut faicte ladicté robe ... pour la doublure d'icelle ... et pour une aulne de vert perdu pour faire ladicté huque ... pour la façon desdictes robe et huque, et pour satin blanc, sandal et autre estoffes." Quicherat, *Procès*, V:112–13. For commentary and further discussion about the increasing sumptuousness of Joan's knightly attire, see Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 160–61, 170–73.

<sup>20</sup>"Je ne soy point contente et ne sçay si je les tendroy; mais si je les tiens, ce sera seulement pour garder l'honneur du roy; combien aussy que ilz ne rabuseront point le sang royal, car je tiendray et maintiendray ensemble l'armée du roy." Quicherat, *Procès*, V:140.

The French victories had caused serious problems for John, duke of Bedford and regent of France. Desertions and problems obtaining reinforcements forced him to issue stern warnings,<sup>21</sup> and one chronicler insisted that the "renown of Joan the Maid had greatly altered and weakened English courage."<sup>22</sup> Hostile Burgundian chroniclers write almost admiringly of her deeds and the fear she inspired. Two are typical. Enguerrand de Monstrelet says that, although the French were saddened by their loss after Joan's capture, "the Burgundians and the English were joyous, more than if they had taken 500 soldiers for they feared and dreaded no captain or military leader as much as they did the Maid."<sup>23</sup> Georges Chastellain agreed, stating that

the Maid, surpassing the nature of women, carried out great feats of combat, and went to great trouble to save her troops from losses, staying back as their leader and most courageous captain. But fortune dictated that this would be the end of her glory, her final combat, and that she must no longer carry weapons. An archer . . . pulled her from her horse by grabbing her cloth of gold surcoat. . . . [A knight] who pulled her from the ground was more joyous than if he had captured a king.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup>In a letter of May 3, 1430, Bedford wrote: "Now they tell us that they tarry in the city of London, contemptibly and to our great dismay, against the clauses of their contracts, exposing us to a manifest danger. . . . Wanting to put an end to this perversity, which is scornful of our authority . . . we enjoin you to do as much as you can . . . and proclaim also that they shall not wait for their equipment, horses or armor. With all possible haste, they will hurry to join us under pain of punishment. . . . All those who have tarried in London . . . will be seized immediately. . . . The desertions continue, causing the greatest peril." "Or, l'on nous apprend qu'ils se retardent et tervgiversent dans la cité de Londres, à notre grave préjudice et mépris . . . Voulant mettre une terme à ce pervers désordre, qui est un mépris de notre autorité . . . nous vous commandons qu'aussitôt après la lecture des présentes . . . vous fassiez proclamer . . . de s'y rendre . . . sans retard pour leur équipement, l'équipement de leurs chevaux, et leurs harnais; qu'avec toute la célérité possible, ils se rendent, se hâtent et s'empressent autour de notre personne, sous peine d'être punis. . . . Tous ceux que vous trouverez ainsi en retard à Londres, soient immédiatement saisis. . . . Les désertions continuent, au péril, autant qu'il est en eux, de laisser sans aucune défense notre personne, et notre royaume de France." Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne*, III:551-52.

<sup>22</sup>"Ils considérait que par la renommée de Jeanne la Pucelle les courages anglais étaient fort altérés et défaillis." Jean Wavrin de Forestel, in Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne*, III:499.

<sup>23</sup>"Ceux du parti bourguignon et les Anglais en furent très joyeux, plus que d'avoir pris cinq cents combattants; car ils ne craignaient et ne redoutaient aucun capitaine, aucun chef de guerre, autant que jusqu'à ce jour ils avaient redouté cette Pucelle." Enguerrand de Monstrelet, in Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne*, III:431.

<sup>24</sup>"La Pucelle passant nature de femme soutint le grand faix du combat, et se donna beaucoup de peine pour sauver sa compagnie de perte, demeurant à l'arrière comme chef du troupeau et la tête la plus vaillante. La fortune permit que ce fut la fin de sa gloire, son dernier combat, et qu'elle ne dut plus porter les armes. Un archer . . . la prit



Three years after Joan's execution, Bedford told the teenaged King Henry VI that

all things [in France] prospered for you till the time of the siege of Orléans taken in hand by God knows what advice. . . . It seemed a great stroke came upon your people, assembled there in great numbers, caused in large part, as I believe, because of lack of confidence and doubt that they had of a disciple and limb of the fiend, called the Maid, who used false enchantments and sorcery, by which stroke and discomfiture lessened in great part the number of your people there, and also withdrew the courage of the remnant in marvelous wise.<sup>25</sup>

For Bedford, the matter was personal, an emasculating challenge to his leadership, skill, and the fortune he had amassed in France. Five months after her capture, the Burgundians finally sold Joan for 10,000 *l.t.*, which the English had raised by taxing the inhabitants of Normandy. A king's ransom indeed!

Held in English-controlled Normandy, Joan's trial was overtly political, although conducted under the guise of a church court. At the end of a letter of January 3, 1431, to Bishop Pierre Cauchon of Beauvais, written in the name of Henry VI, Bedford states, "*it is our intention to recover and take Joan again into our custody if she is not convicted of the above crimes or any of them, or of something else touching upon our faith.*"<sup>26</sup> The result was a foregone conclusion, and the trial should have been cut and dried, except for the fact that Joan had attained international renown. Cauchon knew he had to present a case that was more than a show trial. He immediately encountered a problem when he tried to enlist Jean Le Maistre, the vice inquisitor of Rouen and prior of the Dominican Convent of Saint-Jacques, to preside alongside him. Le Maistre responded that he did not want to involve himself in the matter as much for the scruples of his conscience as for the betterment of the

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de coté par sa huque de drap d'or . . . [Un chevalier] au moment de sa chute, la pressa de si près qu'elle lui donna sa foi . . . [était] plus joyeux que s'il avait eu un roi entre ses mains." Georges Chastellain, in Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne*, III:465–66.

<sup>25</sup>Nicholas Harris Nicolas, ed., *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England from the Year 1386 to 1542* (London, 1834–37), V:223.

<sup>26</sup>"*Toutesvoies, c'est nostre entencion de ravoier et reprendre pardevers nous icelle Jehanne, se ainsi estoit qu'elle ne fust convaincue ou actaine des cas dessusdiz ou d'aucun d'eulx touchans ou regardans nostre dicte foy.*" Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 15. Emphasis added.

trial.<sup>27</sup> Two and a half months after Joan's arrival in Rouen, Cauchon summoned Le Maistre

offering to share with him the charters and documents pertaining to the trial. But the vice-inquisitor then raised some difficulty . . . because he was only commissioned in the city of Rouen. However, the trial had been delegated to us [Pierre Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese Joan had been captured] by reason of our jurisdiction in Beauvais, in borrowed territory. . . . We wrote to the Inquisitor of France to appoint him, after which we summoned him and required that he participate in the trial.<sup>28</sup>

Le Maistre could no longer absent himself, but proved an unwilling and subordinate participant "without special rank among the assessors and doctors forming the tribunal," rubber-stamping Cauchon's appointments to positions of promotor, examiner, and so forth.<sup>29</sup> According to several witnesses in 1456, Le Maistre only attended because he was forced to do so.<sup>30</sup>

Problems exist using both the trial record and the nullification proceedings of 1450-56. The first was designed by the English to convict Joan. A second problem with the 1431 trial transcript is that Joan stated from the outset that she would lie. She repeatedly said she would sometimes tell the truth and other times not, that they should not want her to commit perjury, and that little children had a saying that sometimes people hang for telling the truth.<sup>31</sup> Evidence throughout the transcript shows that Joan *did* lie and prevaricate as she went along.

Guillaume Bouillé, a theologian and counselor to the king, began the inquest into the original trial in 1450 because of his strong feel-

<sup>27</sup>Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 29.

<sup>28</sup>"Offerentes sibi communicare acta, munimenta et alia quecumque habebamus ad materiam et processum pertinencia. Ipse vero vicarius pro tunc aliqualem difficultatem fecerat. . . propterea quod solum commissus erat in civitate et diocesi Rothomagensi; processus autem coram nobis deducebatur ratione iurisdictionis nostre Belvacensis, in territorio accommodato . . . Concluseramus scribere ad dominum inquisitorem . . . aut vicarium specialiter in hac causa deputaret . . . Propter que, ipsum fratrem Iohannem Magistri sommabamus et requirebamus quatinus, iuxta tenorem sue commissionis, se nobiscum in hoc processu adiungeret." Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 119.

<sup>29</sup>Jean Guiraud, *The Mediaeval Inquisition*, trans. E. C. Messenger (London, 1929), pp. 206-07.

<sup>30</sup>Jean Massieu, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:111; Nicholas de Houppesville, in Paul Doncoeur and Yvonne Lanhers, eds., *L'Enquête du Cardinal d'Estouteville en 1452* (Paris, 1958), p. 90. Henceforth referred to as *Enquête*.

<sup>31</sup>Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, pp. 45, 55, 62, 88.

ings about Joan's execution.<sup>32</sup> It ended abruptly after only seven testimonies. A much more powerful figure in both France and Rome, Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville, archbishop of Rouen, reopened the proceedings in 1452, and several more witnesses appeared or reappeared. But the Hundred Years War was not yet over, and the king was unwilling to reopen old wounds. Finally, at the behest of Joan's mother, Isabelle, and with the blessing of Pope Callixtus III, the Nullification Process of 1455–56 began, its goal being to determine whether the first trial was procedurally flawed, in the process clearing the shadow over Charles's reign that he had been crowned by a heretic.

The nullification proceedings, as political in intent as the condemnation, featured large numbers of witness testimonies from villagers in Domremy, captains alongside whom Joan fought, ordinary people who encountered her in Orléans and elsewhere, and men who attended the trial and/or abjuration and execution. The trial assessors (or expert witnesses) must be treated with caution, since many may have sought to put a better face on their actions in 1431. At the same time, they provide information unavailable from other sources and confirm events at the trial. In the testimonies of disparate groups, striking similarities appear in statements taken under oath.<sup>33</sup>

The first noteworthy aspect of the five-month trial is how few of the 131 assessors attended more than a few sessions. Although many attended the several public sessions from February 21 through March 3, the numbers dropped dramatically when the Ordinary Trial began, in large part because it was held in Joan's prison cell. For the entire trial, almost 60 percent of the assessors attended only one to five sessions with only 5 percent attending more than twenty-five.<sup>34</sup> Cauchon's supporters from the University of Paris and adherents of

<sup>32</sup>Although conducted under the auspices of Charles VII, there is strong evidence from Bouillé's codicil to the inquest that suggests he was the chief architect of the process. Paul Doncoeur and Yvonne Lanhers, eds., *La Réhabilitation de Jeanne La Pucelle: L'enquête Ordonnée Par Charles VII en 1450* (Paris, 1961), pp. 20–27. Henceforth referred to as *Réhabilitation*.

<sup>33</sup>For a further discussion of use of the primary sources, see Larissa Juliet Taylor, *The Virgin Warrior: The Life and Death of Joan of Arc* (New Haven, 2009), Appendix B.

<sup>34</sup>Those present most often, besides the officers of the court, were all closely connected to the University of Paris, Cauchon, and the English, and were extremely hostile to Joan: Thomas de Courcelles (nineteen times), Jacques de Touraine (twenty-one times), Jean Beaupère (twenty-two times), Pierre Morice (twenty-three times), and Gérard Feuillet (thirty-three times). Doncoeur and Lanhers, *Réhabilitation*, p. 61n.

the English side formed the core of the trial, but the large number of assessors created the fiction that there was broad backing for his actions. Once Le Maistre was forced to attend, Ysambard de La Pierre, a brother in his convent, accompanied him fourteen times, so, along with the trial notaries and Joan's usher, Jean Massieu, who had to attend, another picture emerges. This is borne out by a close examination of who was called and/or agreed to testify in 1450, 1452, and 1456. Only three of those who had been extremely hostile to Joan did so—Jean Beaupère, Jean de Mailly, and Thomas de Courcelles. Many had died in the intervening years, and others undoubtedly chose to absent themselves for fear of self-incrimination, despite the king's promise of amnesty. But it is striking how few of the assessors came forward to testify. Aside from the three hostile to Joan, the nullification witnesses involved with the trial in *any way* who testified included the three notaries; four Dominicans from the Convent of Saint-Jacques; Joan's usher; two physicians called when Joan was ill; the would-be torturer; two bourgeois of the city who presented themselves because they had seen Joan; a few friars and priests; and several other churchmen, not all of whom had actually been present at the trial. Because of the self-selective and generally sympathetic composition of most of the group and its range across the spectrum of those who had been present, their testimonies provide a compelling counterweight to the events recorded in the trial transcript.

Jean Beaupère, one of those most hostile to Joan, appeared voluntarily. In his first comment, he stated a view that will be discussed later: "Regarding Joan's revelations, there was considerable conjecture that the revelations were more from natural causes and human invention than supernatural."<sup>35</sup> But for those unsympathetic with Cauchon's mission, coercion was the norm. Shortly after Joan's arrival in Rouen, Cauchon had ordered all his justices, officers, and subjects—both French and English—not to hinder or cause any difficulties during the trial.<sup>36</sup> One theologian summed it up, saying that "he believed that some were not completely free to act, but others did so gladly."<sup>37</sup> Cauchon's colleagues, among them the majority of assessors

<sup>35</sup>"Il a eu et a plus grant conjecture que lesdictes apparitions estoient plus de cause naturelle et invention humaine que de cause surnature." Jean Beaupère, in Doncoeur and Lanhers, *Réhabilitation*, p. 56.

<sup>36</sup>Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 15.

<sup>37</sup>"Il croit que certains n'ont pas été totalement libres, et que d'autres ont agi de bon gré." Pierre Miget, in Doncoeur and Lanhers, *L'Enquête*, p. 136.



from the English-controlled University of Paris, knew Bedford's terms and were determined to convict Joan. The vast majority of the others attended largely because of fear and threats. Two of the most unbiased sources for the trial are Nicolas de Houppeville, a bachelor of theology who refused to attend, and the main trial notary, Guillaume Manchon. Joan's usher said that the notary did not write down some things that certain people wanted but instead wrote the truth.<sup>38</sup> The fearless Houppeville, whose story was corroborated by almost everyone else who testified, stated that

at the beginning of the trial, he participated in certain deliberations, in which he was not of the same opinion as the bishop. It did not appear to him to be good procedure that those of the opposing party were judges since she had already been questioned by the clergy of Poitiers and the archbishop of Reims, metropolitan of the archbishop of Beauvais. After expressing his opinion, he incurred the violent indignation of the bishop, to the point that he was cited before him. He affirmed that he would not submit and that [Cauchon] was not *his* bishop. . . . After this . . . he was taken to the castle and then the royal prison. When he asked why they seized him, they said that it was at the request of the bishop of Beauvais.<sup>39</sup>

Released through the efforts of Le Maistre, Houppeville said he would no longer take part and left Rouen. He was not alone in risking death or exile. A fellow Dominican of Saint-Jacques reported that one day he found himself with Brother Ysambart de La Pierre at a session. Not finding any other place for them to sit, they sat near Joan, in the middle of the assembly.

When they interrogated Joan, Ysambard warned her in secret, touching her on the hand or making other signs. After this session, he [Guillaume Duval] and Brother Ysambard were deputed by the judges . . . to visit her the same day . . . to admonish her. Arriving together at the castle of Rouen to exhort

<sup>38</sup>Jean Massieu, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:94.

<sup>39</sup>"Vers le début du procès il participa à quelques délibérations où il fut d'avis que ni l'évêque, ni ceux voulant prendre la charge du procès . . . Il ne lui paraissait pas de bonne procédure que ceux du parti opposé fussent juges, et attendu qu'elle avait déjà été interrogée par le clergé du Poitiers et par l'archevêque de Reims, métropolitain de l'évêque de Beauvais. A la suite de cet avis le témoin encourut l'indignation violent de l'évêque, au point qu'il fut cité devant lui. Il comparut devant, affirmant qu'il ne lui était pas soumis, et que son juge [n'était] pas l'évêque. . . . Après cependant . . . il fut pris, conduit au château, et ensuite dans la prison royale; et parce qu'il demandait pour quelle raison on se saisissait de lui, on répondit que c'était à la requête de l'évêque de Beauvais." Nicolas de Houppeville, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:125. Emphasis added.

her, they found [Richard Beauchamp,] the earl of Warwick[,] at the castle. The earl, full of fury and indignation, assailed Ysambard with threats, saying: "Why this morning did you touch Joan that way? Why did you make signs to her? With a terrible fury, [the earl] added, swearing, that if henceforth he perceived that he was trying to deliver or save her, he would have him thrown into the Seine. Thus both fled in fear, and ran in great haste back to their convent."<sup>40</sup>

The atmosphere of threats of exile, imprisonment, and drowning were not idle, since Rouen was in the heart of English territory in France. Heavily armed English soldiers surrounded the castle where Joan was imprisoned.

Henry Ansgar Kelly, an expert on canon law and Inquisition, writes that from the beginning Joan "... seems instinctively to have believed that she had a right to know what the questions were to deal with." He adds that "... we can conclude that Joan came close to guessing what her rights were under the law: to have all the matters that had been alleged against her formally presented to her."<sup>41</sup> I believe it was more than intuition. As I have argued elsewhere,<sup>42</sup> Joan knew her canon law rights to be in an ecclesiastical prison and to have her case submitted to the pope, both of which she invoked on multiple occasions. She also used every one of the techniques commonly known to inquisitors in her five-month defense. Who better to suggest such techniques than Dominicans, who had traditionally been charged with carrying out the process of inquisition? Nicholas Eymerich's 1376 manual informed inquisitors that heretics often tried to escape punishment by ten techniques. The following are examples of Joan's responses that fit each category.

<sup>40</sup>"Or, quand on interrogeait Jeanne, ledit Ysambart l'avertissait en secret, en la touchant de la main ou par d'autres signes. Après cette session, celui qui parle et ledit frère Ysambart furent députés par les juges ... pour les visiter ce même jour ... et l'admonester. Or, arrivant ensemble au château de Rouen pour la visiter et l'exhorter, ils trouvèrent le comte de Warwick dans le château. Et cedit comte, plein de fureur et d'indignation, assaillit le frère Ysambart avec des injures en lui disant: 'Pourquoi ce matin touchais-tu ainsi cette Jeanne? Et pourquoi lui faisais-tu tels signes?' Et avec une fureur terrible, il ajouta en jurant, que, si désormais il s'apercevait qu'il cherchât à la délivrer ou la sauver, il le ferait jeter dans la Seine. Aussi tous deux s'enfuirent-ils épouvantés, et en toute hâte coururent à leur couvent." Guillaume Duval, in Doncouer and Lanhers, *Réhabilitation*, p. 46.

<sup>41</sup>Henry Ansgar Kelly, "The Right to Remain Silent: Before and After Joan of Arc," *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 992-1026, here 1013, 1017.

<sup>42</sup>Taylor, *Virgin Warrior*, pp. 147-52.

1. *Equivocation*. Asked whether those of her party believed God sent her, Joan answered that "I don't know if they believed in me, but I refer that to their hearts. But even if they did not, I still was sent by God."<sup>43</sup>
2. *Adding a condition*. When Joan was asked whether she wanted to hear Mass and was told it was more appropriate that she wear female clothing, she told them, "Make me a long dress that reaches the ground, without a train, and let me go to Mass. And on my return I will put on my male clothes once again."<sup>44</sup>
3. *Redirecting the question*. When she was asked whom she believed to be the true pope, Joan responded, "Are there two of them?"<sup>45</sup>
4. *Feigned astonishment*. Joan used this technique frequently when she began naming her saints during the fourth session. When she was asked if St. Margaret spoke English, Joan responded, "Why would she speak English, since she is not on the English side?"<sup>46</sup> Asked about the Archangel Michael's appearance to her and whether he was nude, Joan answered, "Don't you think God has the wherewithal to clothe him?"<sup>47</sup>
5. *Twisting the meaning of words*. When asked whether the angel had not failed her in terms of her good fortune, in that she had been captured, Joan stated, "if afterwards it had pleased God it was better that she should be captured."<sup>48</sup>
6. *Open changing of subject*. Asked when the king first set her to work and had her standard made and whether other soldiers had had similar standards made, Joan replied: "It is good to know that the lords maintain their arms. . . ." When asked if others had pennons made like hers, she answered that: "Sometimes she said to them: Go boldly among the English."<sup>49</sup>
7. *Self-justification*. When the judges tried to force her to swear an oath at the beginning of the trial, Joan stated that she "had come from God

<sup>43</sup>"Ego nescio utrum credant, et me redo ad animum ipsorum; sed si non credant, tamen ego sum missa a Deo." Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 99.

<sup>44</sup>"Faciatis michi habere tunicam longam usque ad terram, sine cauda, et tradatis michi pro eundo ad missam; et postea, in egressu, ego iterum capiam istum habitum quem habeo." Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 157.

<sup>45</sup>"Querendo utrum essent duo." Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 81.

<sup>46</sup>"Qualiter loqueretur anglicum, cum non sit de parte Anglicorum? . . ." Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 84.

<sup>47</sup>"Cogitatis vos quod Deus non habeat unde ipsum vestire?" Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 87.

<sup>48</sup>"Credit, postquam illud placuit Deo, quod est pro meliori quod ipsa sit capta." Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 122.

<sup>49</sup>"Bonum est scire quod domini manutenebant arma sua. . . . Respondit quod aliquando dicebat suis: Intretis audacter per medium Anglicorum." Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, pp. 96-97.

and had no business here and asks that she be sent back to God from whom she came.”<sup>50</sup>

8. *Feigned illness.* When the judges came to Joan’s prison cell on April 18 to exhort her to correct her ways, they found her sick. Joan told them, “It seems to me that I am in grave danger of death because of my sickness.”<sup>51</sup> Two physicians at the nullification process testified that they believed she was sick, but said she claimed her illness was caused by carp sent to her by Cauchon. According to them, the lead prosecutor, Jean d’Estivet, exclaimed: “You, whore, you have eaten pickled fish and other bad things.’ She denied this and they exchanged many offensive words.”<sup>52</sup>
9. *Feigned stupidity or madness.* When she was asked whether she was forbidden to tell them about her voices, she answered that she did not yet understand,<sup>53</sup> although she had previously answered more fully.
10. *A way of life that is apparently holy.* Most of those who spoke at the nullification process mentioned Joan’s frequent desire to confess and hear Mass, and the villagers with whom she had grown up recalled that they had mocked her for attending church too often.<sup>54</sup>

Eymerich mentioned that many accused by the Inquisition even threatened those who might testify against them.<sup>55</sup> Although there were no actual deponents at her trial, Joan repeatedly told Cauchon, “You say you are my judge. Be careful what you do, because in truth I was sent by God and you are putting yourself in great danger.”<sup>56</sup>

Cauchon, like the English on the battlefield before him, might have thought that defeating a teenaged peasant girl would prove to be

<sup>50</sup>“Venit ex parte Dei et non habet hic negociari quicquam, petens ut remicteretur ad Deum a quo venerat.” Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, pp. 57.

<sup>51</sup>“Videtur michi quod sum in magno periculo mortis, visa infirmitate quam habeo.” Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 329.

<sup>52</sup>[Tiphaine:] Estivet, toujours présent, lui répliqua, “Toi, paillarde, tu as mangé poissons en saumure et autre choses qui ne te conviennent pas.” Elle lui répondit qu’il n’en était rien; et cette Jeanne et d’Estivet échangèrent beaucoup de paroles injurieuses . . . [de la Chambre:] Arriva un certain maître Jean d’Estivet, qui eut des paroles injurieuses contre Jeanne, l’appelant putain, paillarde; elle en fut si fort irritée qu’elle eut de nouveau la fièvre et retomba malade. Jean Tiphaine and Guillaume de la Chambre, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:34.

<sup>53</sup>Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 71.

<sup>54</sup>Duparc, *Nullité*, III:241, 264, 275.

<sup>55</sup>James Given, *Inquisition in Medieval Society: Society, Power, Discipline and Resistance in Medieval Languedoc* (Ithaca, NY, 1997), pp. 93–97.

<sup>56</sup>“Vos dicitis quod estis iudex meus; advertatis de hoc quod facitis, quia, in veritate, ego sum missa ex parte Dei, et ponitis vos ipsum in magno periculo.” Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 59.



swift business. However, in March 1431, Jean Lohier, a canon lawyer summoned by the bishop, arrived in Rouen to give his opinion. He nearly derailed the trial and certainly changed its course. After two or three days, Lohier announced that the trial was invalid. First, it had not followed proper procedure as an Ordinary Trial. In the Preliminary Trial, no charges had been presented against Joan. He listed other reasons—it took place in an enclosed space where the attendees were not at liberty to speak freely; it concerned the king of France, who was a party to the trial, but no one from his side was called; the wording of the articles had not been open enough; and as a simple girl, Joan had no counsel. According to Manchon, Cauchon was enraged. At that point, the trial notary says that Cauchon met with his inner circle, saying, “here is this Lohier who wants to add nice-sounding questions to our trial. He wants to undermine it. . . . We certainly see on which foot he hops!” Manchon then spoke privately with Lohier, who told him that they were trying to trap Joan in her words and intended to kill her, adding that in his opinion, “no man could condemn her, and it seems they are proceeding out of hatred. So I will not take part, nor will I be here to see it.”<sup>57</sup> Even someone as close to Cauchon as Courcelles confirmed this exchange.<sup>58</sup> As a result, articles based on the Preliminary Trial were drawn up based on Joan’s answers, and messengers were sent to the University of Paris to gain approval. When they returned, on March 26, Joan was formally accused of heresy, and the Ordinary Trial began.

By this point, it was clear that the hatred felt by the English for Joan drove the trial. It is unclear whether those outside of Cauchon’s group knew of the English ultimatum before the trial began, although “common rumor” in Rouen had it that they were intent on finding Joan guilty. A bourgeois with connections at the castle commented that they harassed her constantly with all kinds of questions because she had led a war against the English.<sup>59</sup> A local canon present at her abjuration and execution claimed that “if she had been of the party of the English. . . she would not have been treated so. . . . The English

<sup>57</sup>“Vela Lohier qui nous veult bailler belles interlocutoyres en nostre procès. Il veut tout calompnier; et dit qu’il ne vault rien. . . . On veoit bien de quel pié il cloche!” . . . “Il m’est advis que il n’est homme qui la peust condempner; et semble plus que procedent par hayne que aultrement. Et pour ce je ne me tendray plus cy; ne je n’y vueil estre.” Guillaume Manchon, in Doncoeur and Lanhers, *Réhabilitation*, pp. 48–49; Manchon, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:99.

<sup>58</sup>Thomas de Courcelles, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:41.

<sup>59</sup>Pierre Cusquel, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:132.

were terrified by her deeds . . . and he believed they conducted the trial because Joan had made war on them."<sup>60</sup>

Still, Joan went on the offense, heedless of the outcome or perhaps hopeful of rescue. Many of those present were astonished at her astute responses, some of which they said would have confused great theologians. One Parisian who only saw her execution but had spoken with others recalled that they remarked that they had never seen a woman of that age give so much trouble to those who questioned her.<sup>61</sup> One of the notaries asserted that some of the doctors present responded, "You say well, Joan."<sup>62</sup> And still some of the Dominicans of Saint-Jacques tried to assist her. When the assessors deliberated on torture (which was not used, at least partially because Joan insisted she would deny anything she said under torture, again showing knowledge of canon law), most equivocated or simply repeated what those before them said, showing a lack of personal conviction. Only Le Maistre did not answer the question at all, saying simply that she should be asked again if she would submit to the Church Militant. It was under those conditions that La Pierre and others tried to explain to Joan the difference between the Church Militant and Church Triumphant and urged her to submit to the council then being held:

She asked what a General Council was. [He] told her that it was a universal assembly of the whole Church, and there were as many men of her party as of the English. Hearing that, Joan declared: "Oh! There are people of our party?" He said yes. She responded right away that she would certainly submit. But immediately, the bishop of Beauvais, furious and spiteful, yelled at him: "Shut up, by Devil!" The bishop immediately enjoined the notary not to write down the submission that she had made to the General Council. For this reason, he suffered, on the part of the English and their officers, grave menaces of being thrown into the Seine and drowned if he did not henceforth keep his mouth shut.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup>"Si elle avait tenu le parti des Anglais . . . elle n'eût pas été traitée comme elle fut . . . Les Anglais furent comme terrifiés par ses faits . . . Il croit cependant qu'ils le firent par ce que Jeanne leur avait fait à la guerre." Guillaume du Désert, in Duparc, *Enquête*, 102, 104; see also Thomas Marie, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:148.

<sup>61</sup>Jean Marcel, in Duparc, *Nullité*, IV:79.

<sup>62</sup>"Et parfois certains des docteurs assistants lui disaient: 'Vous dites bien, Jeanne.'" Nicolas Taquel, in *Enquête*, p. 80.

<sup>63</sup>"Elle demanda ce que c'était que ce Concile général. Celui qui parle lui répondit que c'était une assemblée universelle de toute l'Eglise et même de la Chrétienté, et qu'en ce Concile il y avait nombre d'hommes aussi bien de son parti que du parti des

What happened on the weekend of Trinity Sunday after Joan abjured and agreed to wear female clothes is shrouded in mystery. Some of the witnesses believed there had been an attempted rape, whereas others stated that a bundle of male clothing was substituted for her dress. When she was found wearing men's clothing once again, several of the assessors tried to reach the castle to ascertain what had happened, but were pushed back by English soldiers armed with pikes and staves.

My suggestion that Joan had help from certain members of the trial, especially the Dominicans of Saint-Jacques, does not mean that they viewed her as a saint. None of the trial assessors said anything of the sort. Even La Pierre stated

that when she spoke of the realm and of the war, she appeared moved by the Holy Spirit. But when she spoke of herself, she often used fictions. But he did not think that having done so ought to have led her to be condemned as a heretic.<sup>64</sup>

A Benedictine doctor of theology admitted that he saw nothing in her that was not Catholic, apart from "the revelations that she pretended to have had from the saints."<sup>65</sup> In reading the trial transcript, even though difficult and confusing questions were put to Joan in rapid succession, she nevertheless responded with wit, sarcasm, and the techniques discussed earlier. It is easy to understand why some assessors did not believe her a heretic, or deserving of death, yet at no point suggested that she was saintly. Deliberations of a small number of theologians and lawyers near the end of the trial reveal surprising differences of opinion. Several mentioned the difficulty of "discernment of spirits" regarding Joan's claim that she heard voices, saying

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Anglais. Entendant cela, Jeanne déclara: 'Oh! Il y a là des gens de notre parti?' Celui qui parle lui ayant dit que oui. Elle répondit sur le champ: qu'elle voulait bien se soumettre à ce Concile. Mais aussitôt, l'évêque de Beauvais, plein de dépit et furieux, cria à celui qui parle: 'Taisez-vous, de par le Diable!' Et le même évêque enjoignit aussitôt au notaire de ne pas consigner la soumission qu'elle avait fait au Concile général. En raison de quoi, et pour d'autres motifs encore, celui qui parle souffrit, de par les Anglais et leurs officiers, de grave menaces d'être noyé et jeté à la Seine, s'il ne taisait pas désormais." Ysambarde de la Pierre, in Doncoeur and Lanhers, *Réhabilitation*, pp. 34, 36.

<sup>64</sup>"Quand elle parlait du royaume et de la guerre, elle paraissait mue par le Saint Esprit. Mais que, quand elle parlait de sa personne, elle usait souvent des fictions. Mais il ne pense pas que ce qu'elle disait devait la faire condamner comme hérétique." Ysambarde de la Pierre, in Doncoeur, *Enquête*, p. 54.

<sup>65</sup>"Il n'a rien vu qui ne fut catholique; mises à part ces révélations qu'elle prétendait avoir eues des saints." Pierre Miget, in Doncoeur and Lanhers, *Enquête*, p. 50.

God alone could read the hearts of men and women. One canon lawyer claimed the voices were "cunningly invented by this woman and her abettors to accomplish her aims and those of her party."<sup>66</sup> Raoul Le Sauvage, of the convent of Saint-Jacques, repeated that Joan was boastful, invented lies and falsehoods, and was given to phantasms. Yet even though he allowed for the possibility that she might be inspired by the devil, he argued before Cauchon that

to bring this to a more certain and positive conclusion, so that it cannot be suspect from any quarter, I think that for the honor of His Royal Majesty and of yourself, for peace and tranquility of conscience, the articles should be sent with the appropriate comments for a higher opinion to The Holy Apostolic See.<sup>67</sup>

His attempt to have the case revoked to Rome was denied, and Joan could not be saved.

But the long and dreadful execution was too much for many who had attended the trial or knew of it. Many wept, even one Englishman who had hated Joan so much that he threatened to throw her into the fire with his own hands. After watching her die, he had to be taken to a tavern in the Old Market to restore his senses.<sup>68</sup> Yet, although some of the onlookers said that they hoped their souls would be where hers was after that day, there was no talk of sanctity. It was different among her soldiers, who had been unable to understand how she accomplished what she had and stated to the inquest that they believed she accomplished her feats through divine inspiration.

Once the original trial was declared null and void in 1456, Joan was forgotten for some years. Charles VII, who had to be pushed by Bouillé and d'Estouteville to open the inquests, wanted to forget that his throne had been won largely at the hands of a young girl. But in 1461 someone did remember—Pope Pius II. Years earlier, as a twenty-

<sup>66</sup>"Ego credo quod ille asserciones sunt false, mendose et tante reperte per ipsam mulierem et complices suos pro veniendo ad fines suos pro parte sua." Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, pp. 323-24.

<sup>67</sup>"Et consequenter dicebam, ut conclusio et sententia super istis habenda cercior sit et firmior et nulla ex parte calumniari valeat, michi videtur, salvo semper meliori iudicio, ad regie maiestatis honorem et vestri ac conscienciarum plurimorum quietem et pacificacionem, quod predictae asserciones cum suis debitis qualificacionibus, signetis notariorum munite, ad Sanctam Sedem apostolicam transmittende sunt." Tisset and Lanhers, *Condamnation*, p. 327.

<sup>68</sup>Ysambard de la Pierre, in Doncoeur and Lanhers, *Enquête*, p. 122.



four-year-old humanist, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini had been transfixed, like so many others across Europe, by the deeds of the young Maid. Thirty years after her execution, he devoted seven pages of his *Commentaries* to Joan of Arc. He discussed her mission, male clothing, and Catholic conformity, but focused on her military exploits. After describing her entrance into Orléans and attack on the English camp, in which she set fire to their *bastilles*, he asserted that “all the enemy who fought against the Maid fell so that there was hardly anyone left to carry news of the disaster. The glory of this exploit was credited to the Maid alone.” Pius wrote about the same elements that Joan’s contemporaries had regarded as special: her skills in warfare and the terror she inspired in the English.

The Maid led out her troops and as soon as she saw the enemy with loud shouts and terrific force she charged the English lines. Not a man dared to stand fast or show his face; sudden panic and horror seized them all . . . Their drawn swords fell from their hands; everyone threw away shield and helmet to be unencumbered for flight. Talbot’s shouts of encouragement were unheard and his threats unheeded. It was a most shameful rout. They presented only their backs to the Maid. . . . The reports of these things, carried to the neighboring peoples and by them to those farther off and always increasing as it travelled, filled all with amazement.

Pius then recounts the capitulation of towns along the coronation route, and Joan’s capture and trial. As for the trial, he says, they could find no fault in her except her male clothing, which had bothered few French clerics and did not bother him. Then he mentions a possible ruse before adding his assessment: “it is possible that the English, who had been vanquished by the Maid in so many battles, never really felt safe while she lived.” He adds that

Whether her career was a miracle of Heaven or a device of men I should find it hard to say. Some think that when the English cause was prospering, one shrewder than the rest evolved the cunning scheme of declaring that the Maid had been sent by Heaven and of giving her the command she asked for, since there was no man alive who would refuse to have God for his leader. Thus it came about that the conduct of war and the high command was entrusted to a girl. *Nor would this have been difficult to manage with the French, who think hearsay is the same as knowledge.* It is a phenomenon that deserves to be recorded, although after-ages are likely to regard it with more wonder than credulity.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>69</sup>Florence Alden Gragg, trans., *Secret Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope* (London, 1988), pp. 197–201. Emphasis in original.

In view of his obvious admiration for Joan's military skills, it is interesting to note that Pius questions Joan's divine inspiration. The latter opinion was voiced not only among some of the trial assessors but also the Burgundians. Pius probably first heard about it from Jean Jouffroy, bishop of Arras, in 1459. Jouffroy claimed that during the war,

the so-called miracle appeared, skillfully divulged, rashly believed in, of a young girl the French called the Maid. Do we really think that she was like Deborah in the Bible? . . . Should we not instead believe that one more important than the rest exploited the strategy of using this young girl to revive weary hearts? Caesar attested that among his people, that which was only a rumor soon became a proven fact. . . . But it is useless to try to refute this web of incoherent historical fabrications.<sup>70</sup>

Jouffroy understated Joan's skills, but his statement is credible. It is hard to prove a negative, but unlike medieval female saints, of which there was a proliferation in the late Middle Ages, no cult developed around Joan, her confessors did not promote her cause, and no miracles were adduced until nearly 500 years after her execution. Only the people of Orléans, especially in their annual *Mystère du siège d'Orléans*, consistently kept Joan alive in their memories. For the most part, she was forgotten until the nineteenth century. Occasional dramas, complete distortions based on Renaissance, Enlightenment, and romantic ideals, sensationalized Joan's character and exploits. Only when historians such as Jules Michelet and his student, Jules Quicherat, began to gather historical evidence in the mid-nineteenth century did Joan become a phenomenon again. Her "re-discovery" came at a time when France had endured a second revolution in less than a century. Joan became a symbol for monarchists and republicans alike. Félix Dupanloup, a devout churchman and scholar who hoped to restore religion to France, launched his elevation to the Bishopric of Orléans in 1849 with an encomium of Joan that attracted international attention. In 1869, at his instigation, the beatification proceedings began despite interruptions caused by war.

<sup>70</sup>"A la suite de cette guerre vint le prétendu miracle, habilement divulgué, témérairement cru, de la jeune fille que les Français nomment la Pucelle. Faut-il penser [quelle est] comme Débora des Écritures? . . . Faut-il croire que l'un de ces grands aura habilement exploité le stratagème de cette jeune fille pour relever les coeurs abbatus et sans force? César attestait déjà que chez ce peuple, ce qui est seulement ébruité est facilement chose prouvée . . . Il est inutile de réfuter ce tissu de faussetés historiques et d'incohérences." Jean Jouffroy, in Ayroles, *Vraie Jeanne*, III:537-38.

Augustine Caprara, the first of the Sacred Congregation's Devil's Advocates, was called upon to find flaws in Joan that would preclude beatification. He asserted that

Two stages can be distinguished in the life of our Maid; the first full of glory and admiration, up to the time of her capture: the other full of hardships, which found its end by punishment by fire.... When she was captured, and subjected to the questions of the court, she abandoned her greatness of spirit, the splendor of her divine revelations disappeared, and grave faults obscured whatever surpassing virtues she had at that time.<sup>71</sup>

Moreover, Caprara pointed out that "this praise of sanctity has come to her only in our own time," stating that she did not meet the standard criteria of displaying heroic virtue (in the cause of religion) and that "no miracles or cult was attested." Instead, he emphasized that it was her military skills that had impressed minds and hearts.<sup>72</sup> Caprara did not suggest that Joan had been a ploy of the court, but he expressed most of the sentiments that had characterized opinion in Joan's time, not his own.

Alexander Verde, the third of the Devil's Advocates, contended correctly that the nullification process had only served to overturn Joan's heresy charge, not to praise her heroic virtues. After repeating that she often lied, he pointed out that historical sources did not glorify her as a holy woman but as a leader and warrior. He admits that many at the time called her pious and religious, but points out that that is not the same as being holy. In his view, her "longing to protect the realm and the king" could hardly be considered a divine mission.<sup>73</sup> Pope Pius II asked the cardinals and consultants of the Sacred

<sup>71</sup>"Duo ergo stadia in puellae nostrae discernenda videntur; primum gloriosum, et admiratione plenum, usque ad suam captivitatem: alterum plenum aerumnis, quod ignis supplicio finem habuit. . . . At, ubi capta illa fuit, et iudicialibus quaestionibus subiecta, defecit ea animi magnitudo, splendor ille divinarum revelationum disparuit, ac praegressas virtutes, quaecumque demum eae fuerint, graves culpaе obscurasse visae sunt." *Sacra Rituum Congregatione: Aurelianen: Beatificationis et canonizationis Servae Dei Ioannae de Arc, Puellae Aurelianensis nuncupatae, Positio super introduction causae*, Pt. 5: *Animadversiones* (Rome, 1893), pp. 52–53.

<sup>72</sup>"Hanc porro sanctitatis laudem nonnisi aetate nostra. . . . Nulla postea erga de mortuam ecclesiastici cultus species inolevit. . . . Non ergo christiana heroica virtus, sed militaris mentes animosque commoverat." *Animadversiones*, pp. 4, 13, 14.

<sup>73</sup>"Desiderium patriam regemque tuendi." *Sacra Rituum Congregatione: Aurelianen. Beatificationis et Canonizationis Ven. Servae Dei Ioannae de Arc Virginis Aurelianensis Pullae nuncupatae*, Pt. I: *Novae Animadversiones* (Rome, 1903A), p. 7.

Congregation of Rites to pray with him "in so difficult a manner." On January 6, 1904, he authorized the cause to go forward. Three miracles were approved, and Joan was beatified in 1909.<sup>74</sup> Relations between the Vatican and France, already strained as a result of France's long period of dechristianization, deteriorated further during World War I. The French Church adopted an ultra-nationalistic posture, as the papacy tried to mediate between the sides, a stance that was incomprehensible to many French men and women who saw the war as a battle between good and evil. Postwar tensions between France and the Vatican ran deep. Is it a coincidence that Joan was canonized in 1920, fifty years after her beatification process had begun and two years after World War I had ended?

Joan was not burned by the Church but executed with considerable difficulty by an English-controlled court that had as its foregone conclusion her ultimate conviction and death. Too often she had beaten English forces on the field of battle, a fact of which Bedford was constantly reminded by problems with recruiting, desertions, and challenges to his authority. Many at the trial expressed the opinion that the English would not attack the town of Louviers until Joan was dead, a testament to her military talent. Nor in my opinion did Joan exhibit the attributes of a saint in her lifetime. Joan of Arc is a saint, as a result of proper procedures followed by the Roman Catholic Church. But Pius II offered a more historical and accurate description of Joan's accomplishments in her short life when he called her "that astonishing and marvelous Maid who restored the kingdom of France."<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup>Henry Ansgar Kelly, "Joan of Arc's Last Trial: The Attack of the Devil's Advocates," in Wheeler and Wood, *Fresh Verdicts*, 205-36, here p. 228.

<sup>75</sup>Gragg, *Secret Memoirs*, p. 201.



# ABBATIAL OBEDIENCE, LITURGICAL REFORM, AND THE THREAT OF MONASTIC AUTONOMY AT THE TURN OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

BY

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*The author argues that the introduction of the written promise of obedience made by abbots to the local bishop, as recorded in liturgical manuals of the late-twelfth century, was the result of a process that began at least a century earlier. By looking at an exceptional set of liturgical and archival sources from the Bishopric of Arras in northern France and putting them in their appropriate canonical, liturgical, and political contexts, the author shows how, in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries, reformist bishops were experimenting with a ritual repertoire that included references—be they intended or inferred—to both the monastic profession and secular homage.*

**Keywords:** Bishopric of Arras; Gregorian reform; liturgical reform; medieval rituals; monastic obedience

The ritual behavior of medieval people has recently become the subject of significant methodological and epistemological debate, transforming its study into one of the most dynamic domains of medieval scholarship.<sup>1</sup> As a result, historical analysis is now more

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<sup>1</sup>The publications most relevant to this debate are Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001); Geoffrey G. Koziol, "The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study?," *Early Medieval Europe*, 11 (2002), 367–88; and, most recently, Christine U. Pössel, "The Magic of Early Medieval Ritual," *Early Medieval Europe*, 17 (2009), 111–25.

attuned to the need to dissect the auctorial discourse of the relevant evidence (archaeological, iconographical, and documentary) before attempting to access the realities of public and ritual behavior itself. Research into these practices also has moved away from a descriptive type of analysis to one in which rituals and other forms of encoded behavior are regarded as the principal instruments in the management of social relations.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to the “performative turn” in the humanities,<sup>3</sup> an increasing number of scholars now subscribe to the notion that public behavior exteriorized certain ideas on how society should be organized and that, through the “performance” of encoded gestures and rituals,<sup>4</sup> these ideas could become part of a social *habitus*.

Arguably just as problematic in terms of documentation and interpretation is a third line of inquiry that looks at the use of written documents in ritual practices. Studies on gift-giving and dispute management in the Central Middle Ages have, for instance, shown that the act of laying a legal document on the altar was sometimes considered a significant part of the staging of public acts of reconciliation and transferral of property between laymen and ecclesiastical institutions.<sup>5</sup> Although many such documents are still preserved as charters or informal notices, theoretical or normative evidence—which could shed more light on the formal and ideological antecedents of these practices—is, for the most part, lacking. Other applications of the

<sup>2</sup>Two notable examples are Geoffrey G. Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, 1992); and John F. Romano, “Ritual and Society in Early Medieval Rome” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007).

<sup>3</sup>For the state of the art in this field of medieval research, see Jürgen Martschukat and Steffen Patzold, “Geschichtswissenschaft und ‘Performative Turn’: Eine Einführung in Fragestellungen, Konzepte und Literatur,” in *Geschichtswissenschaft und “Performative Turn”: Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. Martschukat and Patzold (Cologne, 2003), pp. 1–31; Jean-Marie Moeglin, “Performative turn,” «communication politique» et rituels au Moyen Âge. À propos de deux ouvrages récents,” *Le Moyen Âge*, 112 (2007), 393–406; and Steven Vanderputten, “Monks, Knights, and the Enactment of Competing Social Realities in Eleventh- and Early-Twelfth-Century Flanders,” *Speculum*, 84 (2009), 582–612.

<sup>4</sup>See, for instance, Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, NY, 1993); and Simon MacLean, “Ritual, Misunderstanding and the Contest for Meaning: Representations of the Disputed Royal Assembly at Frankfurt (873),” in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany 800–1500*, ed. Björn Weiler and Simon MacLean (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 97–119.

<sup>5</sup>Arnold Angenendt, “*Cartam offere super altare*. Zum Liturgisierung von Rechtsvorgängen,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 36 (2002), 1–26; and Warren Brown, “Charters as Weapons. On the Role Played by Early Medieval Dispute Records in the Disputes They Record,” *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002), 227–48.

written word in ritual contexts are well known through the study of normative texts, but little “applied” evidence remains. For instance, St. Benedict of Nursia stipulates in his *Rule* that any novice or oblate, upon making his profession, is required to place a *petitio*, or written version of his vows, on the altar.<sup>6</sup> Many thousands of such documents must have been produced from the sixth century onward, yet very few have been preserved.<sup>7</sup> Monks apparently saw no reason to keep a monk’s *petitio* after his death, particularly if his name and the donations made during his profession had already been memorialized in other types of text.<sup>8</sup> Although the use of *petitiones* is thus well known to scholars of monastic history, it is difficult to verify to what extent customaries and monastic rules were followed to the letter.<sup>9</sup>

Finally, there are examples of public behavior in which the use of the written word was introduced into ritual practices as a result of gradual processes taking place, sometimes simultaneously and sometimes not, in normative and applied contexts. This article will examine one such instance—namely that of the written promise (*professio* or *promissio*) of obedience submitted by newly elected abbots to the *ordinarius* at the time of their benediction.<sup>10</sup> Although it has been argued that the practice was only widely adopted in French bish-

<sup>6</sup>Rule of St. Benedict LVIII, 19–20; Adalbert De Vogüé and Jean Neufville, eds., *La règle de Saint Benoît* (Paris, 1972), 2:630; see Mirko Breitenstein, *Das Noviziat im hohen Mittelalter: zur Organisation des Eintritts bei den Cluniazensern, Cisterziensern und Franziskanern* (Berlin, 2008), pp. 73–77; and Jörg Sonntag, *Klosterleben im Spiegel des Zeichenhaften: symbolisches Denken und Handeln hochmittelalterlicher Mönche zwischen Dauer und Wandel, Regel und Gewohnheit* (Berlin, 2008), pp. 120–64.

<sup>7</sup>Two examples from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are reproduced and discussed by Paulus Weissenberger in “Die Regel des hl. Benedikt in ihrer Bedeutung für das Urkunden- und Archivwesen der Benediktinerklöster,” *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, 59 (1963), 11–29, here 13, 15.

<sup>8</sup>Mayke De Jong, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leyden, 1996), pp. 100–25.

<sup>9</sup>This problem is treated extensively in Steven Vanderputten, “Then I received the habit of holy religion. Memorializing the Monastic Profession at the Turn of the Twelfth Century,” *Sacris Erudiri*, 49 (2010), 379–406.

<sup>10</sup>Stephan Hilpisch, “Entwicklung des Ritus der Abtsweihe in der lateinischen Kirche,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, 61 (1947), 53–72; Rudolf Reinhardt, “Die Abtsweihe. Eine ‘kleine Bischofsweihe?’,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 91 (1980), 83–88; and Dominique Iogna-Prat, “Moines et chanoines: règles, coutumiers et textes liturgiques,” in *L'Histoire des moines, chanoines et religieux au Moyen Âge: Guide de recherche et documents*, ed. Albert Vauchez and Cécile Caby (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 71–97, here p. 79.

oprics in the later twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries,<sup>11</sup> direct and indirect evidence suggests that its introduction was a long-term process beginning more than a century earlier. So far, this process has received little attention,<sup>12</sup> and its chronology is not well established. Through analysis of an exceptional set of liturgical and archival sources from the Bishopric of Arras in northern France and framing them in their appropriate canonical, liturgical, and political contexts, it will be shown how reformist bishops of the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries were experimenting with a ritual repertoire, inspired perhaps by, but in any case reminiscent of, elements of the monastic profession and secular homage, as part of their attempts to contain monastic autonomy. The considerable role of local circumstances in determining the bishops' decision to introduce these controversial liturgical innovations explains the seemingly fragmentary and disjointed nature of the evidence from the period between c. 1070 and c. 1130.

### Lambert of Arras and Abbatial Obedience

When, in 1093–94, the Bishopric of Cambrai/Arras was divided in two independent entities, the motivations of the principal actors were primarily political.<sup>13</sup> Vigorously supported by Count Robert I of Flanders (1071–93) and his son and successor, Count Robert II (1093–1111), the division transferred the southern part of the ancient diocese (the future Diocese of Arras) from an ecclesiastical circum-

<sup>11</sup>On these promises, see François Bibolet, "Serments d'obéissance des abbés et abbeses à l'évêque de Troyes (1191–1531)," *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1959), 333–43; Giles Constable, "Abbatial Profession in Normandy and England in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century, with Particular Attention to Bec," in *"Ins Wasser geworfen und Ozeane durchquert": Festschrift für Knut Wolfgang Nörr Ascheri*, ed. Mario Ascheri, Friedrich Ebel, and Martin Heckel (Cologne, 2003), pp. 105–20; Véronique Gazeau, *Normannia monastica. Princes normands et abbés bénédictins (X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Caen, 2007), pp. 71–79; and Alexis Grémois, "La promesse d'obéissance de l'abbé à l'évêque et la question des ordres exempts," in *Serment, promesse et engagement. Rituels et modalités au Moyen Âge*, ed. Françoise Laurent (Toulouse, 2008), pp. 307–16. Grémois—in contrast with, for instance, Gazeau—points out (p. 308) that the common use of the word *oath* to designate these practices is erroneous.

<sup>12</sup>The only exception is Constable, "Abbatial Profession."

<sup>13</sup>Lotte Kéry, *Die Errichtung des Bistums Arras 1093/1094* (Sigmaringen, 1994); Bernard Delmaire, *Le diocèse d'Arras de 1093 au milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Recherches sur la vie religieuse dans le nord de la France au moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Arras, 1994); and Claire Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert, évêque d'Arras (1093–1115)* (Paris, 2007).



scription that belonged to the German Empire to a new one that was part of the Kingdom of France. This enabled them to divide the influence of both sovereign powers more equally over their own territories.<sup>14</sup> For his part, Pope Urban II also supported the division, as it offered him the perspective of creating a new center of ecclesiastical reform in a former bishopric that, because of its allegiance to the Empire, had been ill-disposed to accept the principles of Gregorian reform. Following protracted negotiations with Rainauld, archbishop of Reims, Lambert of Guînes was elected the first bishop of Arras.

As a student of canon law and a former disciple of St. Ivo of Chartres, and thus a true, if somewhat subdued, supporter of ecclesiastical reform, Lambert (1093/94–1115) invested much effort in documenting the legitimate foundation of the bishopric, but even more so the legal nature of his own appointment, and the moral and juridical rectitude of his reformist policies.<sup>15</sup> The *Gesta Atrebatensium*, also known as the *Register of Lambert*, provide us with a wealth of evidence regarding the creation and earliest history of the bishopric.<sup>16</sup> The first part of the *Register*, most likely compiled in or shortly after 1095 and arranged in a roughly chronological fashion, assembles sources (papal privileges, episcopal mandates and letters, and other types of text) relating to the creation of the bishopric.<sup>17</sup> The second part consists of documents issued and received by Lambert during his later years as bishop.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*, pp. 10–11.

<sup>15</sup>Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*, p. 27 and Benoît-Michel Tock, *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: le cas d'Arras* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1991), p. 10. On the similar attitudes of John of Warnton, bishop of Thérouanne (1099–1130) and another of Ivo's students, see Brigitte Meijns, "Without were fightings, within were fears. Pope Gregory VII, the Canons Regular of Watten and the Reform of the Church in the Diocese of Thérouanne (c. 1075–c. 1100)," in *Law and Power in the Middle Ages. IV. Carlsberg Academy Conference on Medieval Legal History, Copenhagen 24–26 May 2007*, ed. Per Andersen, Helle Vogt, and Mia Münster-Swendsen (Copenhagen, 2008), pp. 73–96.

<sup>16</sup>The full text of the *Register*, or at least the "first state," is edited and translated in French in Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*. For an exhaustive discussion of its conception and manuscripts, see Kéry, *Die Errichtung*.

<sup>17</sup>Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*, pp. 13–14.

<sup>18</sup>See, among others, Tock, *Une chancellerie*; Laurent Morelle, "Archives épiscopales et formulaire de chancellerie au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Remarques sur les privilèges épiscopaux connus par le Codex de Lambert de Guînes, évêque d'Arras (1093/94–1115)," in *Die Diplomatie der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250*, ed. Christoph Haidacher and Werner Köfler (Innsbruck, 1995), pp. 255–67; and Laurent Morelle, "La pratique épistolaire de Lambert, évêque d'Arras (1093–1115)," in *Regards sur la correspondance (de Cicéron à Armand Barbès)*, ed. Daniel-Odon Hurel (Rouen, 1996), pp. 37–57.

It is no coincidence that the latter part of the *Register* devotes much attention to the bishop's relations with monastic institutions. Lambert, whose bishopric lay in one of the regions with the highest monastic occupation of Western Europe, desperately needed their support to implement his policies and establish his juridical authority and fiscal autonomy. The creation of the Bishopric of Arras and his own appointment had both been hotly contested by anti-Gregorians, not least by the bishops of Cambrai, whose relations with a number of monasteries now in Arras had been excellent. Gaining the full—but by no means *a priori* guaranteed—cooperation of the leaders of his monastic houses was therefore vital to maintaining his position. Despite presiding over a bishopric that was poorer than many of its monastic institutions, he made donations to several of these houses, assisted in founding new chapters of regular canons, and supported—or at least tolerated—the introduction of Cluniac customs in his monasteries.<sup>19</sup> In return, he demanded the support of monastic leaders in imposing his authority and consolidating, as well as financing, the bishopric's new institutions.

Lambert's charters and letters bear witness to the fact that he incessantly reminded his monastic subjects of their obligation to show him obedience (*oboedientia*) and reverence (*reverentia*).<sup>20</sup> A series of privileges issued by Lambert between 1097 and 1111/12 reveals that he methodically set out to ensure his abbots formally recognized these obligations and to preserve the memory (and hence, the legal evidence) of such agreements in writing. A recurrent—and by no means exceptional—reference to these concerns is his insistence on the monasteries' duty to pay a yearly sum either to him or to his archdeacon<sup>21</sup> and to assist him in the exercise of his office. Charters issued among others to the abbeys of Saint-Amand (1097) and Denain (1113) added that it was the obligation of all the male and

<sup>19</sup>See Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*, p. 29 for Lambert's interest in the Rule of St. Benedict and the introduction of Cluniac reform. On the reforms, see Etienne Sabbe, "La réforme clunisienne dans le comté de Flandre au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 9 (1930), 121–38; and Steven Vanderputten, "Fulcard's Pigsty. Cluniac Reformers, Dispute Settlement and the Lower Aristocracy in Early-Twelfth-Century Flanders," *Viator*, 38 (2007), 91–115.

<sup>20</sup>Regrettably, Charles Dereine's projected study of Lambert's policy concerning the defense of episcopal prerogatives never saw the light of day (see "Les limites de l'exemption monastique dans le diocèse de Thérouanne au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Messines, Saint-Georges-lez-Hesdin et Saint-Bertin," *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire de Comines, Warneton et de la Région*, 13 [1983], 39–56, here 48n33).

<sup>21</sup>Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*, P 77, P 81, and P 82.

female leaders of these houses to attend the synod and sessions of the episcopal court.<sup>22</sup> In 1110 the prior of Abbeville was reminded of his duty to obey the bishop,<sup>23</sup> as was the future head of the priory of Ambrines, given to the abbey of Sainte-Trinité in Rouen in 1111.<sup>24</sup> Privileges granted to confirm the possession of a number of altars and rights to the abbeys of Saint-Denis of Reims (1097) and Saint-Amand (1097) indicated that the bishop had to confirm the appointment by the monks of all priests to these altars.<sup>25</sup>

Lambert also used his experience of canon law to ensure that he could influence the recruitment and fidelities of future monastic leaders. Thus, his insistence that, although monks had the right to freely elect their abbot, they had to request a permit for election (*licentia eligendi*) upon the death of the current abbot is understandable.<sup>26</sup> Lambert reserved the right to refuse newly elected abbots, and several texts in the *Register* refer to the legal necessity of his approval.<sup>27</sup> When Abbot Gelduinus of Anchin resigned from office in 1110, the monks sent a letter to Lambert notifying him of Robert's election as abbot and requesting his approval.<sup>28</sup> Since Robert, for his part, resigned from office before he had received the bishop's benediction, the fact that this essentially redundant letter was included in the *Register* bears witness to Lambert's preoccupation with this prerogative. Finally, two charters from 1097 confirm the right of free election respectively to the canons of Mont-Saint-Eloi and Arrouaise, but stipulate that the prior-elect must pay a visit to the bishop to receive the benefice of the place (*beneficium loci*), the cure of souls (*cura animarum*), and the abbot's blessing.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Tock, *Les chartes*, nn17 (Saint-Amand), 20 (Denain). Benoît-Michel Tock, ed., *Les chartes des évêques d'Arras (1093-1203)* (Paris, 1991).

<sup>23</sup>Tock, *Les chartes*, n16.

<sup>24</sup>Tock, *Les chartes*, n18. Similar stipulations were included in contemporary charters of the bishops of Thérouanne. Dereine argues that, even when they were left unmentioned, such obligations were taken for granted ("Les limites," p. 48).

<sup>25</sup>Tock, *Les chartes*, nn1, 5. See also nn6 (Saint-Vaast), 9 (Marchiennes), 11 (Maubeuge), 14 (Corbie), 19 (Saint-Pierre in Lille), and 20 (Denain).

<sup>26</sup>A vivid description of a contemporary election at the abbey of Saint-Bertin, in the nearby Diocese of Thérouanne, is found in Simon of Ghent's *Chronicle of the Abbey*. Benjamin Guérard, *Le cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin* (Paris, 1841), pp. 210-11.

<sup>27</sup>Tock, *Les chartes*, n4; also Giordanengo, *Le registre*, E 74, E 101, E 102, E 110, E 112, and E 113.

<sup>28</sup>Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*, E 102.

<sup>29</sup>Tock, *Les chartes*, nn3, 4. A charter of 1090 issued by Bishop Radbod of Tournai confirming the foundation of the abbey of Oudenburg explicitly mentions the neces-

The *Register* thus gives the impression that Lambert was reluctant to stray outside the boundaries of canonic tradition in his attempts to subject his monastic subjects to his authority. Contemporary liturgical evidence, however, is revealing in terms of his attitudes toward both monastic autonomy and the potentially far-reaching implications of the use of the written word in the benediction ritual.

### The Five Abbatial Promises

One of the lesser-known versions of the *Register* (also known as the “second state”) includes several miscellaneous sections that have to date escaped the scrutiny of scholars.<sup>30</sup> One of these is “Formulas Used by the Abbots of the Diocese of Arras, in Which They Promised Obedience to Bishop Lambert of Arras” (*Formulae quibus usi sunt abbates diocoesis Atrebatensis promittentes obedientiam Lamberto episcopo Atrebatensi*; see appendix B).<sup>31</sup> What follows is the text of five promises, only the first of which is reproduced in its entirety, by four abbots and one prior. Seemingly unremarkable for their brevity and formulaic nature, and almost identical to those found in late-twelfth-century ordinals, these are of particular interest for several reasons. First, as transcriptions of actual *promissiones* and certainly as a series of such documents, they are an early find among the episcopal archives of northern France.<sup>32</sup> Second, because of the preservation of a contemporary formula for the benediction of abbots, the promises may be compared and analyzed in light of adaptations to the liturgy of abbatial benediction. Third, because they are preserved as a small collection, hypotheses may be formulated about the circumstances in which the practice was introduced.

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sity of episcopal benediction. Maurits Gysseling and A. C. F. Koch, eds., *Diplomata Belgica ante annum millesimum centesimum scripta* (Brussels, 1950), 1:287–88.

<sup>30</sup>Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter BnF), Ms. Lat. 12827 (c. 1590) and Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale (hereafter BM), 841 (eighteenth century).

<sup>31</sup>BnF Ms. Lat. 12827, fols. 123 r–v; Cambrai, BM, 841, pp. 85–86. The promises also were transcribed on a loose sheet of paper now preserved in Paris, BnF Ms. Picardie 60, fol. 11r (eighteenth century; see Philippe Lauer, *Collection manuscrites sur l'histoire des provinces de France. Inventaire, II* [Paris, 1911], pp. 103–04).

<sup>32</sup>For a discussion of written *promissiones* in the neighboring Diocese of Tournai, see Steven Vanderputten, “Episcopal Benediction and Monastic Autonomy in the Late Twelfth-Century Bishopric of Tournai: The Curious Blessing of Hugo, First Abbot of Saint-André (1187/88),” *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 106 (2011), 37–60.



Before the place of these written promises can be assessed in the development of canon legislation and liturgical practice, they must be dated, and their protagonists must be identified. As the title indicates, Lambert was the bishop taking the promises of all five abbots, which narrows their dating to c. 1093/94–1115. The abbots in question are (in order) four Benedictines—Alvisus (1111–31)<sup>33</sup> and Gelduin (1102–10 and briefly 1111) of Anchin,<sup>34</sup> Henry of Saint-Vaast (1104–30),<sup>35</sup> and Fulcard of Marchiennes (1102–15)<sup>36</sup>—and one regular canon, Richard of Mont-Saint-Eloi (1108–34).<sup>37</sup> Of these five men, only Gelduin is designated as “ordained” (*ordinatus*), whereas the others are “to be ordained” (*ordinandus*). This, and the fact that Alard II of Marchiennes (who briefly held office in 1102–03) is not included, suggest that the list covers promises pronounced in a period that falls roughly between the latter half of 1103, around the time of Fulcard’s benediction, and sometime in 1111, when Alvisus was confirmed as abbot of Anchin. Table 1 provides a summary of monastic leaders and the abbatial *promissiones* potentially submitted during Lambert’s time in office.

As far as can be ascertained, only Robert of Anchin and Boniface of Hasnon are missing from the list. Robert resigned so quickly from

<sup>33</sup>Alvisus, former monk of Saint-Bertin and prior of the reformed monastery of Saint-Vaast from 1109, was elected abbot of Anchin in 1111. In 1131 he was appointed bishop of Arras, an office he held until his death in 1146; see Heinrich Sproemberg, *Alvisus, Abt von Anchin (1111–1131)* (Berlin, 1931); Heinrich Sproemberg, notice on Alvisus in *Biographie Nationale*, XXXIII (Brussels, 1965), c. 27–35; Jean-Pierre Gerzaguët, *L'abbaye d'Anchin de sa fondation (1079) au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Essor, vie et rayonnement d'une grande communauté bénédictine* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1997), pp. 75–89, 302–03; and Steven Vanderputten, “A Time of Great Confusion. Second-Generation Cluniac Reformers and Resistance to Centralization in the County of Flanders (circa 1125–45),” *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 102 (2007), 47–75.

<sup>34</sup>On Gelduin, a former monk of Anchin, see Gerzaguët, *L'abbaye d'Anchin*, pp. 75–79, 302.

<sup>35</sup>Adolphe De Cardevacque and Auguste Teirninck, *L'abbaye de Saint-Vaast. Monographie historique, archéologique et littéraire de ce monastère* (Arras, 1845), pp. 124–30.

<sup>36</sup>Vanderputten, “Fulcard’s Pigsty.”

<sup>37</sup>Adolphe De Cardevacque, *L'abbaye du Mont-Saint-Éloi 1068–1792* (Arras, 1859), pp. 20–23; Odile Barubé, *L'abbaye du Mont-Saint-Éloi des origines au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Poitiers, 1977), pp. 121, 172–73. Mont-Saint-Éloi was the first institution in the bishopric to have made the transition from a relatively loose, secular set-up to a form of communal life inspired by traditional monasticism. Barubé, *L'abbaye*, pp. 52–76. On the earlier history of this institution, see Brigitte Meijns, “Deux fondations exceptionnelles de collégiales épiscopales à la frontière du comté de Flandre: Maroeuil et le Mont-Saint-Éloi (milieu du X<sup>e</sup> siècle),” *Revue du Nord*, 88 (2006), 251–74.

TABLE 1. Overview of Monastic Leaders in the Diocese of Arras during Lambert's Time in Office

Institution	Denomination	Founded/ Reformed	Abbots/Abbesses <sup>a</sup>
Anchin	Benedictine monks	1079	Haimeric (1088–October 19, 1102); <b>Gelduin</b> (late 1102–July 1110; 1111); Robert (1110–11); <b>Alvisus</b> (1111–31)
Denain	Benedictine nuns	Seventh or eighth century/ reformed c. 1024	Heldiardis (c. 1113) <sup>b</sup>
Etrun	Benedictine nuns	1085 (?)	Fulgendis (c. 1088–before 1119) <sup>c</sup>
Hasnon	Benedictine monks	1065	Albert (1091–April 21, 1109); Boniface (1109–September 13, 1118) <sup>d</sup>
Marchiennes	Benedictine monks	Seventh century/ reformed 1024	Richard (1091–1102); Alard II (1102–September 22, 1103); <b>Fulcard</b> (1103–15)
Mont-Saint-Eloi	Regular canons	Reformed 1067	John I (c. 1068–1108); <b>Richard de Wattrelos</b> (before July 17, 1108–1130)
Saint-Vaast	Benedictine monks	Seventh century/ reformed 1021	Adlold (1068–1104); <b>Henry</b> (1104–30)

<sup>a</sup>Abbots and priors for whom the *promissio* is preserved are indicated in boldface type.

<sup>b</sup>Jean-Pierre Gerzaguët, *L'abbaye féminine de Denain des origines à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Histoire et chartes* (Paris, 2007), p. 124.

<sup>c</sup>*Gallia Christiana* 3 (Paris, 1725), c. 419; Bernard Delmaire, *Le diocèse d'Arras de 1093 au milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Recherches sur la vie religieuse dans le nord de la France au moyen âge*, 2 vols. (Arras, 1994), p. 201; Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society. Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215* (Ithaca, NY, 1997), pp. 67, 110–11; Jean-Pierre Gerzaguët, "La fondation d'une communauté de moniales bénédictines à Etrun (diocèse d'Arras-Cambrai en 1088 [?])." in *Retour aux sources: textes, études et documents d'histoire médiévale offerts à Michel Parisse*, ed. Sylvain Gougenheim (Paris, 2004), pp. 129–41. According to an eighteenth-century list of abbesses, Fulgendis became abbess in 1086 and died in 1124. Beatrix was elected as her successor no later than 1118 (BNF Picardie 60, fol. 58r–v).

<sup>d</sup>Jules Dewez, *Histoire de l'abbaye de St. Pierre d'Hasnon* (Lille, 1890), pp. 109–13; Jean Nazet, "Crises et réformes dans les abbayes Hainuyères du IX<sup>e</sup> au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Recueil d'études d'histoire Hainuyère offertes à Maurice A. Arnould* 1, ed. Jean-Marie Cauchies and Jean-Marie Duvosquel (Mons, 1983), pp. 478–81.

office that he probably did not receive the bishop's benediction.<sup>38</sup> Boniface's absence is less easy to explain, as his monastery was not exempt from the usual obligations to the *ordinarius*. For instance, one of Lambert's letters from 1108 calls for the assistance of the abbots of Saint-Vaast, Marchiennes, Hasnon, and Anchin at a session of the episcopal court.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, Boniface's name itself is conspicuously absent from the *Register* and from the lists of witnesses of charters issued by Lambert, suggesting perhaps that this abbot was less involved in the exercise of episcopal authority than some of his colleagues. For all we know, he may have refused to promise obedience. Alternatively, the original of his promise may have been lost at an early date, and the list may have been incomplete from its inception.

In any case, the list of promises comprises all but one (or, less likely, two) of those potentially made by the newly elected heads of communities of Benedictine monks and regular canons in the Diocese of Arras between 1103 and Lambert's death in 1115. For those abbots, priors, and abbesses from the diocese who had held office at the time of Lambert's election, there had been no formal need for such a promise, as they had evidently been consecrated by one of his predecessors. To accommodate the juridical problem caused by the fact that they had previously promised obedience to the bishop of Cambrai/Arras, on March 25 or 26, 1094 Urban II had issued a letter liberating all abbots (Adlold of Saint-Vaast, Richard of Marchiennes, Albert of Hasnon, and Haimeric of Anchin) and abbesses (unnamed heads of Denain and Etrun) of the diocese and their subjects from their obligations to the bishop of Cambrai and ordaining them to obey the new bishop of Arras.<sup>40</sup> When a new generation of abbots was elected, Lambert complemented this document of juridical significance with written records of the actual promises as they had been pronounced, thus creating a body of evidence that clearly attested to his belief that the survival of the bishopric itself depended on the continued collaboration between himself and these powerful men. Whether or not such documents were ever made for the two missing heads of female monasteries cannot be verified.

<sup>38</sup>Gerzaguët, *L'abbaye d'Anchin*, p. 302.

<sup>39</sup>Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*, Q 88. For a general discussion of the role of abbots as witnesses in the episcopal charters of Arras, see Benoît-Michel Tock, "Les listes des témoins dans les chartes des évêques d'Arras (1093–1203)," *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 37 (1991), 85–118.

<sup>40</sup>Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*, G 29.

## Liturgical Innovation in Arras

In his charters, letters, and other documents, Lambert only refers to ecclesiastical legislation regarding the obligation of abbatial obedience and not to the fact that abbots were actually expected to make a formal, and personalized, promise to that effect at the time of their benediction. In the privileges of Abbeville and Sainte-Trinité, he retraces its origin to canon 8 of the Council of Chalcedon—just as his master, Ivo of Chartres, had done in his writings<sup>41</sup>—and to its confirmation by Urban II at the Council of Clermont in 1095.<sup>42</sup> Such arguments could be expected of a man trained as a specialist in ecclesiastical legislation. The *Collectio of Arras*, a canonical manuscript dated after 1078 but before 1096/99, may have originated under his supervision and carries some resemblance to the work of Ivo of Chartres.<sup>43</sup> Lambert certainly encouraged, or at least allowed for, intensive study of its contents during his first years in office. The *Collectio 9 librorum*, another manuscript written by his former fellow student (and future bishop of Thérouanne) John of Warneton, was partially based on the *Collectio of Arras* and was presumably written during John's time as archdeacon in Arras.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup>The comments of his master, Ivo of Chartres, on this subject in his *Panormia*, presumably written in the early years of Lambert's episcopacy, are based precisely on canon 8 of Chalcedon (*Panormia*, bk. III, chap. 147; the best current edition is a provisional one by Bruce Brasington and Martin Brett, at <http://wtfaculty.wtamu.edu/~bbrasington/panormia.html>; accessed March 2, 2010). In his *Decretum*, which preceded the *Panormia*, he also included the chapter "That Abbots Must Be under the Power of Bishops" (*Ut abbates in potestate episcoporum consistant*), quoted from canon 42 of the Council of Arles (*Decretum*, bk. VII, chap. 85; [http://project.knowledgeforge.net/ivo/decretum/ivodec\\_7\\_1p4.pdf](http://project.knowledgeforge.net/ivo/decretum/ivodec_7_1p4.pdf); accessed March 2, 2010).

<sup>42</sup>Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*, P 83 and P 85. The relevant Chalcedon canon is edited in Paulus Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (Leipzig, 1863), p. 286, c. 8. There is no "official" collection of canons from the Council of Clermont, but one canon dealing with this subject is c. 9 of the Oxford collection (ed. Robert Somerville, *Decreta Claromontensia* (Amsterdam, 1972), pp. 58, 114, 149). See also Ludwig Falkenstein, "Monachisme et pouvoir hiérarchique à travers les textes pontificaux (X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles)," in *Moines et monastères dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin*, ed. Jean-Loup Lemaître (Geneva, 1996), pp. 389–418.

<sup>43</sup>Arras, Médiathèque, 425; see Lotte Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140). A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature* (Washington, DC, 1999), p. 279; and Linda Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis canonum: Selected Canon Law Collections before 1140; Access with Data Processing* (Hannover, 2005), pp. 206–07.

<sup>44</sup>Ghent, University Library, 235; the most acceptable dating is between early 1096 and summer 1099. L. Waelkens and D. Van den Auweele, "La collection de Thérouanne en IX livres à l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin: le codex Gandavensis 235,"



However, Lambert and his abbots undoubtedly were aware that his predecessors in Cambrai/Arras had reshaped liturgical tradition to focus attention on abbatial obedience. These interventions can be witnessed in the *Cambrai ordinale*, a liturgical handbook written around the middle of the eleventh century for use by Gerard I (1012–51) or his successor, Lietbert (1051–76) of Cambrai/Arras.<sup>45</sup> Based for the most part on the *Romano-Germanic pontifical* and Regino of Prüm's handbook of canon law, the manuscript added significant sections and formulas sourced from other traditions such as the important one formulated originally by Gennadius of Marseille in the late-fifth century that pertained to the *scrutinium*, or interrogation of newly elected abbots before the local bishop blessed them.<sup>46</sup> According to a crucial passage in the *ordinale*'s lengthy benediction formula, the bishop was to ask the abbot: "Do you wish to show your submission and obedience to the holy Church of Cambrai, to me and to my successors, as prescribed by canonical authority and the decrees of the holy pontiffs?"<sup>47</sup> The abbot's answer then had to be "I do" or, literally, "I wish" (*volo*). This was a significant shift in meaning from previous traditions regarding the benediction of abbots, where "in contrast with secular fidelity and obedience, [the promise of obedience] expressed the monk's renunciation of will rather than the superior's power or authority."<sup>48</sup> For example, the benediction for-

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*Sacris Erudiri*, 24 (1980), 115–53; Meijns, "Without were fightings," p. 73; also Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, pp. 262–63; and Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis Canonum*, pp. 209–14.

<sup>45</sup>Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 141. On the dating and the contents of this volume, see Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Age I. Les manuscrits* (Louvain, 1931), pp. 108–14; Sigrid Schulten, "Die Buchmalerei des 11. Jahrhunderts im Kloster St. Vaast in Arras," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 7 (1956), 49–90, here 64–66; Andreas Odenthal and Joachim M. Plotzek, "Pontificale Cameracense," in *Glaube und Wissen im Mittelalter. Die Kölner Dombibliothek. Katalogbuch zur Ausstellung Glaube und Wissen im Mittelalter – die Kölner Dombibliothek, Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum Köln, 7. August bis 15. November 1998*, ed. Joachim M. Plotzek (Munich, 1998), pp. 405–08; and Diane J. Reilly, *The Art of Reform in Eleventh-Century Flanders: Gerard of Cambrai, Richard of Saint-Vanne, and the Saint-Vaast Bible* (Boston, 2006), pp. 115–19, 185.

<sup>46</sup>Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 141, fols. 135r–40r; on the origins of the *scrutinium*, see Grégoire, "La promesse," p. 308.

<sup>47</sup>"Vis sanctae [Cameracensi] ecclesie et michi meisque successoribus subiectionem et oboedientiam exhibere secundum canonicam auctoritatem et decreta sanctorum pontificum?" Respondat: "Volo." The reference to Cambrai was erased after 1093–94, when the monks of Saint-Vaast, the apparent owners of the manuscript, came under the authority of the bishop of Arras.

<sup>48</sup>Giles Constable, *Three Treatises from Bec on the Nature of Monastic Life* (Buffalo, NY, 2008), p. 22.

mula in the tenth-century *Romano-Germanic Pontifical* did not refer in any way to abbatial obedience; instead, it focused on the newly elected abbot's willingness to observe his purpose (*propositum*) and the Rule of St. Benedict, and to instruct his subjects to do the same.<sup>49</sup> Other pontificals from the ninth century up to the middle of the eleventh include, for the most part, very brief blessing formulae. None of these refer to any meaning of obedience other than those traditionally attributed in monastic culture itself.<sup>50</sup> Thus, in its description of abbatial benediction, the *Cambrai ordinale* represents an approach to the relationship between a bishop and his abbots that broke with tradition. It also is the earliest known example of a spoken *promissio* that—sometimes with slight variations in the word order—would find broad acceptance more than a century later. Victor Leroquais's monumental work on pontificals in French library collections includes at least two-dozen examples of such formulas, the earliest of which originates from Chartres and dates from the second half or end of the twelfth century.<sup>51</sup>

By that time, bishops had developed an even more complex scenario for the benediction ritual, and this, too, is reflected in the pontificals. After the abbot had been interrogated and after he had replied to the bishop's questions in the affirmative, he, according to some handbooks, was expected to read a document (*promissio*) aloud in which he proclaimed his subjection (*subiectio*), reverence (*reverentia*), and obedience (*obedientia*) to the *ordinarius*. Following this, the *promissio* was placed on the altar and "written [i.e., subscribed] by the abbot."<sup>52</sup> From the late-twelfth century onward, there also exist

<sup>49</sup>Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle. Le texte I* (Vatican City, 1963), p. 62.

<sup>50</sup>Niels Krogh Rasmussen's study of pontificals from the ninth to the early-eleventh century has shown that abbatial benediction formulas were very succinct (*Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge. Genèse du livre de l'évêque* [Leuven, 1998]). In the early-tenth-century sacramentary of St. Petersburg, originating from Sens, the *benedictio ad abbatem faciendum vel abbatissam* is as follows: "Concede quaesumus omnipotens Deus ut famulum tuum ill. vel illam nostra electione placeamus. Per Dominum" (Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge*, p. 107). More elaborate, but still lacking the interrogation of the abbot, is the pontifical from Sherborne Cathedral, dating back to the second half of the tenth century (Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge*, pp. 311–13).

<sup>51</sup>Victor Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1937), II:19. Another notable example is an early-thirteenth-century *ordinale* from Cambrai (Leroquais, *Les pontificaux* I:98–99).

<sup>52</sup>*Ordinale* of Odo of Montaigu, described in Leroquais, *Les pontificaux* II:79.

dozens of actual *promissiones*, preserved either as loose documents (*chartulae* or *scedulae*) or annotated in the margins and on the end leaves of cartularies and pontificals.<sup>53</sup> The introduction of the written *promissio* in the benediction ritual should not be interpreted merely as the result of efforts to accommodate the growing impact of the written word in contemporary government and jurisdiction. In fact, the earliest references to the use of the written *promissio* in the benediction ritual are contemporary to the *Cambrai ordinale*. On the flyleaf of the *ordinale* used by the bishops of Lyon, there is a promise made by the abbot of Saint-Martin-d'Ainay to Archbishop Halinard of Lyon (1046–52).<sup>54</sup> In the Anglo-Norman kingdom, Archbishop Lanfranc (1070–89) probably was responsible for the introduction of a similar formula in the 1070s.<sup>55</sup> In 1088, the Norman bishop Odo of Bayeux demanded a written promise from Abbot Arnoul of Troan, but the following year, Abbot Serlo of St. Evroult refused to give a similar document to Gilbert, bishop of Lisieux.<sup>56</sup> As early as c. 1124, the “definitive” version of the *promissio* formula as found (with minor variations) in the late-twelfth- and thirteenth-century ordinals was used by Herbert, abbot of Saint-Seine, to promise obedience to Guillenc, bishop of Langres.<sup>57</sup> This evolution toward the use and fixed formula of the *promissio* was by no means linear or universal. In a pontifical from Aurillac that is contemporary to Herbert’s promise, the formula for the benediction of abbots contains no reference at all to a promise of obedience, let alone to a written *promissio*.<sup>58</sup>

These fragmentary indications leave us in the dark as to when and where the liturgical formula that included the written *promissio* emerged and in what circumstances the actual text of the *promissio*, as it later would become standard practice, was conceived. It is, however, possible, to identify several periods where evidence for the attempted introduction of the *promissio* converges. As Giles Constable has shown and as Herbert’s promise suggests, the years 1120–30 compose one such period. In a treatise on the profession of abbots, an anonymous monk from Bec, presumably writing in the 1130s, fulminated against the introduction of the written

<sup>53</sup>Grémois, “La promesse,” pp. 308–10.

<sup>54</sup>Leroquais, *Les pontificaux* II:235.

<sup>55</sup>Constable, “Abbatial Profession,” p. 113, with references.

<sup>56</sup>Constable, “Abbatial Profession,” p. 116; also Gazeau, *Normannia monastica. Princes normands*, p. 81.

<sup>57</sup>Leroquais, *Les pontificaux* II:147.

<sup>58</sup>Leroquais, *Les pontificaux* II:11.

*promissio*, calling it an “unmerited novelty” (*inmerita novitas*) and arguing that to complement the oral promise with a written version transformed the canonical promise into something akin to the secular homage and an obligation of service.<sup>59</sup> His arguments were by no means the product of an overactive imagination—bishops were indeed pushing toward a definition of obedience as an obligation of service, finding support within the First Lateran Council of 1123, which formally acknowledged a “secular” interpretation of monastic obedience by arguing that monks were obliged to show the bishops obedience and subjection in all.<sup>60</sup> In the thirteenth-century pontifical of the Roman Curia, an oath of fidelity even formally replaced the promise of obedience.<sup>61</sup>

This intended shift in meaning and the far-reaching implications thereof is reflected in the few written *promissiones* that are preserved for the period up to the middle of the twelfth century. Regarding those made to Halinard, archbishop of Lyon, the abbot had to “promise in front of God and his saints and the present altar . . . honourable *subjection* to Lord Halinard and his successors . . . and his authority.”<sup>62</sup> The model for a *promissio* found in a late-eleventh- or early-twelfth-century *ordinale* for Châlons was more explicit, but at least the promise was still made to the episcopal see and not to the bishop in person:

I N., now to be ordained, promise that I shall show in perpetuity and sign with my own hand the subjection and reverence established by the holy Fathers and obedience according to the precept of the holy Bishop Augustine to the holy church of the see of Châlons in the presence of the lord bishop N.<sup>63</sup>

Finally, the one eventually adopted in many manuals of the late-twelfth and thirteenth centuries was more far-reaching in including the promise of “subjection and reverence . . . and obedience . . . to this holy see

<sup>59</sup>Edited in Constable, *Three Treatises*, pp. 107–33, with comments on p. 26; see also Jean Leclercq, “Un traité sur ‘la profession des abbés’ au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Analecta Monastica (Studia Anselmiana)*, 50 (Rome, 1962), pp. 177–91, and Constable, “Abbatial Profession.”

<sup>60</sup>Leon F. Strieder, *The Promise of Obedience. A Ritual History* (Collegeville, MN, 2001), p. 61; on the pope’s attitude, see Constable, “Abbatial Profession,” pp. 114–15.

<sup>61</sup>Strieder, *The Promise*, pp. 60–61.

<sup>62</sup>“ . . . promitto coram Deo et sanctis eius et hoc presenti altare . . . dignam subjectionem domini Halinardi . . .” Leroquais, *Les pontificaux* II:235, emphasis added.

<sup>63</sup>Quoted and translated in Constable, “Abbatial Profession,” p. 112.



... and to you, father bishop, and your successors." In some cases, abbots were happy to accept these implications, but not for reasons that were necessarily identical to those of their *ordinarius*. Competition between monasteries could be one of these: in 1134, the abbot of Le Pin claimed that the newly founded Cistercian monastery of Mortemer should recognize its dependency from his own institution. Abbot Alexander of Mortemer, clearly seeking to establish his authority as an independent monastic leader, argued before Hugo III, archbishop of Rouen, that the abbot of Le Pin had "liberated me in the hand of the archbishop" and that he himself had "done the profession [to the latter] in writing and in speech, according to ecclesiastical custom."<sup>64</sup> Yet, although he and Heribert of Saint-Seine agreed to produce a written *promissio*, several of their contemporaries strongly resisted the practice because of the aforementioned implications. In 1118/24, the abbey of Marmoutier and Gilbert, archbishop of Tours, reached an agreement that the abbot would be blessed "without investigation, without writing, without profession."<sup>65</sup> Pope Calixtus II probably supported this agreement and issued a privilege in 1122 freeing St. Florence in Saumur from the profession, but without referring to written practices.<sup>66</sup>

These indications allow us to conclude that the third and fourth decades of the twelfth century were by all accounts a decisive phase in the use of written *promissiones*, even if it would take at least half a century before these changes became apparent in liturgical handbooks. The five examples in Lambert's *Register*, however, push the first attested use of the "definitive" formula nearly a quarter of a century back in time, thus belying the notion that the new meaning of the promise was only consolidated in the 1120s–40s. This in itself is not surprising, as debates over monastic autonomy had been ongoing since the final decades of the eleventh century. Constable's contextu-

<sup>64</sup>J. Bouvet, ed., "Le Récit de la fondation de Mortemer," in *Collectanea ordinis Cisterciensium reformatorum*, 22 (1960), 149–68, here 156, emphasis added. A similar episode occurred in 1188, when the community of Sint-Andries near the Flemish town of Bruges attempted to relinquish its status as a priory of the abbey of Affligem. A contemporary account of its new leader's frantic quest around the episcopal courts of the region to receive abbatial benediction is found in Charles Van Den Haute, ed., "Une chronique inédite de l'abbaye de Saint-André-lez-Bruges du XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges* 59 (1909), 284–302; see also Vanderputten, "Episcopal Benediction."

<sup>65</sup>Quoted in Constable, *Three Treatises*, p. 27n85.

<sup>66</sup>Constable, "Abbatial Profession," p. 114.

alization of the introduction of the written *promissio*—as an instrument of episcopal control—therefore continues to hold water.<sup>67</sup>

For a man well versed in the study of liturgical and canonic traditions, it would be surprising to find that Lambert had not anchored the practices of which there are the five concrete examples in a liturgical formula, as had been the case at Châlons. An *Ordo ad monachum abbatem faciendum* at the end of a contemporary copy of the Rule of St. Benedict made for use at Arras cathedral confirms his interest in changing liturgical tradition (see appendix A).<sup>68</sup> Retaining almost nothing from the lengthy *ordo* in the *Cambrai ordinale* (which, it should be noted, was kept at the time at the abbey of Saint-Vaast in Arras), the new *ordo* contained relatively few choreographic instructions, focusing instead on the recitation of prayers and hymns and on the interrogation of the candidate-elect. Once that part of the ritual had been completed, the candidate had to read aloud from a document (*scedula*) that contained his promise. The prescribed contents of the *scedula* are identical to the five abbatial promises. Thus, this earliest documented appearance in a French liturgical handbook of the formula of the written promise can be studied in conjunction with a coherent body of texts relating to its application.<sup>69</sup> Such innovations, even for a bishop considered by scholars to be a man of moderate attitudes toward his monastic subjects, were neither innocent nor insignificant.

### Ideological and Formal Implications of the *Promissiones*

Of course, the early appearance of the extended benediction ritual and the written *promissio* in Arras does not necessarily mean that they were conceived there. The contemporary *ordinale* from Châlons

<sup>67</sup>Constable, "Abbatial Profession," pp. 106–08; on the beginnings of the oral *promissio* in Normandy, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica. Princes normands*, p. 80.

<sup>68</sup>Arras, Médiathèque, 1031 (olim 745), fols. 21r–23v, with the promise on fols. 22r–v; see Reilly, *The Art of Reform*, pp. 117–20. Besides the *Rule* and the *ordo ad monachum faciendum*, the manuscript also contains an *ordo* for the consecration of abbesses. Since only twenty-nine folios remain of what originally would have been a volume of at least seventy, we can only guess about the material that the manuscript originally contained. See Henri Lorient, *Rapport présenté à M. le ministre de l'instruction publique sur l'identification de fragments de manuscrits trouvés à Calais, en 1884 suivi d'un tableau des déprédations commises en 1816 sur les Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Arras* (Arras, 1886), p. 27.

<sup>69</sup>Bibolet, "Serments"; Grégoire, "La promesse," pp. 310, 312.

suggests that others were working with similar *formulae*, and until new evidence comes to light, the safest option is probably to assume that at the time several models were circulating among bishops keen to take action against monastic autonomy.<sup>70</sup> The inspiration for its contents and physical format certainly derived from various sources. Although scholars have sometimes argued that the consecration of bishops inspired the ritual of the benediction of abbots,<sup>71</sup> the use of the written word in the context of these rituals in contrast reminds of the monastic *petitio*. Like Benedict who had instructed those novices wishing to enter the monastic life, the benediction *ordo* instructs the candidate to confirm the promise “by his own hand.”<sup>72</sup> It certainly does not seem too far-fetched to imagine a scribe working at Arras cathedral preparing the document for the benediction ceremony and handing it to the newly elected abbot for the latter to subscribe it immediately after the *scrutinium*.<sup>73</sup> The kinship of the monastic vows and the abbatial benediction was in fact not a new invention. As we have seen, benediction *formulae* from before 1050, even though they do not refer to the written *promissio*, are more akin to the monastic vows with respect to ideology than the one found in the *Cambrai ordinale*.<sup>74</sup> Although Lambert was not inclined to abandon the more secular interpretation of abbatial obedience of his immediate predecessors, his choice to use a formula inspired once again by monastic liturgy makes sense. Rather than subscribing to a nuptial or baptismal interpretation of obedience, his benediction formula referred to the formal implications of the *professio*, which Benedict himself had indicated embodied the irrevocable nature of the candidate’s vows.

The contents and the formal appearance of these documents thus indicate that Lambert intended to bestow them with a legal and memorial value and a potential for concrete use comparable to that of the *petitio*. The fact that he insisted on such written practices can be

<sup>70</sup>Lambert himself received a fairly detailed letter about the necessity of abbatial obedience from Archbishop Raoul of Soissons (Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*, E 31), attesting to the fact that the matter was indeed discussed among prelates in office.

<sup>71</sup>Reinhardt, “Die Abtsweihe.”

<sup>72</sup>In charters, the exact meaning of this expression could vary from the physical authorship of a document to the mere approbation of a juridical act; see Benoît-Michel Tock, *Scribes, souscripteurs et témoins dans les actes privés en France (VII<sup>e</sup>-début XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 118–20.

<sup>73</sup>Grémois, “La promesse,” p. 312, quotes examples of late-twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century *promissiones* from Troyes that were all written by scribes but were subscribed by several inexperienced, most likely abbatial, hands.

<sup>74</sup>See, among others, Strieder, *The Promise*, pp. 58–59.

interpreted as an effort by him and his clerics to preserve the memory of these promises and, more important perhaps, to ensure that the abbots in question and their superiors could be confronted with evidence of their acknowledgment of subordination to the bishop. Perhaps this argument was put to use when Fulcard, abbot of Marchiennes, refused to come to the episcopal court between 1108 and 1110 to answer accusations of misconduct.<sup>75</sup> Lambert's letter from 1110 convoking Fulcard to the Council of Reims, rather than focusing on the accusations about his behavior, emphatically referred to his duty of obedience. Looking at the list in which these promises are preserved,<sup>76</sup> it also is worth noting that the compilers found it useful to preserve the record of Gelduin's promise even after Alvisus's election. Considering the methods of preserving monastic *petitiones*, this is not at all surprising. Given the turbulent history of Anchin in recent years (Gelduin resigned in 1110 and was replaced by Robert who resigned almost immediately), and given the fact that Gelduin died only in 1123, we may interpret this as proof that such a promise was considered to be valid formally until a former abbot could no longer return to office. This suggests that such records were intended to be kept in the episcopal archives for as long as any of the previously elected abbots could take office in one of the bishopric's monasteries and, indeed, for as long as the person in question—just like a monk who had made his vows—lived. This leads us to the conclusion that, in all likelihood, the list of promises in the *Register* comprises complete (in the case of Alvisus) or partial (all others) transcriptions of loose documents not dissimilar in use and purpose to the monastic *petitio* and that these were kept in the bishop's archives at least until the promise-giver had died.

To make this resemblance work, however, the bishop and his collaborators inserted references to contemporary diplomatic practice into the actual promise documents. The intention behind the confirmatory cross at the end of Alvisus's promise (although only attested to in two copies of the list) was presumably to show its origins as a real, legally significant, diplomatic document.<sup>77</sup> Later references in

<sup>75</sup>Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*, E 111; regarding Fulcard, see Vanderputten, "Fulcard's Pigsty."

<sup>76</sup>The list roughly corresponds with the order in which the heads of local monasteries were listed as witnesses to episcopal charters. According to Tock ("Les temoins"), this order reflects the status of the different institutions.

<sup>77</sup>A good example is Lambert's charter from 1111 for the canons of Saint-Pierre in Lille (Tock, *Les chartes*, n19); quoted in Tock, *Scribes*, p. 357, with further discussion of



pontificals to the *subscriptio* of these documents and the actual evidence found on the original *promissiones* from late-twelfth-century Troyes indicate that it is indeed likely that the abbots from Arras had been asked to physically sign the document. Therefore, the introduction of the *promissiones* into liturgical practices, their preservation in the episcopal archives, and the composition of the list itself can be used as evidence in current debates about medieval “cartularization,” or the application of broader textual strategies embedded in the social objectives of its makers.<sup>78</sup> So, regardless of the question of whether or not the list of promises was included in the original version of the *Register*, or even if it was actually compiled during Lambert’s lifetime, this suggests that both the bishop’s administration and the bishop himself insisted on recording the promises made by the local abbots—and possibly even replicating their specific form in copies of the originals as well—so that the message conveyed by the formal characteristics of the texts could be retained. The fact that these were then kept in the bishopric’s archives and most likely (if implicitly) referred to when abbots subsequently refused to assist him in the exercise of his office attests to their significance not only as memorial and juridical tools but also as real instruments of episcopal government. In this respect as well, Lambert is an exceptionally early example of a bishop keeping systematic record (be it in their original form or as copies) of abbatial promises.

### The Threat of Monastic Independence

The insistence of Lambert and some of his contemporaries on preserving these records reveals his determination to use the written word as a warranty of his authority. Yet, as we have seen, the formal recording of promises may not have begun until 1103, and Lambert may have consecrated at least one abbot without using the new for-

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the use of crosses on pp. 351–60. According to Tock, there are indications that some crosses found in the episcopal charters of Lambert and Alvisus (the latter was bishop of Arras in 1131–46) were drawn by the bishops themselves (Tock, *Une chancellerie*, p. 99, with references to Tock, *Les chartes*, nn1, 9, 14, 19, 61, 71, 77, 79). Further reading in Michel Parisse, “Croix autographes de souscription dans l’Ouest de la France au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Graphische Symbole in mittelalterlichen Urkunden. Beiträge zur diplomatischen Semiotik*, ed. Peter Rück (Sigmaringen, 1996), pp. 143–56.

<sup>78</sup>For an outstanding overview of current trends in this field of medieval studies, see Pierre Chastang, “Cartulaires, cartularisation et scripturalité médiévale: la structuration d’un nouveau champ de recherche,” *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 49 (2006), 21–31.

mula. This raises the question as to whether the timing of the earliest pieces is a coincidence and whether it can tell us something about the timing of the introduction of the written *promissio* itself. As the evidence and Lambert's own antecedents suggest, he may have been part of a broader movement that considered this an appropriate instrument of episcopal authority, although if, when, and how he would apply it remained essentially his decision. After all, this required important adaptations to the liturgy, but, more important, was an act that undoubtedly would provoke reactions from his monastic subjects. The aforementioned examples of abbots who, already resentful of having to perform a spoken promise, refused to sign a written *promissio* are telling in that respect. In light of Lambert's still-fragile authority, introducing such new formulae and risking an open confrontation with one of his newly elected abbots, even if it potentially could strengthen his public authority, was a decision not to be taken lightly. The fact that the *promissio* did turn up in the Diocese of Arras therefore suggests that Lambert, pressured by circumstances, felt compelled to make a public gesture that emphasized his canonical authority, but, at the same time, jeopardized the stability of his government.

According to Diane Reilly, the *ordo ad monachum faciendum* in the Arras manuscript can be dated to c. 1093–1115. Her *terminus ante quem* is based on paleographic grounds and the assumption that the introduction of Cluniac customs in the Benedictine monasteries of the bishopric subsequently nullified the relevance of the benediction ritual as described in this particular manuscript. Saint-Vaast was reformed in 1109.<sup>79</sup> Anchin, previously under the influence of Cluny, certainly adopted the customs following the election of Alvisus, a former monk of Saint-Bertin who was involved as prior in the reform of Saint-Vaast, in 1111. Marchiennes was reformed in 1115–16.<sup>80</sup> However, to claim that the *ordo*—as it was included in the Arras manuscript—had lost its relevance with the reforms is to disregard the specific nature of Cluniac reform in the county of Flanders and its neighboring regions. Although most Benedictine institutions in the

<sup>79</sup>Sabbe, "La réforme," p. 133. This happened not without resistance from within the community, some members of which retreated to the priory of Haspres and attempted to have it recognized by the pope as an independent monastery. Jean-François Lemarignier, "Le prieuré d'Haspres, ses rapports avec l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast d'Arras et la centralisation monastique au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue du Nord*, 29 (1947), 261–68.

<sup>80</sup>Vanderputten, "Fulcard's Pigsty."

Southern Low Countries were indeed reformed during the first decades of the twelfth century, no independent monastery was ever formally transferred to the authority of the abbot of Cluny, and territorial lords and bishops insisted on negotiating a legal status for the reformed houses that ensured their continuing involvement in these institutions. The dating of the promises does confirm, however, that the *ordo* was written at the latest in the latter half of 1103, long before any of the institutions in the bishopric were reformed.

If the *ordo* can therefore be dated to c. 1093–1103, the question remains as to why the earliest evidence of its actual application, the written record of Gelduin's promise, apparently indicates that the latter had promised obedience *after* receiving his benediction. The answer to this question has to be hypothetical, as the relevant narrative and archival sources are scarce and allow only for ambiguous interpretations. As a church leader, Lambert took part in a broader trend among bishops from the region—including those of Amiens, Cambrai, Châlons-sur-Marne, Chartres (with Ivo of Chartres himself holding on firmly to the *tuitio episcopalis*), Paris, Thérouanne, and Tournai—of growing vigilance with regard to the defense of episcopal prerogatives and of resistance to a trend toward monastic autonomy, both in juridical and financial terms.<sup>81</sup> Urban II supported at least some institutions that were looking to expand their exemptions from episcopal authority and was instrumental in freeing a number of monastic institutions from the abbatial profession; such privileges are already known for the years 1096 and 1098.<sup>82</sup> Lambert, as might be expected from any bishop, did not miss any opportunities to assert his episcopal rights and indicated in his early charters that he intended to hold on to the obedience of his ecclesiastical subjects. Yet, by the look of these and subsequent documents, the canonical basis of his policy hardly gave the appearance of being in a state of transition.

<sup>81</sup>Charles Dereine, "Gérard, évêque de Thérouanne (1083–1096) face aux moines exempts. Le cas des prieurés de Nieppe, Andres et Framécourt," *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire de Comines, Warneton et de la Région*, 10 (1980), 249–64, and Dereine, "Les limites," esp. pp. 52–53. For further reading on exemption, see the references in Dereine's "Les limites" and (among others) Jean-François Lemarignier, "L'exemption monastique et les origines de la réforme grégorienne," in *A Cluny, Congrès scientifique 9-11. 7. 1949* (Dijon, 1950), pp. 288–340; Ludwig Falkenstein, *La papauté et les abbayes française aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Exemption et protection apostolique* (Paris, 1997); and Arnaud Delerce, "Election abbatiale et exemption épiscopale. Un nouveau texte de Calixte II pour Aulps (28 avril 1119)," in *Aspects diplomatiques des voyages pontificaux*, ed. Bernard Barbiche and Rolf Grosse (Paris, 2009), pp. 117–40.

<sup>82</sup>Constable, "Abbatial Profession," pp. 113–14.

Despite the pro-reformist stance of Ivo of Chartres, his canonical writings from the final decade of the eleventh century essentially held on to the same ideas and principles as the authors of the *Cambrai ordinale*, as did the anonymous *Collectio of Arras* (c. 1078–1096/99) and John of Thérouanne's *Collectio 9 librorum* (1096–99).<sup>83</sup>

Soon, however, several of Lambert's colleagues from the region became aware that monasteries in the region were being thrown into a real state of turmoil. In 1101, in the nearby Diocese of Thérouanne, Count Robert II of Flanders and his wife, Clementia, members of the Flemish nobility, and Bishop John of Thérouanne had, after several years of uncertainty, reached an agreement over the Cluniac reform of the abbey of Saint-Bertin.<sup>84</sup> From there, the abbey of Auchy-les-Moines, in the same diocese, was reformed in the same year.<sup>85</sup> Although such reforms were to spread over the entire region, none of the reformed houses would subsequently be formally associated with the Cluniac network. In 1103, however, Count Baldwin of Hainaut and his wife, Ida, became responsible for the sole exception to this rule by donating the priory of Saint-Saulve, in the Diocese of Cambrai, to Cluny.<sup>86</sup> Although Archbishop Manasses II of Reims stipulated in his confirmation charter that the priory was still subject to the authority of the *ordinarius*,<sup>87</sup> the transferral did disturb the political and patrimonial networks of the local lay elite<sup>88</sup> and undoubtedly alerted the bishops from the region to the future possibility of similar events.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>83</sup>On Ivo, see also Constable, "Abbatial Profession," p. 108.

<sup>84</sup>Sabbe, "La réforme," pp. 131–32.

<sup>85</sup>Sabbe, "La réforme," p. 132.

<sup>86</sup>Charles Dereine, "La donation par Baudouin III, comte de Hainaut de Saint-Saulve près de Valenciennes à Cluny (1103)," *Sacris Erudiri*, 26 (1983), 119–53.

<sup>87</sup>"salva . . . in omnibus subiectione et obedientia Cameracensis ecclesia . . ." Charter edited in Albertus Miraeus and Johannes Franciscus Foppens, *Opera diplomatica et historica*, vol. 2 (Louvain and Brussels, 1723), pp. 957–98n38; see Dereine, "La donation." When Pope Paschalis II issued a privilege confirming the properties and rights of the abbey of Affligem, he also stipulated that the abbot had to show the bishop *canonica reverentia*. Johannes Ramackers, ed., *Papsturkunden in den Niederlanden (Belgien, Luxembourg, Holland und Französisch Flandern). II. Urkunden* (Berlin, 1934), pp. 92–94.

<sup>88</sup>Vanderputten, "Fulcard's Pigsty."

<sup>89</sup>This does not mean that Lambert was averse to reform. In 1110 he brought the priory of Saint-Pry under the authority of Saint-Pierre in Abbeville, a Cluniac monastery (Gerzaguët, *L'abbaye d'Anchin*, p. 128), and the *Register* itself contains two letters indicating that Lambert intervened to facilitate the appointment of Alvisus as abbot of Anchin. When he wrote these letters, he was fully aware of Alvisus's reformist intentions (Giordanengo, *Le registre de Lambert*, E 113, E 114).



Even the status of the other reformed houses was no longer entirely certain. In 1111 Abbot Pontius of Cluny would disturb the reformist movement by challenging Saint-Bertin's claims to independence, and it would take a papal privilege to prevent the annexation of the abbey by the Burgundian monastery and its network.<sup>90</sup>

One of those whose authority, legal, and fiscal situation were most critically at risk was Lambert himself. Presiding over a controversial new bishopric with institutions in full formation, he hardly would have welcomed the possibility of monastic wealth and the selection of abbots falling into alien hands. The prospect of reforms and their consequences for the juridical and fiscal position of the *ordinarius* also loomed large as a risk to episcopal authority because of previous tensions with monastic leaders as well as attempts—particularly by Abbot Haimeric of Anchin (1088–1102)—to expand their institutions and temporal wealth beyond the borders of the bishopric. As early as 1088, Anchin, which had only been founded as a monastic institution in 1079, acquired the new priory of Aymeries in the Bishopric of Cambrai<sup>91</sup> and another one in 1094 in the town of Hesdin in the Bishopric of Thérouanne.<sup>92</sup> The political opportunities created by these foundations, and the ensuing close ties between the abbot and several territorial rulers of the region (Count Enguerran of Hesdin [c. 1067–c. 1102] in particular), also could not have been in the interest of the nascent bishopric.<sup>93</sup> Abbot Haimeric's death, the subsequent emergence of the reformist movement, and the news of the creation of Cluniac institutions in the region—all of which occurred in the space of just two years—may have spurred Lambert to take a proactive stance in laying down ground rules for his relationship with the abbots of his bishopric. And not without reason—in 1104 Paschalis would confirm the abbey's extensive properties, while referring to the canonical reverence (*canonica reverentia*) the abbots were

<sup>90</sup>Sproemberg, *Beiträge*, pp. 105–13. Conflicts with Cluny would last into the 1130s.

<sup>91</sup>Erik Van Mingroot, "De 'stichtingsoorkonde' van de O.-L.Vrouwepriorij te Aymeries (1088). Diplomatisch onderzoek," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire—Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis*, 155 (1989), 151–86.

<sup>92</sup>Gerzaguët, *L'abbaye d'Anchin*; Jean-François Nieuws, *Un pouvoir comtal entre Flandre et France. Saint-Pol, 1000–1300* (Brussels, 2005), pp. 65–67; and Steven Vanderputten, "A Compromised Inheritance. Monastic Discourse and the Politics of Property Exchange in Early Twelfth-Century Flanders," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 61 (2010), 219–51.

<sup>93</sup>The abbey of Marchiennes would seek, and receive, exemptions from episcopal authority in 1123 (Falkenstein, *La papauté*, p. 232).

obliged to show to their local bishop.<sup>94</sup> For its part, Gelduin's abbacy would turn out to be a difficult one, marked by his own struggle with the worldly demands of his office; concerns over the monks' discipline; and the protection of the abbey's temporal, but more important (as may be inferred from Paschalis's charter), internal discord.<sup>95</sup> Aware of the risk that the instability of such an important monastic institution posed for his own authority, Lambert may have intervened at this point to at least bind the abbot to himself in his capacity of *ordinarius*. Considering what would happen at Marchiennes (the disastrous abbacy of Fulcard) and Saint-Vaast (attempted secession of the priory of Haspres) just a few years later, such precautions were not only necessary, but probably vital to the survival of the bishopric's fragile institutions. Even when helping to consolidate the stability of his abbeys, Lambert had reason to be suspicious of their strategies. Whereas his privilege charter for the canons of Mont-Saint-Eloi had explicitly stipulated that they were free to elect their leader "with the council and authority of the bishop," Delmaire has remarked that all references to the bishop's right of approval were omitted in Paschalis's bull for the same monastery from 1104.<sup>96</sup> The existence of a *promissio* made by a later prior of the same institution suggests that the impact of this omission may have been minimal, at least in theory if not in practice. However, it seems beyond question that the bishop and his monastic subjects (aided perhaps by the papal institutions) were acting in the midst of a fairly tense climate.

Although we can no longer verify if the *ordo ad monachum faciendum* originated in this critical yet comparatively ill-documented period of Lambert's episcopacy, the introduction of a new liturgy for the benediction of abbots and the emergence of the promises as written documents with a charter-like appearance at least suggests that he stepped up measures to ensure that he could fall back on the promise of obedience whenever his authority was challenged. It is not inconceivable that, like the monk from Bec, Lambert and his

<sup>94</sup>Jean-Pierre Gerzaguët, *Les chartes de l'abbaye d'Anchin (1079–1201)* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 117–19n23.

<sup>95</sup>Gerzaguët, *L'abbaye d'Anchin*, pp. 76–79.

<sup>96</sup>Bernard Delmaire, "Un acte inédit d'Innocent II pour l'abbaye du Mont-Saint-Eloi (1139)," in *Licet preter solitum. Ludwig Falkenstein zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Lotte Kéry, Dietrich Lohrmann, and Harald Müller (Aachen, 1998), pp. 47–54, here p. 50. Lambert's charter is edited in Tock, *Les chartes*, n4, and Paschalis's bull is edited in Johannes Ramackers, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich. 3: Artois* (Göttingen, 1940), p. 44n8.

abbots did see similarities in this implication of the written promise and the secular homage, something that the Gregorian reformers had been trying to abolish from the relations between ecclesiastical and lay rulers for a generation at least. Perhaps this is taking the argument too far. Suspecting Lambert of an antimonastic attitude would certainly be erroneous—after all, his master, Ivo of Chartres, had been a former monk of Bec. Yet, although the anonymous monk from that same abbey strongly objected to the written *promissio*, Ivo himself had suggested that, as far as he was concerned, a spoken promise was not particularly less binding than a written one and essentially had the same implications.<sup>97</sup> Either way, to intervene in the ways a new generation of abbots was linked to episcopal authority certainly was a clear political statement, and perhaps the dating of the pieces in the list attests to the urgency with which Lambert introduced this new way of preserving the legal memory of the abbatial promise of obedience. At the same time, it may explain why his relationship with subsequent monastic leaders was troubled—whether competent or not, these abbots may have experienced the change in ritual formula as a way of coaxing them into engaging in a personal bond of allegiance with their bishop. Given these circumstances as well as the uneasy relationship in subsequent years between Lambert and several of his abbots, it might be worth rereading some of the stories of monastic decadence and poor monastic leadership and to frame them in a broader struggle between episcopal authority and monastic freedom. In the light of these reflections, it also might be useful to reconsider the significance of Lambert's own silence on the introduction of new, and potentially controversial, liturgical formulae.

## Conclusion

The list of abbatial promises in Lambert of Arras's *Register of Lambert* is more than a mere instrument for guaranteeing the memory and legal pertinence of a ritual speech act. As the comparison of these texts with contemporary liturgical and other evidence shows, they are among the few fragments of concrete evidence that indicate that Lambert was concerned about the impact of monastic autonomy, in particular—but more hypothetically—Cluniac reform in the early years of the twelfth century. An analysis of the dating of the *promissiones* suggests that, like several of his contemporaries, Lambert autonomously, and at considerable risk, decided to introduce

<sup>97</sup>Letter quoted in Constable, "Abbatial Profession," p. 111.

a new liturgy for the benediction of abbots. The seemingly fragmentary and at times contradictory evidence, plus the difficult identification of the origin of the formulae, can therefore be attributed not so much to a loss of evidence, but to the fact that its introduction met with considerable resistance and was considered one of several options for addressing the tense relationship between bishops and monasteries during the Gregorian Age.

### **Appendix A. *Ordo* Used for Abbatial Benedictions in the Diocese of Arras (c. 1100)**

*Source:* Arras, Médiathèque (formerly Bibliothèque Municipale), 1031 (olim 745), fols. 21r–23v.

#### **Ordo ad monachum abbatem faciendum**

Indicto ieiunio primum factisque orationibus post(ea) eligatur secundum timorem Dei qui ordinandus est in abbatem precipue a fratribus congregationis concordi consilio et bona voluntate secundum regulam beati Benedicti. Deinde episcopo in cuius dyocesi abbas est ordinandus ipsa electio per scriptum et testes presentetur, quatinus per episcopum si digne facta fuerit confirmetur et statuto tempore electus ab illo consecratur. Si autem electio in presentia episcopi facta et confirmata fuerit, dicatur: Antiphona «Confirma hoc Deus». Psalma «Exurgat Deus».

Et sic pergant ad ecclesiam cantando; episcopo vero ducat electum. Cum autem venerint in chorum prosternat se electus. Finito psalmo episcopus dicat capitulum: «Salvum fac servum tuum. Mitte ei auxilium de sancto. Esto illi Domine turris fortitudinis. Nichil proficiat inimicus in eo. Memor esto congregationis tuę. Omnipotente sempiterno Deus qui facis mirabilia magna solus pretende super famulum tuum *ill.* et super cunctam congregationem illi committendam spiritum gratie salutaris; et ut in veritate tibi complacent perpetuum eis rorem tuę benedictionis in funde per dominum noster Ihesu Christi filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate eiusdem spirite sancti Deus per omnia.»

Antequam vero evangelia legatur allocutio episcopi ad electum abbatem: «Ecclesię nostrę, fratres karissimi, de titulo sancti *ill.* pater electus suum adest ordinem ad suscipiendum. Unde apostolica prius eum censemus auctoritate examinandum suum propositum et sancti Benedicti regulam si velit ipse observare sibi subiectos ut id ipsum faciant diligenter instruere.»

Priusquam abbas ordinetur ab<sup>98</sup> episcopo interrogetur ita: «Karissime frater, quia gratia Dei et electio fratrum priorisque vitę tuę conversatio ad hoc

<sup>98</sup>Corrected from *ad*.



provocavit, officium te volumus per te ipsum scire utrum velis cum illis bene esse et mores tuos ab omni malo temperare et ad omne bonum quantum Deus dederit convivare.» Respondet: «Volo». Interrogatur: «Vis beati Benedicti regulam custodire, per te ipsum operari et alios docere?» Respondet: «Volo». Interrogatur: «Vis ea quę intellexeris ex divinis per te servare et alios instruere?» Respondet: «Volo». Interrogatur: «Vis castitatem et sobrietatem servare?» Respondet: «Volo». Interrogatur: «Ea quę per incuriam vel per negligentiam a loco sunt inminuta intus vel exterius vis restaurare secundum scire et posse?» Respondet: «Volo». Interrogatur: «Vis sanctę Atrebatensi ecclesię et michi et successoribus meis esse subiectus secundum regulam beati Benedicti?» Respondet: «Volo.»

Tunc in scedula scriptam legat professionem hoc modo: «Ego *ill.* nunc ordinandus abbas ad titulum *ill.* subiectionem et reverentiam a sanctis patribus constitutam, et oboedientiam secundum preceptum et regulam sancti Benedicti, huic sanctę Attrebatensi ecclesię, tibi que pater *ill.* episcope, tuisque successoribus perpetuo me exhibiturum promitto, et propria manu confirmo.»

Hic fiat letania: «Kyrie eleison. Christe eleyson. Christe audi nos. Salvator mundi adiuva nos. Sancta Maria mater Domini ora pro nobis. Sancta Dei Genetrix ora. Sancta Virgo Virginum ora. Sancta Cherubim orate. Sancta Seraphim orate. Sancte Michahel ora. Sancte Gabrihel ora. Sancte Raphahel ora. Omnes sancti angeli et archangeli orate pro nobis. Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines orate pro nobis. Omnes sancti patriarche et prophete orate. Omnes sancti innocentes martyres orate. Sancte Iohannes baptista Domini ora pro nobis. Sancte Petre ora. Sancte Paule ora. Sancte Andrea ora. Sancte Iacobe ora. Sancte Iohannes evangelista ora pro nobis. Omnes sancti apostoli et euuangeliste orate pro nobis. Sancte Cleopha ora. Sancte Prisce ora. Sancte Saturnine ora. . . .

Spirite benedic et protege, ut ab omni hoste securi in tua iugiter laude letemus. Amen.»

Post benedictionem autem abbatis accipiat eum presul per manum dexteram unus vero ex ceteris episcopis vel abbatibus per sinistram, et sic ducatur ad locum suum, et per campanas ecclesię investiat eum episcopo dicens: «Accipe potestatem regendi hanc ecclesiam et congregationem eius et omnia quę ad eam interius et exterius<sup>99</sup> pertinent, in nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi salvatoris et redemptoris nostri qui cum Deo patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat Deus Amen.»

Post hęc reverenter statuatur in sede ubi antecessor eius solitus erat stare nichilominus dicente sibi episcopo: «Sta in iustitia et sanctitate et retine locum tibi a Deo delegatum, potens est autem Deus ut augeat tibi gratiam.»

<sup>99</sup>Preceded by one erased letter.

Et sic incipiat episcopo ymnum «Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur.» Tunc dent ei cuncti fratres osculum pacis cum omni paterna reverentia flectentes genua. Tunc dicantur hec preces: «Salvum fac servum tuum. Nichil proficiat inimicus in eo. Domine exaudi orationem meam. Esto illi domine turris fortitudinis. Memor esto congregationis tuę. Dominus vobiscum.

Exaudi Domine preces nostras et super hunc famulum tuum *ill.*; spiritum tuę benedictionis emitte, ut cęlesti munere ditatus et tuę gratiam possit maiestatis acquirere, et bene vivendi aliis exemplum prebere. Amen.»

## Appendix B. Abbatial Promises Made to Lambert, Bishop of Arras (c. 1103–11)

*Source:* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 12827, fols. 123r–v; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Picardie 60, fol. 11r; and Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 841, pp. 85–86.

Formulae quibus usi sunt abbates diocoesis<sup>100</sup> Atrebatensis promittentes obedientiam Lamberto episcopo Atrebatensi.

Ego Alvisus nunc ordinandus abbas ad titulum sancti Salvatoris Aquicinensis, subiectionem<sup>101</sup> et reverentiam a sanctis patribus constitutam, et obedientiam secundum pręceptum<sup>102</sup> et regulam sancti Benedicti, huic sedi sanctę Atrebatensis ecclesię, tibi que pater Lamberte episcopo, tuisque successoribus, perpetuo me exhibiturum promitto, et propria manu confirmo. (*signum crucis*)<sup>103</sup>

Ego Gelduinus ordinatus abbas ad titulum Sancti Salvatoris Aquicinensis, subiectionem et reverentiam. etc.<sup>104</sup>

Ego Henricus nunc ordinandus abbas ad titulum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et sancti Vedasti Atrebatensis, subiectionem. etc.<sup>105</sup>

Ego Fulcardus nunc ordinandus abbas ad titulum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et sanctę Rictrudis Marcianensis subiectionem et reverentiam. etc.<sup>106</sup>

Ego Ricoardus, nunc ordinandus prępositus sive abbas canonicorum ad titulum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et sancti Vindiciani de Monte Sancti Eligii subiectionem et reverentiam a sanctis patribus constitutam.

<sup>100</sup>*Diocesis* BnF Picardie 60.

<sup>101</sup>For this and all further appearances of the word, Cambrai 841 uses *subiectionem*.

<sup>102</sup>Cambrai BM 841 and BnF Picardie 60 both give *ae*-forms, whereas BnF Lat 12827 retains the original form *ę*.

<sup>103</sup>Not in BnF Lat 12827.

<sup>104</sup>*Etc.* only in BnF Picardie 60.

<sup>105</sup>*Etc.* only in BnF Picardie 60.

<sup>106</sup>*Etc.* only in BnF Picardie 60.

CRISTERO DIASPORA:  
MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS,  
THE U.S. CATHOLIC CHURCH,  
AND MEXICO'S CRISTERO WAR, 1926–29

BY

JULIA G. YOUNG\*

*The author examines the connections between Mexico's Cristero War, a bloody church-state conflict that raged across west-central Mexico from 1926 to 1929, and the great wave of Mexican emigration to the United States that occurred during the same period. Although historians have generally treated the Cristero War and Mexican emigration as two distinct and unrelated subjects, a rich array of archival evidence from both sides of the border demonstrates that thousands of Mexican immigrants during the late 1920s supported the Cristero cause from the United States. By elucidating the geographical and political interconnections between the Cristero War and Mexican emigration and exploring the instrumental role played by the U.S. Catholic Church in placing religious exiles from Mexico within immigrant communities, the author demonstrates the development of a diaspora of Mexican Cristero supporters across cities and regions in the United States.*

**Keywords:** Cristero; Cristero War; Mexican migration; National Catholic Welfare Conference; religious diaspora

In summer 1926, Mexico's Catholic loyalists—known as *cristeros*—took up arms to defend the Church against the government's anti-clerical reforms, setting off a devastatingly violent war that ravaged west-central Mexico until a cease-fire was called in July 1929. Simultaneously, Mexican emigration to the United States intensified

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during the late 1920s, as new waves of emigrants, exiles, and refugees left the war-torn area. As the war continued, entire towns in central Mexico emptied, and cities and towns across the United States filled with a steady stream of new arrivals from the Cristero region. Soon, tens of thousands of these immigrants had begun to publicly express support for the Cristero cause.

After late 1927, it was as though the religious conflict itself had crossed the border. In San Antonio, 500 Mexicans marched in front of the consulate to express their disapproval of the government's anti-clerical restrictions. In El Paso, some 35,000 people, many of Mexican origin, followed Mexican and American priests in a vast religious procession through the city. In Los Angeles, 10,000 people—most from the city's Mexican community—waved Mexican flags and colorful banners as their bishop denounced the government of Mexico. In Chicago, some 500 parishioners of the Mexican Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe listened raptly as a visiting bishop railed against the anticlerical leaders of their homeland, then marched, singing and waving religious placards, to their newly built, larger parish church (see figure 1).

Such events were part of a larger phenomenon: during the late 1920s, Mexican immigrant communities across the United States confronted, interacted with, and enacted the religious conflict in their homeland in a variety of ways. A diasporic network of Cristero supporters—including labor migrants; exiled priests, nuns, and prelates; middle-class lay activists; and militants—collaborated (and sometimes competed) with each other as they participated in public and private activities that included religious ceremonies and spectacles, political demonstrations and marches, the formation of associations and organizations, strategic collaboration with religious and political leaders, arms smuggling, espionage, and even military revolts.

Certainly, not all Mexican emigrants during the Cristero War years identified with the Catholic side of the conflict. Indeed, an equal—or even greater—number of Mexicans in the United States expressed support for the anticlerical reforms of the Mexican government, whereas many thousands more remained apolitical.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, even if the

<sup>1</sup>For examples of Mexicans expressing support for the government's anticlerical reforms as well as Mexicans who took a neutral attitude toward homeland politics, see the interviews in Manuel Gamio's *The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story* (Chicago, 1930; repr. New York, 1969).





FIGURE 1. Procession of Blessed Sacrament to new church, Our Lady of Guadalupe, Chicago, September 23, 1928. Claretian Missionaries Archives, Record Group 600, Subgroup 605.14, Accession No. 715. Reproduced by permission of Claretian Missionaries Archives USA.

population of Cristero supporters was a tiny minority within the larger Mexican immigrant community, it was a vocal and politically active one—and one whose story, which has largely escaped scholarly examination, can add greatly to the scholarship on three fascinating topics: Mexico's Cristero War, Mexican immigration during the 1920s, and the role of the U.S. Catholic Church during the war years.

The goals of this article, therefore, are both to establish the first definitive portrait of the Cristero diaspora, and to understand and explain the historical significance of this group. To do so, a general description is presented of the great wave of immigrants who arrived in the United States as a direct or indirect result of the Cristero War. Second, the arrival of Mexican religious refugees, who helped to generate widespread community support for the Cristero cause, is discussed. Third, the integral role played by the U.S. Catholic Church is considered, examining its assistance to these refugees and its placements of these individuals within preexisting Mexican communities. Fourth, the activities of Cristero supporters are viewed through the lens of four U.S. cities: San Antonio, El Paso, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Finally, the contributions and significance of this story are described.

## 1. The Cristero War as a Cause of Mexican Emigration

Although migration from Mexico to the United States had been occurring since the mid-nineteenth century, several factors had combined to create three significant changes in patterns of Mexican emigration to the United States during the 1920s. First, more migrants began leaving Mexico than ever before, thanks to increasing demographic and economic pressures, the political upheavals wrought by the Mexican Revolution (1910–20), and the continued construction of Mexico's national railway infrastructure (see figure 2). Second, by the mid-1920s a much greater proportion of Mexico's migrants to the United States were coming from Mexico's west-central region, which included the states of Michoacán, Guanajuato, and Jalisco. Third, Mexican migrants began to settle in more diverse destinations in the United States. Although they continued to migrate to traditional destinations such as Texas, the U.S. Southwest, and southern California, they also began settling in regions that previously had little or no Mexican population: most notably, to Midwestern states such as Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

Of all the causes for the marked rise in emigration out of Mexico's west-central states during the 1920s, it was the devastation wrought by the Cristero War that reinforced and solidified these trends during the latter part of the decade. The conflict, which would claim the lives of at least 90,000 people, began after President Plutarco Elías Calles enforced the anticlerical provisions of the Mexican Constitution, and the country's Catholic hierarchy responded by suspending all religious services on July 31, 1926. In turn, many Catholics in the countryside—particularly in the west-central states of Michoacán, Guanajuato, and Jalisco—began to take up arms against federal troops and their paramilitary forces. Their scattered popular uprising became “massive and unanimous” after January 1927, when the Liga Nacional Defensora de Libertad Religiosa (LNDLR), the country's leading lay Catholic organization, gave an order for a general uprising. With a rousing battle cry of “¡Viva Cristo Rey!” (“Long live Christ the King!”), these militant Catholics soon became known as *cristeros*. The popular insurrection was formally ended on June 21, 1929, when Mexico's Catholic hierarchy reached a settlement with the government, although sporadic revolts would continue until 1935.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>For a comprehensive narrative of the chronology of the Cristero War, see Jean Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion: The Mexican People between Church and State, 1926–1929* (New York, 1976).

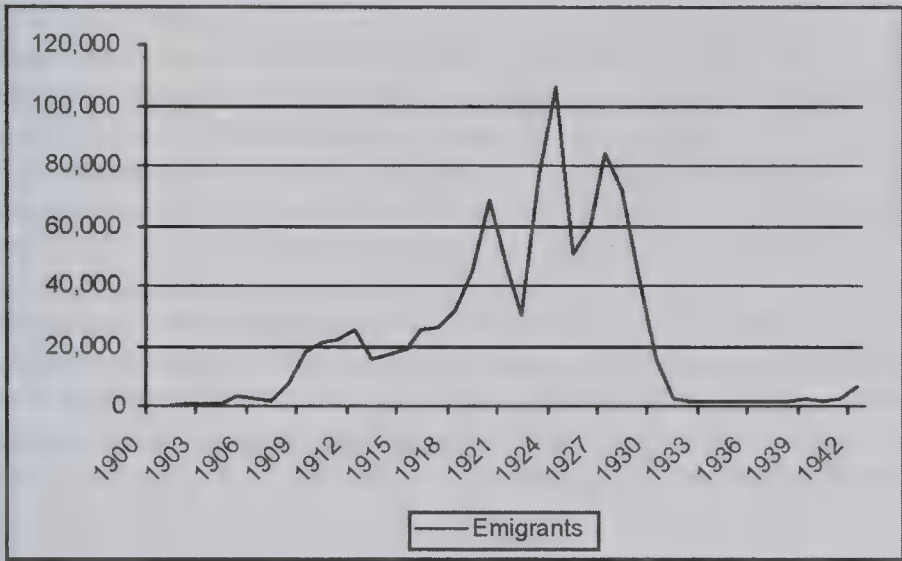


FIGURE 2. Number of legal Mexican emigrants to the United States, by year. Source: Jorge Durand and Douglas S. Massey, *The Mexican Migration Project*, Princeton University. <http://mmp.opr.princeton.edu/home-en.aspx>

Although any war can create refugees, there were some aspects of the Cristero War that particularly intensified the preexisting flow of emigration from Mexico's west-central region. One of these came in the form of the federal government's concentration campaigns. During these campaigns, which occurred across the west-central region in early 1928, federal troops would evacuate the residents of a designated area, destroy their houses, pillage any valuables, and bomb the town via fighter planes; any civilians who refused to leave were massacred. Luis González y González describes the town of San José de Gracia, Michoacán, after one such campaign as "a place of roofless walls and rubble, ashes, and charcoal, with green grass sprouting in the street and on garden walls, and soot everywhere. The only sound was the howling of starving cats." Although some villages recovered their populations after the campaigns, many smaller hamlets were "simply wiped off the map," their inhabitants gone forever.<sup>3</sup>

The Cristero war also devastated the economy of the formerly productive west-central region. Unemployment was reputedly high in the

<sup>3</sup>Luis González y González, *San José de Gracia: Mexican Village in Transition* (Austin, TX, 1972), p. 158; Jean Meyer, *La Cristiada*, 4 vols. (Mexico City, 1976), 1:176; Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion*, p. 180.

agricultural sector, as well as in manufacturing and mechanical industries.<sup>4</sup> The resulting poverty and widespread misery continuously generated new waves of emigration. One eyewitness observer reported that "everyone who can is preparing to leave for the United States," since "there are no buyers in the stores . . . so many employees have been dropped . . . there are families who do not have the necessities [*sic*] of life and who pass entire days without eating. . . ."<sup>5</sup> Consular agents in charge of issuing visas to would-be emigrants likewise noted that emigration to the United States from the west-central region was "heavier than usual" as a result of the conflict.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, numerous demographic studies confirm that by the late 1920s, emigrants from the west-central region had become predominant in Mexican communities across the United States.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup>College Park, MD, National Archives [hereafter NACP], Report from the Aguascalientes Consulate, September 30, 1927, State Department Foreign Service Post Files, Record Group 84 [hereafter Foreign Service RG 84], Consular Correspondence from Aguascalientes, Subject Group 811.11; Report from the Guadalajara Consulate, February 1, 1927, NACP, Foreign Service RG 84, Consular Correspondence from Guadalajara, Subject Group 800.

<sup>5</sup>Washington, DC, American Catholic History Research Center, The Catholic University of America, National Catholic Welfare Conference Collection [hereafter ACUA-NCWC], Anonymous letter, "From One Woman to Her Friend," November 18, 1927, Mexican Files, Box 146, Folder 19.

<sup>6</sup>Confidential Report from Consul John W. Dye, Ciudad Juarez Consulate, October 4, 1926, NACP, Foreign Service RG 84, Consular Correspondence from Ciudad Juarez, Subject Group 800.

<sup>7</sup>In Corpus Christi in 1929, close to 12 percent of 1078 Mexicans were from Guanajuato alone. Francisco A. Rosales, "Mexican Immigration to the Urban Midwest during the 1920s" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1978), p. 104; see also Paul S. Taylor, *An American-Mexican Frontier: Nueces County, Texas* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1934). In San Antonio between 1920 and 1930, many of the city's 21,000 new arrivals were from the west-central region. Richard A. García, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941*, [Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Vol. 36], (College Station, TX, 1991), p. 28. In California, Camille Guerin-González found that Mexicans from Guanajuato, Michoacán, and Jalisco made up the largest group of immigrants in California's San Bernardino and Riverside counties, composing close to 50 percent of the 3038 repatriates who left the region in 1930 and 1931; see Camille Guerin-Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900-1939* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1994), p. 143. Finally, George Sánchez's study of Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles during the 1920s determined that almost 37 percent of adult male Mexican migrants recorded in the U.S. Naturalization Service records came from the west-central states, with 21 percent from Jalisco, Michoacán, or Guanajuato; Gamio's tally of money orders from the same area (cited by Sánchez) found that about 30 percent came from these three states, with the majority arriving from Jalisco. George Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York, 1993),



Since migration from this area had predated the Cristero War by at least two decades, the newest waves of emigrants during the Cristero War years often joined communities of their relatives or compatriots who had arrived in the United States in the early 1920s or before. Many scholars of Mexican emigration have taken note of this phenomenon. José Orozco remarks that they were already "an established presence in Mexican immigrant communities in the United States . . . and it is to these areas that many *Alteños* fled during the *Cristiada*."<sup>8</sup> Likewise, Francisco Rosales reports that in March 1927, many of those refugees arrived in Chicago "from such towns as Chavinda, Michoacán, or San Francisco del Rincon, Guanajuato, where Cristero activity was prominent, and joined relatives already there."<sup>9</sup> Zaragoza Vargas, too, notes that hundreds of new emigrants from the west-central region arrived in Detroit in 1926 as a direct result of the war, increasing the size of the city's nascent Mexican community.<sup>10</sup>

The historical scholarship provides an indisputable geographical link between these growing immigrant communities and the region where the Cristero War was fought. Yet the question still remains: How important is this regional connection in determining whether Mexican immigrants supported the Cristero cause? It certainly stands to reason that the events of the Cristero War would have resonated strongly among Mexican emigrants to the United States during the late 1920s, since, for many of them, the war was taking place in their hometown or home state. It also seems likely that a

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p. 46. Mexican emigrants from the west-central region also were predominant in the Midwest and Great Lakes regions. Indeed, Paul S. Taylor's survey of 3132 Mexicans in the Chicago and Calumet region showed that 21 percent came from Jalisco, 18.5 percent from Michoacán, 17 percent from Guanajuato, 8 percent from Zacatecas, 6 percent from Mexico City, and less than 5 percent from other Mexican states. In other words, about 74 percent came from the west-central region; see Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region*, [University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 7, No. 2], (Berkeley, 1932), p. 49. Rosales found that of 1016 immigrants to the Chicago area from 1920 to 1925, 214 came from Guanajuato, 201 came from Jalisco, 260 came from Michoacán, and 68 came from Mexico City. See Rosales, "Mexican Immigration to the Urban Midwest," p. 107. In Detroit, too, the majority of Mexican immigrants came from Jalisco, Michoacán, and Guanajuato; see Zaragoza Vargas, "Life and Community in the 'Wonderful City of the Magic Motor': Mexican Immigrants in 1920s Detroit," *Michigan Historical Review*, 15 (1989), 45-68, here 48.

<sup>8</sup>José Orozco, "'*¡Esos Altos de Jalisco!*' Emigration and the Idea of *Alteño* Exceptionalism, 1926-1952" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1997), p. 145.

<sup>9</sup>Rosales, "Mexican Immigration to the Urban Midwest," p. 211.

<sup>10</sup>Zaragoza Vargas, "Life and Community," p. 60.

significant number of these individuals would have been personally affected by the war—whether they were refugees themselves, or whether they had friends and relatives whose lives had been disrupted in some way.

The regional connection between the Cristero War and Mexican emigration, however, can only tell us so much about whether any particular immigrant supported the Cristero cause from the United States. Certainly, many emigrants from the west-central region were apolitical or were not Cristero supporters; and, as shall be discussed later, some other Cristero supporters in the United States came from regions in Mexico other than the west-central area. Thus, factors beyond the regional connection must be explored to discover additional determinants of Cristero activism among Mexican immigrants in the United States. To do so, a discussion is necessary of the arrival and settlement of Mexican religious exiles within immigrant communities in the United States.

## 2. Religious Refugees in the United States

Between 1926 and 1929, up to 2500 Mexican religious refugees—priests, nuns, monks, seminarians, bishops, and archbishops—either fled or were deported to the United States, as the Mexican government enforced anticlerical laws that limited the numbers of priests, dissolved religious orders, and subjected the clergy to direct persecution. In the first few months of the Cristero War, the Mexican government forced only foreign-born nuns and priests to leave; native-born Mexican clergy, by contrast, initially left the country voluntarily, choosing self-exile over obeying the restrictions of the Mexican government.<sup>11</sup> (Many nuns, for example, often chose to leave after their

<sup>11</sup>Calles—who served as president of Mexico from 1924 to 1928 and then ruled from behind the scenes as “Jefe Máximo” during the period 1928–35, also known as the “Maximato”—announced the enforcement of the 1917 laws on July 31, 1926. “Truce for Return of Bishops Denied by Archbishop Ruiz,” National Catholic Welfare Conference press release, June 3, 1929, ACUA-NCWC, Mexican Files, Folder 7, Box 148. In San Luis Potosí in July of that year, the consul reported that he had received (and would later grant) 360 visa requests from “alien priests and nuns,” most of whom were in imminent danger of arrest and expulsion. Henry Krause, American vice consul of San Luis Potosí, to Alexander W. Weddel, American consul general of Mexico City, July 21, 1926, NACP, Foreign Service RG 84, Consular Correspondence from San Luis Potosi, Subject Group 811.11. See also “Churches Looted in Mexican Drive, Refugees Charge,” *Washington Post*, March 5, 1926, 3.

convents were confiscated and prohibitions were levied against communal living or wearing religious habits.)<sup>12</sup>

By early 1927, however, exile was no longer a matter of personal choice. The Mexican government increasingly arrested and forcibly deported priests and members of the hierarchy; it had issued a decree in January of that year stating that any priests who were apprehended "with arms in hand, or who ostensibly dedicate themselves to conspire against the government" would be immediately expelled from the country. Since Catholic priests often were accused of sedition regardless of their actual activities, and since even those who went into hiding often were found and arrested, leaving the country voluntarily often was their only hope of avoiding imprisonment or even death.<sup>13</sup>

By the middle of 1927, a stream of religious refugees began arriving in the United States, sometimes precipitously and under dramatic circumstances (see figure 3). For example, several orders of nuns were said to have been escorted across the desert, in a sort of religious Underground Railroad, by the famous (and now canonized) Father Miguel Pro.<sup>14</sup> In another instance, one Father Navarro arrived in El Paso after he had

been bound and loaded in a baggage car in the interior of Mexico. In Juarez, he was put in a taxi and released at the International Bridge. His . . . companion was blindfolded [and] released at Wyoming and Oregon Streets where he was found in the early morning.<sup>15</sup>

Since many religious exiles arrived in the United States without funds, their primary concern was to earn enough income to ensure

<sup>12</sup>See Barbara Miller, "The Role of Women in the Mexican Cristero Rebellion: *Las Señoras y Las Religiosas*," *The Americas*, 40 (1984), 303–23, here 314.

<sup>13</sup>Mexico City, Archivo General de la Nación, "Los sacerdotes rebeldes van a ser deportados: Una circular de la Secretaría de Guerra a los Jefes de las Operaciones Militares," *Excelsior*, February 14, 1927, Colección Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales [hereafter AGN-IPS], Vol. 209, Expediente 6. Consular official Gray [first name not provided in document] in Guadalajara to the secretary of state [Frank Billings Kellogg] in Washington, February 3, 1927, NACP, State Department Central File, Record Group 59 [hereafter State RG 59], Decimal File 812.404/754.

<sup>14</sup>Marjorie Sánchez-Walker, "Migration Quicksand: Immigration Law and Immigration Advocates at the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez Border Crossing, 1933–1941" (PhD diss., Washington State University, 1999), p. 278.

<sup>15</sup>El Paso, TX, Archives of the Catholic Diocese of El Paso, *Bishop Anthony Schuler, S.J.* [booklet].



FIGURE 3. Mexican religious exiles arriving in the United States. Archivo Histórico de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Fondo Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, Sección Gráfica, Serie IV, Expediente 11, Document 160. Reproduced by permission of the Archivo Histórico de la UNAM.

their personal survival as well as, in the case of monks and nuns, the survival of their religious orders. They did so in a variety of ways. Some of them started small businesses. The Sisters of Perpetual Adoration opened a bakery in El Paso, where they made tamales on Tuesdays and enchiladas on Wednesdays. In the same city, the Maria Reparatrice Sisters conducted sewing, painting, and music classes.<sup>16</sup>

A more dependable source of income and stability—particularly for refugee nuns—was teaching, and this became the occupation of up to 50 percent of the refugee priests (and possibly a greater percentage of the nuns) in the United States. The unprecedented growth

<sup>16</sup>El Paso, TX, University of Texas at El Paso Library, C. L. Sonnichsen Special Collections Department, Cleofás Calleros to Justin McGrath, director of the NCWC News Service, about activities of refugee priests and nuns in El Paso, May 2, 1928, Cleofás Calleros Papers [hereafter UTEP-Calleros], MS 231, Series II.



of Mexican communities in Texas, California, and the Southwest, occurring in conjunction with the arrival of the refugees and the closing of Catholic schools in Mexico, generated a concurrent demand for Mexican Catholic schools in the United States, and religious refugees opened dozens of new schools within Mexican communities during the Cristero War years.<sup>17</sup>

The religious refugees also worked within Mexican communities to establish Mexican national parishes, an effort that was particularly noticeable in California and the Midwest. In the then-Diocese of Los Angeles during the 1920s, dozens of new parishes opened—many of them named for Our Lady of Guadalupe or for the icon of the Cristero movement, Christ the King. In the Midwest, new Mexican parishes opened in Detroit, South Chicago, and Milwaukee.<sup>18</sup>

By mid-1927, it was the rare Mexican immigrant community that did not host at least a few religious exiles. With their efforts to found schools, parishes, or small businesses, they would serve as visible and public reminders of the religious conflict that was raging in the homeland. Before the ways that the religious exiles interacted with Mexican immigrant communities can be analyzed, however, the vital role played by the U.S. Catholic Church must be examined, particularly that of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) and several key American bishops and archbishops. Indeed, these U.S. Catholics extended assistance to these refugees at every turn, including management of the logistics of border crossing and legal status in the United States, financial assistance that allowed their resettlement within existing Mexican communities and establishment of new Mexican parishes, press attention for the plight of the religious exiles, and promotion of the Cristero cause to American audiences.

<sup>17</sup>"Los Colegios Católicos de Sonora se van al Extranjero," *La Prensa*, July 30, 1926, 9; "Las monjas de León pasan al Estado de Arizona," *La Prensa*, August 10, 1926, 4; "200,000 Mexico Students Go to Schools in U.S.: War on Catholics Results in Big Exodus," *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1928, 14. The Congregation of the Perpetual Adorers to Mr. & Mrs. Cleofás Calleros, December 14, 1928, UTEP-Calleros, MS231, Series II; Dolan and Hinojosa, *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church*, p. 58.

<sup>18</sup>Mike Davis and Robert Morrow, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York, 1990), pp. 330–31; David Badillo, "The Catholic Church and the Making of Mexican-American Parish Communities in the Midwest," in Dolan and Hinojosa, *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church*, pp. 237–308, here p. 266.

### 3. The Role of the U.S. Catholic Church

Religious exiles (priests, nuns, monks, and other clergy) from Mexico represented both a challenge and an opportunity for the U.S. Catholic Church, whose leadership also was trying to determine their response to the influx of Mexican emigrants during the 1920s. Since the 1910s, prominent leaders within the U.S. Church had begun to identify and confront social welfare issues among Mexican immigrants.<sup>19</sup> By 1924, Catholic leaders had become increasingly concerned with the number of Mexicans in the United States, acknowledging that “henceforth, our Catholic immigrants will be mostly Mexicans.”<sup>20</sup>

Some Catholic bishops, as well as some members of the leadership of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), the Church’s episcopal organization, saw these Mexican Catholics as problematic, due to their poverty and low levels of education. Although they acknowledged that Mexicans were “deeply Catholic in heart,” they lamented that they were “not well instructed in their religion” and that they “feel themselves an alien and despised race.” Furthermore, they feared Protestant efforts to proselytize and convert Mexican Catholics. In the context of the Cristero War, they believed that the stakes were even higher: the future of the Church in Mexico, they thought, depended on reaching the Mexican Catholic immigrant in the United States. One of the most efficient ways to direct ministry toward Mexican Catholics, some argued, was through priests and nuns of their own nationality.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, the U.S. Catholic Church would attempt to help relocate these priests and nuns within growing Mexican communities.

<sup>19</sup>See James T. Moore, *Acts of Faith: The Catholic Church in Texas, 1900–1950* (College Station, TX, 2002), pp. 81–82; “Mexican Uprisings, Say War Officials, Being Suppressed,” *Washington Post*, January 19, 1927, 1; Joséph J. Thompson, *The Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago* (Des Plaines, IL, 1920). Indeed, the U.S. Catholic Church also had taken an active role in resettling clergy from Mexico during the Mexican Revolution (1910–20). See Anne M. Martínez, “Bordering on the Sacred: Religion, Nation, and U.S.-Mexican Relations, 1910–1929” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2003).

<sup>20</sup>“Notes and Data on the Mexican Problem, Prepared for the Meeting of the Bishops at the Catholic University of America,” September 24–25, 1924, ACUA-NCWC, Mexican Files, Box 144, Folder 43.

<sup>21</sup>Linna E. Bresette, *Mexicans in the United States: A Report of a Brief Survey* (Washington, DC, 1928), ACUA-NCWC, Mexican Files, Box 148, Folder 36; see also “Notes and Data on the Mexican Problem.”

The organization that would do the most to channel the arriving priests and nuns toward Mexican communities in the United States was the Immigration Bureau of the NCWC, which also happened to be located in the border city where most of the religious refugees initially arrived—El Paso, Texas. Founded in 1920 to assist the growing number of Catholic immigrants to the United States, the mission of the Immigration Bureau was “to be a clearing house for all matters relating to Catholic immigrants of all nationalities.” Recognizing both the significance of migration from Mexico and the need to minister to Mexican Catholics in the borderlands, the NCWC opened the El Paso office of the Immigration Bureau in November 1922, and by the onset of the Cristero War, the Immigration Bureau in El Paso had become the primary American organization responsible for managing the arrival of Mexico’s religious refugees.<sup>22</sup>

From 1926 until 1968, the El Paso office was headed by Cleofás Calleros, a Mexican native whose family had come to El Paso from Chihuahua in 1896 (see figure 4). A devout Catholic, Calleros became the primary liaison for many of the religious refugees seeking legal residence in the United States. His office completed visa applications and sent them to the NCWC’s Washington representatives, who handled direct contact with the U.S. Department of State. Thanks to his efforts, many of Mexico’s religious refugees were granted the visas for which they applied, and Calleros’s work was so effective that even U.S. consular officials in Mexico were known to refer priests and nuns to his office.<sup>23</sup>

Beyond helping the religious refugees to obtain legal residency, the Immigration Bureau—as well as other Catholic organizations such as the Extension Society and the Knights of Columbus—worked with members of the U.S. Catholic hierarchy to place the religious refugees within specific communities.<sup>24</sup> In the Diocese of El Paso, Bishop

<sup>22a</sup> “Immigration: A Statement Regarding Immigration to the United States . . . Prepared for the Official Catholic Yearbook,” 1928, UTEP-Calleros, MS 231, Series II.

<sup>23a</sup> “Algunas Reglas de importancia para los inmigrantes que pasan por la frontera mexicana a los estados unidos,” UTEP-Calleros, MS 231, Series II, Box 7; Immigration case files, UTEP-Calleros, MS 231, Series II, Box 11; Father Theo. Laboure in San Antonio to Rev. Jesus Prieto in Laredo, June 13, 1929, NACP, Foreign Service RG 84, Consular Correspondence from Nuevo Laredo, Subject Group 811.11.

<sup>24</sup> The Knights of Columbus embarked on a fund-raising campaign for the refugees, and the Extension Society would provide up to \$25,000. Malachy McCarthy, “Which Christ Came to Chicago: Catholic and Protestant Programs to Evangelize, Socialize, and Americanize the Mexican Emigrant, 1900–1940” (PhD diss., Loyola University of Chicago, 2002), pp. 198, 202.



FIGURE 4. Cleofás Calleros, Mexican border representative of the National Catholic Welfare Conference's Bureau of Immigration in El Paso. Special Collections Department, University of Texas at El Paso Library. Reproduced by permission of the Special Collections Department, University of Texas at El Paso Library.

Anthony Schuler, S.J., hosted at least nine religious congregations of nuns, 150 priests, hundreds of seminarians, and members of the church hierarchy.<sup>25</sup> In the Archdiocese of San Antonio, Archbishop Arthur Drossaerts made resources available to Mexican immigrants, including forty-two priests and 195 nuns.<sup>26</sup> In Los Angeles, Bishop John Cantwell granted refuge to more than 100 Mexican priests, several exiled bishops, and an archbishop.<sup>27</sup> Priests and nuns from Mexico also arrived in the Midwest after 1926; Chicago's Our Lady of Guadalupe parish, for example, hosted at least one exiled priest from

<sup>25</sup>M. Lilliana Owens, *Most Reverend Anthony J. Schuler, S.J., D.D., First Bishop of El Paso, and Some Catholic Activities in the Diocese between 1915-1942*, [Jesuit Studies-Southwest, No. 3], (El Paso, 1953), pp. 320-21.

<sup>26</sup>Chicago, Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, "Report on Exiled Clergy in the United States," 1927, Document No. 1927-G-1 (3).

<sup>27</sup>Dolan and Hinojosa, *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church*, p. 163; Mike Davis, *City of Quartz*, pp. 330-31.



Jalisco and was managed by the Claretians and the Cordi-Marian sisters, both exiled religious orders.<sup>28</sup>

In many of the communities where they settled, these religious exiles would have a profound and lasting impact on the Mexican immigrants who lived there. A closer look at these four communities will clarify the role of the religious exiles—as well as that of the U.S. Catholic Church—in fomenting a connection between Mexican immigrants and the religious conflict at home.

#### 4. Four Communities of Cristero Supporters

Archival evidence about the activities of exiled priests and bishops within specific Mexican immigrant communities provides a more vivid and personal picture of these Cristero supporters, who—already predisposed to be interested in (or at the very least, affected by) the Cristero War because of their region of origin—found that the conflict had quite literally followed them across the border in the form of the religious exiles. Indeed, it seems that the region of destination for Mexican immigrants in the 1920s may have ultimately played an equal or even greater role than their region of origin—for, if the Catholic presence (in the form of religious exiles, religious organizations, and religious institutions) was vibrant in the area where these individuals resettled, the opportunities for involvement in Cristero causes were much greater. To further explore the different ways in which religious exiles and Mexican immigrants interacted, the activities of Cristero supporters within four cities—San Antonio, El Paso, Los Angeles, and Chicago—are summarized below. Thanks to a wealth of archival sources from Catholic and government archives in both Mexico and the United States, the history of these Cristero supporters—largely unexamined in the historiography—can begin to be reconstructed.<sup>29</sup>

##### *San Antonio—Diplomacy and Peaceful Protest*

During the late 1920s, San Antonio became an important center for Mexican Cristero sympathizers. Home to a sizable Mexican population with a thriving middle class, San Antonio received 21,000 new

<sup>28</sup>Rosales, “Mexican Immigration to the Urban Midwest,” p. 165; McCarthy, “Which Christ Came to Chicago,” p. 212.

<sup>29</sup>For a more detailed account of the activities of the Cristero diaspora in the United States, see Julia Young, “Mexican Emigration to the United States during the Cristero War, 1926–1929” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2009).

arrivals between 1920 and 1930.<sup>30</sup> The city had long attracted prominent Mexican political exiles of all stripes, and so it was fitting that, during the Cristero War years, San Antonio would serve as the primary destination for numerous lay Catholic political exiles, as well as for many of Mexico's Catholic hierarchy.

The city's two most active and prominent Catholic political exiles were René Capistrán Garza and Luis Bustos, who were among Mexico's most prominent Catholic political leaders (see figure 5). After arriving in San Antonio in 1927, Capistrán Garza, Bustos, and their many compatriots and co-conspirators attempted to solicit the support of prominent U.S. and Mexican Catholics as well as Mexican political exiles of different political leanings. Although they frequently traveled to different cities in the United States, San Antonio served as their base of operations: they regularly convened at the Robert E. Lee Hotel (a gathering spot favored by many Mexican political exiles), as well as at the city's various Catholic churches.<sup>31</sup>

Capistrán Garza and Bustos, like many Mexican political exiles, were well educated, could speak and write in English as well as Spanish, and were politically and financially well connected. In San Antonio, they and other influential Mexican Catholics worked to promote the Cristero cause primarily through publicity campaigns and diplomacy—they formed clubs, associations, and political parties; sponsored public meetings in assembly halls; produced flyers, posters, and newspapers; and raised money and awareness of the issues with Mexican and American audiences. Indeed, both men traveled to Washington, DC; New York; and Rome to appeal to powerful U.S. Catholics in those cities.

Lay Catholic political exiles like Capistrán Garza and Bustos were assisted in their efforts by several members of Mexico's Catholic hierarchy, who had arrived in San Antonio in spring 1927. During their exile, these powerful prelates—including Archbishops José Mora y Del Río and Leopoldo Ruiz y Flóres, as well as Bishop Ignacio Valdespino y Díaz—lived in the College of the Incarnate Word in San Antonio, and the Mexican Episcopal Committee formally convened there throughout the duration of the armed conflict. Although the

<sup>30</sup>García, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class*, pp. 28, 35–36.

<sup>31</sup>Report by Department of Justice agent J. J. Lawrence, San Antonio, August 11, 1927, NACP, State RG 59, Decimal File 812.00/28639.



FIGURE 5. René Capistrán Garza, Catholic political leader. Special Collections, Georgetown University Library, *America* Magazine Archives, Box 19, Folder 21. Reproduced by permission of America Press, Inc.

Mexican bishops and archbishops were not always in agreement with lay Catholic political leaders (particularly pertaining to the level of support that should be offered to the armed uprising), they nevertheless provided the exiles with political connections, as well as moral and financial support.<sup>32</sup>

Significantly, the city's Mexican Catholics—both lay and clerical—had the support of Drossaerts, who advocated the Cristero cause both at the diplomatic level and within the local Mexican Catholic communities. During the patriotic festivals sponsored by the Mexican consulate and other members of the Mexican immigrant community, Drossaerts even pressured the city's mayor to boycott the event and asked Mexican Catholics to abstain from participating as well. A powerful and respected figure both within Catholic and other circles, Drossaerts's advo-

<sup>32</sup>Report from Agent 47 in San Antonio to the Jefe del Departamento Confidencial, April 25–26, 1927, AGN-IPS, Vol. 54, Expediente 10.

cacy lent an aura of political legitimacy to the efforts of San Antonio's Mexican Catholics to oppose Mexico's anticlerical government.<sup>33</sup>

The lay political exiles, the exiled prelates, and Drossaerts all worked to support the Catholic cause in Mexico through diplomacy and public protest, and San Antonio's larger Mexican Catholic community would undertake similar efforts. For example, on the morning of December 4, 1927, some 500 members of San Antonio's Mexican immigrant community assembled downtown in the square facing the Mexican consulate. There, they presented a signed petition blaming the Calles government for provoking the Cristero rebellion, protesting the violence and brutality of government forces, and requesting that Calles "re-establish law and order and [reform] the Constitution and the legal codes to meet the wishes of the people."<sup>34</sup>

In addition to participating in public protests such as these, Mexican Catholics in San Antonio also could join several thriving Catholic societies and associations such as the Vassallos and Vasallas de Cristo Rey, which "addressed the violence and political upheaval in . . . Mexico by fostering the resurgence of religious practice among Mexicans."<sup>35</sup> Thus, during the late 1920s San Antonio's Cristero supporters had numerous opportunities to participate publicly—yet peacefully—in the Cristero conflict and to assert their political goals in the process. Further to the south, Mexican immigrants who supported the Cristero cause would do so in a more intense—and even violent—manner.

### *El Paso—Border Revolts*

On the evening of June 18, 1927, about 5000 El Paso residents attended a public reception honoring several bishops from Mexico in exile in the United States. After speeches by the bishops and Schuler, the audience responded fervently. As one historian recounts, "What

<sup>33</sup>Dolan and Hinojosa, *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church*, p. 79. "El Mayor Tobin no tomará parte en los festejos que organiza la Junta Patriótica de San Antonio" and "Renuncia a su candidatura de reina," *La Prensa*, August 1, 1926, 1; "El Sr. Obispo Drossaerts pide a sus diocesanos mexicanos de San Antonio que se abstengan de participar en las fiestas de Independencia," *Mexico*, July 30, 1926, 1; "Death in Mexico," *Time*, May 28, 1928, 22.

<sup>34</sup>"Border Mexicans Excoriate Calles: They Hand Protest to Consul at San Antonio, Charging Murder, Torture, and Tyranny," *New York Times*, December 5, 1927, 25.

<sup>35</sup>Timothy M. Matovina, *Guadalupe and Her Faithful: Latino Catholics in San Antonio from Colonial Origins to the Present* (Baltimore, 2005), p. 111.



was now the familiar Mexican Catholic cry of fidelity, 'Viva Cristo Rey!' . . . was frequently heard during the reception and was shouted periodically by the great throng. The next morning, which was the Sunday after the feast of Corpus Christi, some 35,000 people, "many of them refugees," marched through the city's streets in what would be remembered as the city's largest religious demonstration.<sup>36</sup>

The 1927 procession provided striking evidence of the incredible demographic growth of the city's Mexican community, as well as its religious and political leanings that were emphatically pro-Cristero. By the late 1920s, El Paso—which had barely been more than a few buildings in the desert at the turn of the century—was now a booming city of 100,000 people, more than 60 percent of whom were Mexican.<sup>37</sup>

If the efforts of many pro-Cristero Mexicans in San Antonio centered around diplomacy, Cristero supporters in El Paso and the surrounding border region seem to have participated in more militant acts, from clandestine arms smuggling to open rebellion. The most famous of these was José Gándara, an ardently Catholic businessman with family roots in the Mexican state of Chihuahua, who attempted to lead a Cristero revolt from within the United States (see figure 6). With the backing and counsel of exiled Sonoran bishop Juan Navarrete, Gándara planned an uprising that—had it been successful—would have spanned 300 miles of border between Tucson, Arizona, and El Paso, Texas. Although this militant effort failed when U.S. Department of Justice agents caught Gándara, it was indicative of the fervent levels of support of some El Paso Mexicans for the Cristero cause.<sup>38</sup>

Indeed, relative proximity to the Cristero battlefields meant that El Paso and other parts of the U.S.-Mexico border were hotbeds of militant activity during the Cristero War years—and exiled priests, nuns, and bishops played a key role in organizing and participating in these efforts. An exiled priest in Del Rio, Texas, masterminded another failed Catholic uprising, which was led by immigrant Simón Tenorio.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup>Moore, *Acts of Faith*, pp. 102–03.

<sup>37</sup>Bresette, *Mexicans in the United States: A Report of a Brief Survey*.

<sup>38</sup>Report from Agent 2 in Chihuahua to Jefe del Departamento Confidencial, July 12, 1927, AGN-IPS, Vol. 230, Expediente 64.

<sup>39</sup>Mexico City, Archivo Histórico Genaro Estrada, Secretaría Relaciones Exteriores [hereafter SRE], Informe Número 394 [no author], Del Rio, Texas, August 14, 1927, Legajos Encuadernados 822-8; "Simon Tenorio et al.," report by Agent J. J. Lawrence, August 18, 1927, NACP, State RG 59, Decimal File 812.00/28745.



FIGURE 6. José Gándara, Catholic militant. Special Collections, Georgetown University Library, *America* Magazine Archives, Box 19, Folder 21. Reproduced by permission of America Press, Inc.

Finally, Cristero supporters in El Paso's Mexican community aided the Cristero cause by providing desperately needed resources—money, arms, and munitions—to Cristero troops, and several exiled priests were involved with arms smuggling. One of these, Pedro González, was said to have led a vast smuggling network along the border. The Knights of Columbus—with both Mexican and American chapters in El Paso and other border cities—provided some of the crucial financial backing for these arms smuggling efforts.<sup>40</sup> Women, too, were involved in such clandestine activities. Mexican border officials reported that bands of nuns were known to carry Catholic propaganda onto trains crossing the border.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup>Report from Subsecretario of SRE to the Secretario de Gobernación, March 7, 1928, AGN-IPS, Vol. 232, Expediente 48.

<sup>41</sup>Memorandum from the Jefe del Departamento Confidencial to the Chief of the Migration Office, December 11, 1928, AGN-IPS, Vol. 295, Expediente 28.

These activities received some degree of tacit support from the U.S. Catholic Church. The efforts of the NCWC's Immigration Bureau in El Paso have been discussed, but it also is worthwhile to underscore the role of Schuler. In addition to organizing and speaking at events such as the Corpus Christi parade, Schuler provided up to \$120,000 for the religious refugees in El Paso. He also lent financial assistance to El Paso's pro-Cristero publications, which included *El Diario de El Paso*, a militantly Catholic newspaper, and *Revista Católica*, which was produced and edited by exiled Jesuits.<sup>42</sup> Although Schuler may not have been directly involved in the militant efforts occurring within his diocese, he was certainly aware of such activities, and his advocacy on behalf of Mexico's Catholic exiles, as well as the local Catholic press, helped to create a supportive environment for Cristero activism in El Paso and the borderlands.

### *Los Angeles—Marches, Processions, and a Vocal Bishop*

As in Texas, Cristero supporters in Los Angeles found strength in sheer numbers and received ample support from the U.S. Catholic hierarchy as well as from Mexican religious exiles. The city's Mexican community grew rapidly during the Cristero War years—between 1920 and 1930, the city's Mexican population tripled from 33,644 to 97,116.<sup>43</sup>

During the late 1920s, Los Angeles hosted numerous priests, nuns, and bishops from Mexico, and they helped to foment the growth of numerous new Catholic social spaces: by 1930, there were at least a dozen new Mexican Catholic churches (more than all the other Christian denominations combined), several new Catholic organizations (such as the Holy Name Society and the Hijas de Maria), and four Catholic community centers in Mexican neighborhoods hosting recreational activities, debating and religious clubs, and catechetical

<sup>42</sup>Letter on behalf of Schuler from Bishop Francis Kelley, Diocese of Oklahoma, Fall 1929, ACUA-NCWC, Mexican Files, Box 150, Folder 25. "News Items," May 10, 1929, ACUA-NCWC, Mexican Files, Box 148, Folder 6. Report from C. T. Valdivia, Presbítero at the Centro Propagandista de la Fe in Colton, CA, to the Ministro de Gobernación, August 12, 1927, AGN-IPS, Vol. 225, Expediente 15; Report from Cónsul General in El Paso to Secretario de Gobernación, August 30, 1934, AGN, Fondo Dirección de Gobierno, Vol. 126, Expediente 2.340 (73) 66; Report from Delegado de Migración, Piedras Negras, Coahuila, to the Secretaria de Gobernación, February 26, 1927, AGN-IPS, Vol. 227, Expediente 34.

<sup>43</sup>Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, p. 46.

training. The diocese directly financed some of these new spaces, thanks to the sympathetic attitude and actions of Bishop John J. Cantwell, who hosted numerous exiled clergy from Mexico, helped to secure financing for new churches for the growing Mexican population, and sought to ensure the religious education of Mexican children through outreach efforts.<sup>44</sup>

In terms of political organizing, however, Los Angeles's pro-Cristero Mexicans initially lacked a single strong figure to organize their activities. During 1926 and 1927, infighting among would-be leaders hindered any widespread organization among Mexican Catholics in Los Angeles.<sup>45</sup> This would change with the April 1928 arrival of José de Jesús Manríquez y Zarate, the exiled bishop of Huejutla, Mexico. A fierce advocate for the militant Catholic stance, the bishop would do more than any single person to unite Mexicans in Los Angeles—as well as in other parts of the United States—in support of the Cristero cause. A prolific writer, Manríquez y Zárate chronicled his activities in Los Angeles in a remarkable series of letters to Cristero activists in Mexico.

Although Manríquez y Zárate participated in a variety of activities—including publishing editorials and pamphlets, participating in diplomatic negotiations, working with arms smugglers, corresponding with fighters in the battlefields, and sending money back to Mexico—his most important effort was in organizing a series of public marches. These events would attract participation and attention from thousands of Cristero supporters in Los Angeles.

In June 1928, the bishop collaborated with community leaders to organize a procession for the feast of Corpus Christi. The march began at Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Church in Belvedere and attracted more than 10,000 people, most of them Mexicans:

<sup>44</sup>Samuel Ortegón, "The Religious Status of the Mexican Population of Los Angeles" (Master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1932), pp. 45–47. Other accounts place the number at fifty; see Davis, *City of Quartz*, pp. 330–31. Mexico City, Archivo Histórico, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, "Los Angeles Now Second Largest Mexican City—Mission Problem Acute," *The Tidings*, May 18, 1927, Fondo Manuel Palomar y Vizcarra, Serie Colección Traslósheros [hereafter UNAM-Traslósheros], Caja 100, Expediente 724, Foja 6858.

<sup>45</sup>Mexico City, CONDUMEX Center for Historical Studies, Archivo Cristero, Report from a Liga Agent in Los Angeles, December 28, 1927, Fondo CLXXXVI, Carpeta 5, Legajo 380–466, Document 465.



Almost all of the streets where the procession passed were adorned with flowers intertwined on Mexican and North American pavilions; and placards reading "*Viva México*," "*Viva Cristo Rey*," were placed in large lettering across the same avenues and in great number. . . .<sup>46</sup>

Shortly afterward, in October 1928, the bishop organized another "truly brilliant" celebration of Christ the King, which was attended by approximately 5000 Los Angeles-area Mexicans (see figure 7). Officiated by four bishops and numerous priests, the day's events included a Mass, a solemn oath of vassalage to Christ the King, a prayer for the pope, and a blessing.<sup>47</sup>

Although it is impossible to know with certainty how the Mexican immigrants attending these marches and processions perceived their experience, it is apparent that thousands of them participated enthusiastically. Listening to the sermons about the suffering and heroism on the Cristero battlefields, at least some attendees may have felt inspired, as Manríquez y Zárate put it, "to unite with their compatriots in the glorification of Cristo Rey, above all [in] defending this cause in the battlefields."<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, the bishop of Huejutla was well aware that these marches offered a way for Cristero supporters to take a public stance against Mexico's anticlerical government and to affirm their own patriotism in the process. Indeed, he reported after the October march that participants "that beforehand were embarrassed to call themselves Mexicans, are now honored to announce their nationality."<sup>49</sup> Religious processions such as these would have lasting significance and would become regularly recurring events in Los Angeles into the mid-1930s.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup>"Mas de Diez Mil Mexicanos Formaron en el Gran Desfile: Monseñor Manríquez y Zárate pronunció el sermón final," *El Diario de El Paso*, June 14, 1928, UNAM-Traslosheros, Caja 100, Expediente 724, Foja 6897. "Corpus Christi Fete Gay Event: Ten Thousand of City's Latin Presidents Participate," *Los Angeles Times*, June 11, 1928, A2.

<sup>47</sup>Mexico City, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Archivo Miguel Palomar y Vizcarra, José de Jesús Manríquez y Zárate [hereafter MyZ] to Manuel Palomar y Vizcarra [hereafter PyV], November 3, 1928, Serie Conflicto Religioso, rollo de microfilm sin numero [hereafter INAH-MPV].

<sup>48</sup>MyZ to PyV, November 3, 1928, INAH-MPV.

<sup>49</sup>MyZ to PyV, November 3, 1928, INAH-MPV.

<sup>50</sup>Francisco E. Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza: The Los Angeles Mexican Consulate and the Mexican Community, 1929 to 1936* (Tucson, 1982), p. 77. See also Michael E. Engh, S.J., "Companion of the Immigrants: Devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe among Mexicans in the Los Angeles Area, 1900-1940," *Journal of Hispanic Latino Theology*, 5, no 1 (1997), 37-47.



# ¡VIVA CRISTO REY!

## CATOLICOS MEXICANOS:

Con profunda pena la Comisión Organizadora de los festejos de la Fiesta de CRISTO REY, anuncia a los católicos mexicanos, un nuevo cambio de local para la celebración de dichos festejos...

Seguramente que muchos preguntarán ¿A qué es debido esto? Una sola respuesta tiene esta significativa pregunta: Es que no estamos en nuestra casa y tenemos que solicitarlo todo y, a más de no estar en nuestra casa, SOMOS MEXICANOS...

El nuevo lugar en donde parece que definitivamente se verificará este imponente acto, es el

## CAMPO DE LA ALTA ESCUELA CATEDRAL

regenteada por los Hermanos de las Escuelas Cristianas, en la North Broadway y Bishop Rd., un poco adelante del templo de San Pedro y San Pablo.

### CATOLICOS MEXICANOS:

Nada nos haga restar nuestro entusiasmo para nuestra Gran Festividad. Acudamos todos. Démosle a este acto, con nuestra presencia y nuestro entusiasmo, un esplendor inusitado y que tenga una trascendencia mundial. Repetimos a los señores Curas nuestra súplica de que organicen sus Instituciones piadosas y de carácter social y que vayan con sus estandartes y banderas. Volvemos a rogar a los Sres. sacerdotes y a todas las religiosas, procuren asistir. Insistimos en que ningún mexicano debe faltar a esta grandiosa Festividad.

Carros que deben tomarse para llegar al lugar: El "2", el "3", la "E" y la "W" que hacen parada precisamente en la Broadway y Bishop, media cuadra precisamente del lugar en donde tendrá verificativo el acto.

Los Angeles, California, Octubre de 1928.

Editorial "La Placita" 524 New High St. - Los Angeles, Calif.

FIGURE 7. Flyer from the Fiesta de Cristo Rey, Los Angeles, October 1928. UNAM-Traslosheros, Caja 102, Expediente 730, Document 7345. Reproduced by permission of the Archivo Histórico de la UNAM.

### *Chicago—Forming Parishes and Community Organizing*

While Mexicans in Los Angeles were displaying a religious form of patriotism in a series of marches, Mexican Catholics in Chicago were undertaking similar public efforts, albeit on a smaller scale. In contrast to the three cities previously discussed, Chicago's Mexican community during the late 1920s was almost entirely composed of new immigrants. It had, however, experienced a similar rate of growth during that decade: with about 1200 Mexicans in 1920, Chicago's Mexican community had grown to about 21,000 by 1930.<sup>51</sup>

Like the other cities, Chicago's religious exiles were instrumental in establishing links to the ongoing religious conflict in Mexico. In terms of clerical exiles, Chicago did not host any Mexican bishops or archbishops; rather, the single most important group of religious exiles were the Claretians, clergy of a Spanish religious order who had arrived in Chicago in 1924. There, they played a key role in founding a Mexican parish church, Our Lady of Guadalupe. As its records attest, the religious conflict was of central importance to priests and parishioners. Sunday sermons frequently covered the topic of Cristero martyrdom, religious freedom in Mexico, and the evils of the Mexican government; priests also asked parishioners to donate money for the Cristero cause. Furthermore, the Cristero War provided a context for public events such as a cornerstone-laying ceremony for Our Lady of Guadalupe's new building.

The powerful Mexican bishop Pascual Díaz attended the ceremony, which took place on April 1, 1928. The open car in which the bishop rode headed a procession of the city's numerous Catholic societies—including some 500 Mexicans—and an audience of about 10,000 Catholics watched the parade wend its way through South Chicago's streets.<sup>52</sup> During the cornerstone-laying ceremony, Our Lady of Guadalupe's canon priest, James Tort, C.M.F., discussed "the terrible conditions in which can be found thousands of Mexican Catholics who are denied in their own fatherland the right to worship God." Later, Díaz "protested against [these] calumnies, and exhorted the Mexican colony to be always grateful for the religious liberty of this Nation the United States and to always preserve their faith and their religion."<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup>Juan R. García, *Mexicans in the Midwest, 1900–1932* (Tucson, 1996), pp. 27, 46, 43, 239.

<sup>52</sup>Malachy McCarthy, "Which Christ Came to Chicago," p. 214.

<sup>53</sup>Chicago, Claretian Missionaries Archives, *Announcements*, Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish, April 1, 1928.

Chicago's Mexican Catholic community remained aware of and connected to the Cristero conflict not only through parish events but also through religious organizations, several of which were formed during the late 1920s. One important association was El Circulo de Obreros Catolicos "San José," which raised funds for the building of the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Los Obreros, as the group came to be known, also engaged in fund-raising and public advocacy on behalf of the Church in Mexico after the onset of the Cristero War. The group also founded the newspaper *El Amigo del Hogar*, which published frequent articles reminding readers about the violent conflict in Mexico.<sup>54</sup>

Another increasingly prominent organization was the Beneficent Society Pro-Mexico, which devoted itself to raising funds to support the Cristero cause in Mexico and publishing propaganda within the United States to attract attention to the Cristero issues. By May 1928, the society boasted Illinois-based branches in South Chicago, Aurora, Elgin, Joliet, Melrose Park, and Waukegan as well as other branches in Detroit, Gary, Indiana Harbor, and Milwaukee. Although Carlos Fernández, a middle-class Catholic immigrant living in Chicago, founded the organization, many of its members were "poor Mexican laborers" who resided in Chicago, Detroit, and other Midwestern cities.<sup>55</sup>

Chicago's community of Mexican Catholics, despite its small size and relative poverty, received the backing of a powerful figure in the U.S. Catholic hierarchy: Cardinal George Mundelein, who had stated in 1926 that he was willing to help the Mexican community in the Midwest "with all the power and all my faculties" due to the urgent nature of the Cristero conflict. In fact, the arrival of clerical exiles, the needs of the growing Mexican community, and Mundelein's sympathy for the Cristero cause led him to "[break] with his established policy of discouraging national parishes" and to support the con-

<sup>54</sup>Dolan and Hinojosa, *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church*, p. 195.

<sup>55</sup>Mexico City, Archivo Histórico, UNAM, Carlos Fernández to the National Catholic Welfare Conference, May 7, 1928, Fondo Manuel Palomar y Vizcarra, Serie Liga Nacional Defensora de la Libertad Religiosa [hereafter UNAM-LNDLR], Document 4050, Inv. No. 5050; Carlos Fernández to Salvador Chavez Hayhoe, May 7, 1928, UNAM-LNDLR, Document 4071, Inv. No. 5051; Carlos Fernández and associates to Rev. D. Zaldívar, Chicago, May 11, 1928, UNAM-LNDLR Document 4089, Inv. No. 5089; CF to Guillermo Prieto-Yeme in San Antonio, March 13, 1928, UNAM-LNDLR 3954, Document, Inv. No. 4855.



struction of Mexican churches.<sup>56</sup> Like their compatriots in San Antonio, El Paso, and Los Angeles, Mexican Cristero supporters in Chicago saw tangible benefits from the institutional support of the U.S. Catholic Church.

## 5. Conclusions: The Historical Significance of the Cristero Diaspora

In the four cities previously discussed, Mexican immigrants undertook a variety of actions in support of the Cristero cause: diplomacy in San Antonio, militancy in El Paso, religious processions in Los Angeles, and parish formation and community organizing efforts in Chicago. These activities occurred nearly simultaneously and with an identical goal: to express support for the Cristero cause and the Catholic Church in Mexico. This shared purpose suggests that Mexicans who supported the Cristero War from the United States were part of a religious diaspora.

Numerous scholars have discussed the term *diaspora*; it is understood here to be a group of immigrants (both labor migrants as well as exiles and/or refugees) who share a political goal related to their homeland. In the case of the Cristero diaspora, this goal is perhaps best described by Stefane Dufoix's concept of the "antagonistic" diasporic mode, in which a migrant group rejects the legitimacy of the ruling government in their country of origin and attempts "to liberate their country, nation, people, or land."<sup>57</sup> In the case of the Cristero diaspora, religion—specifically, the restoration of the Catholic Church and Catholic practice in Mexico—served as the rationale behind their political activities in the United States.

<sup>56</sup>Chicago, Claretian Missionaries Archives, "Crónica de la Cuasi-Residencia de los Misioneros Hijos del Corazón de Maria en Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., Octubre 1924-Agosto 1946." Badillo, in Dolan and Hinojosa, *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church*, p. 256. Martínez, "Bordering on the Sacred," p. 148.

<sup>57</sup>Stefane Dufoix, *Diasporas*, trans. William Rodamor (Berkeley, 2006), p. 60. Dufoix also cites William Safran's six criteria for diasporas, which Mexico's Cristero supporters seem to meet: (1) "their or their ancestors' dispersion from a center to at least two peripheral foreign regions"; (2) "the persistence of a collective memory concerning their homeland"; (3) "the certainty that their acceptance by the host society is important"; (4) "the maintenance of an often idealized homeland as a goal of return"; (5) the belief in a collective duty to engage in the perpetuation, restoration, or security of the country of origin"; and (6) "the maintenance of individual or collective relations with the country of origin."

By identifying this group of emigrants as a “Cristero diaspora” and describing their activities, this article makes three historiographical contributions. First, the vast majority of studies of the Cristero War describes it as a strictly regional, popular conflict and portray those in the Cristero cause as tradition-bound and isolated peasants who did not emigrate, but rather stayed close to their parishes and villages.<sup>58</sup> The activities of Cristero supporters in the United States, however, demonstrate that the immigrants, religious exiles, and political refugees who left Mexico during the 1920s extended the Cristero War across national borders. Indeed, by employing archival sources from both sides of the border to define and describe the Cristero diaspora, this article recasts the Cristero War as a transnational conflict, rather than a regional or even national one.

Second, many of the relevant historical studies of Mexican emigration to the United States depict the process of migration as a secularizing experience for Mexicans and view secularization as an inevitable outcome of exposure to the more “modern” environment of the United States.<sup>59</sup> Yet it is apparent from the activities of Mexican Cristero supporters in San Antonio, El Paso, Los Angeles, and Chicago that many thousands of Mexican immigrants remained profoundly religious and were willing to publicly express these religious goals and beliefs.

Finally, this article also sheds new light on the role of the U.S. Catholic Church during the Cristero conflict. Despite the widespread racism of the era, the NCWC’s Immigration Bureau and the sympathetic bishops and archbishops in the four cities previously discussed acknowledged the importance of Mexican parishes and parishioners for the future of the embattled Catholic Church in Mexico. Furthermore, by helping Mexican religious exiles to resettle within

<sup>58</sup>Such studies include David Bailey, *Viva Cristo Rey! The Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State Conflict in Mexico* (Austin, TX, 1974); Matthew Butler, *Popular Piety and Political Identity in Mexico’s Cristero Rebellion: Michoacán, 1927–29* (New York, 2004); Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion*. Furthermore, in the field of Mexican migration studies, Timothy Matovina is perhaps unique in considering religion—and more specifically, a “theology of exile”—as it affected community formation among Mexicans in Texas. Matovina, *Guadalupe and Her Faithful*.

<sup>59</sup>See Manuel Gamio, *Mexican Immigration to the United States: A Study of Human Migration and Adjustment* (Chicago, 1930); Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American*. Exceptions include Dolan and Hinojosa, *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church*; Matovina, *Guadalupe and Her Faithful*; and McCarthy, “Which Christ Came to Chicago.”

Mexican emigrant communities and by supporting their religious and political activities there, these U.S. Catholics played a key role in the development of the Cristero diaspora.<sup>60</sup>

Although the existence and activities of this Cristero diaspora have been demonstrated in the preceding pages, there remain three central questions about this group that would benefit from further examination. The first of these concerns the exact number of Mexican immigrants who supported the Cristero cause. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine any concrete statistical estimates based on the available sources. This holds true for estimates of the size of the entire Mexican immigrant population during these years, as well: disparate projections range from as low as 500,000 to 4 million.<sup>61</sup> Given the inaccuracy or incompleteness of demographic surveys of the period, and given that there was no thorough, contemporaneous study of political affiliations among Mexican immigrants during the 1920s, further archival investigation might provide new clues to this question.<sup>62</sup>

The second question concerns the demographic characteristics of this diasporic group. Were pro-Cristero Mexicans predominantly rich or poor, male or female, urban or rural? Based on the activities in San Antonio, El Paso, Los Angeles, and Chicago, it is only possible to conclude here that this group was more remarkable for its diversity than for any common characteristic or set of characteristics; it included

<sup>60</sup>Although scholars such as Malachy McCarthy and Anne Martínez have provided excellent analyses of the role of the U.S. Catholic Church in resettling religious refugees from Mexico, they have both asserted that the U.S. hierarchy was uninterested in Mexican laypeople. See McCarthy, "Which Christ Came to Chicago," p. 200; Martínez, "Bordering on the Sacred," p. 189.

<sup>61</sup>See José Hernández Álvarez, "A Demographic Profile of the Mexican Immigration to the United States, 1910-1950," *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, 8 (1966), 471-96.

<sup>62</sup>By calculating the percentage of the participants in the marches mentioned earlier, as compared to entire Mexican populations of each city, it is possible to obtain some sense of the rates of participation (although it must be acknowledged that in the marches in Los Angeles and El Paso, it is quite likely that some of the marchers were not Mexican). If, by 1928, 3000 Mexicans marched in San Antonio, 35,000 in El Paso, 10,000 in Los Angeles, and 500 in Chicago, then this would indicate a participation rate of 5 percent in San Antonio (with 60,000 to 80,000 Mexicans), 50 percent in El Paso (with around 60,000), 4 percent in Los Angeles (with 250,000), and .6 percent in Chicago (with 75,000). These numbers, although quite vague, nonetheless suggest that a vocal minority of Mexicans were willing to express their sympathy for the Catholic cause in public. El Paso's high number of Catholic sympathizers could probably be attributed to its location as the home of the NCWC's Immigration Bureau, as well as its proximity to the border and its status as the first destination for many recent religious exiles.

wealthy and middle-class immigrants in San Antonio, poorer Mexicans in Chicago and El Paso, women's groups as well as men's associations, and migrants from a variety of places in Mexico. Nevertheless, a more detailed study could tease out these distinctions further.

Finally, there is ample evidence that the formation and activities of the Cristero diaspora have had a long-term impact for Mexican Catholics on both sides of the border, as well as for the general U.S. Catholic population. Many of Mexico's religious exiles returned to Mexico after the peace accords of 1929, where they, as well as Mexico's lay political exiles, continued to be active in Mexican politics.<sup>63</sup> Others stayed in the United States—and indeed, many of the schools, parishes, convents, and community organizations that they founded still exist today. Some of these still bear the name of Christ the King, reminding us of the central role played by the Cristero conflict for Mexican immigrant communities during the 1920s and beyond.<sup>64</sup> Thus, the story of the Cristero diaspora—one of emigration, exile, nationalism, persecution, and religious belief—can have contemporary as well as historical implications.

<sup>63</sup>In Mexico, the relationship between church and state has once again become a topic of heightened public interest, and it is certainly worth studying what the resonance of the Cristero War—and particularly, of the Mexican political exiles who returned to Mexico in the subsequent decades—might have for this debate. Numerous recent events—the moralizing campaigns of the PAN, the debate over abortion in Mexico City and the rise of the Pro-Vida lay organization, the political involvement of Cardinal Norberto Rivera Carrera, the resurgence of ultraconservative lay organizations such as the Legionarios de Cristo, the canonization of twenty-five Mexican martyrs in 2000, and the subsequent cross-country tour of their relics sponsored by the Knights of Columbus—led many to wonder whether the Church would begin to assume a more prominent role in Mexican politics and demonstrate that the church-state conflict is still very much alive in the contemporary Mexican consciousness.

<sup>64</sup>One of many such surviving institutions is the Carmelite Sisters of the Most Sacred Heart of Los Angeles, founded by Maria Luisa Josefa, a religious refugee from Atotonilco el Alto, Jalisco. See "Mother Luisita's Story," <http://www.carmelitesistersocd.com/foundress/MotherLuisitaLife.asp>.



# THE NINETY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

## Report of the Committee on Program

The ninety-second annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association was held in conjunction with the annual meetings of the American Historical Association and affiliated societies at the Marriott Miracle Mile Downtown Chicago, Illinois, from Thursday to Sunday, January 5–8, 2012. A special thanks goes to Ellen Skerrett (Jane Addams Papers Project) and Malachy R. McCarthy (Claretian Missionaries Archives USA) for their efforts in developing the Chicago program. Without their leadership, the conference would not have been a success.

On Thursday afternoon, the annual meeting kicked off with one session composed of five panels.

The first panel, “Communities and Networks in Early Modern European Catholicism,” featured papers by Dale Van Kley (Ohio State University) on “Communities in Dialogue: Utrecht Jansenists and Catholics, 1769–74,” which described the contrasting views of authority in those ecclesiastical parties; Pierpaolo Polzonetti (University of Notre Dame) on “Community of Listeners: Music as Universal Liturgical Language,” which highlighted the development of new forms of instrumental music as a means of transcending linguistic and cultural differences; and Ulrich Lehner (Marquette University) on “Communities and Crime: Monastic Prisons in the Habsburg Territories, 1770–80,” which focused on the disciplinary system in selected male and female religious houses. Ralph Keen (University of Illinois at Chicago) chaired the session and provided the response.

In the panel “Reconciling Medieval Communities: Priests, People, and Prostitutes” the following papers were read: Winston E. Black II (University of Tennessee), “Shepherds Astray: Clerical Officers in the Later Medieval Court of Conscience”; Marc B. Cels (Athabasca University, Alberta, Canada), “‘First be Reconciled’: Penitential Reconciliation of Enemies by Parochial Priests”; and Lori A. Woods (St. Francis University, PA), “Disciplinary Dilemmas: Reconciling Prostitutes and Wayward Wives in Late Medieval Valencia.” Indre Cuplinskas (St. Joseph’s College at the University of Alberta, Canada) chaired the session. David M. Perry (Dominican University) provided insightful comments pointing to how the papers approached the issue of the effects of sin on community and difficulties of investigating both the theory and practice of reconciliation. This was followed by a lively discussion with the audience.

The third session of Thursday afternoon, "Latinos and U.S. Catholicism: A Reappraisal," was chaired by Malachy R. McCarthy (Claretian Missionaries Archives USA) and focused on the challenges of ministering to Latino Catholics today and in the past. The paper "Latinos and the Transformation of American Catholicism" by Timothy Matovina (University of Notre Dame) reflected current issues. "Making Mexican Parishes: Ethnic Succession in Chicago Churches, 1947-77" by Deborah E. Kanter (Albion College) examined the transformation of Pilsen's ethnic churches from an Eastern European to a Spanish-speaking congregation. John J. Macias Jr. (Claremont Graduate University), in the paper "The Resurrection of San Gabriel: The Image of Mexican Catholics in the Context of the Spanish Fantasy Heritage," presented a different challenge. The local Mexican Catholic community had to contend with California's Protestant romanticized understanding of the state's mission heritage with the reality of ministering to an increasing Spanish-speaking audience. A lively discussion followed.

The panel "Marian Devotion in North America" was composed of Kathleen Sprows Cummings (University of Notre Dame), "An American Lourdes? The Shrine of Our Lady of the Martyrs and the Search for an American Saint, 1884-1930"; Thomas A. Tweed (University of Texas at Austin), "Contesting Protestants and Claiming America: Marian Devotion at Washington's National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, 1919-59"; and Joseph Laycock (Piedmont Virginia Community College), "The Pope Is an Imposter! Subversive Marian Devotion in the Wake of Vatican II"; they then presented their current research on Marian devotionism in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Kristy Nabhan-Warren (Augustana College) chaired the session. There was an open and lively discussion of the papers as members of the audience were quite engaged.

And last, "Perspectives in American Catholic History" highlighted the current doctoral work of three students, and these accompanied an additional presentation on the seal of confession by Patrick Carey (Marquette University). Kevin Q. Doyle, a student at Brandeis in early American history, delivered the paper "Anti-Popery on Battlefields and Streets: The Fifth of November and the Church of Rome in the Age of Revolution." Doyle noted that the specter of anti-Catholic feeling enkindled by this day has not subsided. Re-enactment societies are active in parts of New England, particularly Rhode Island, as well as Virginia. Paul G. Monson, a student in historical theology at Marquette whose research is directed by Carey, compared two important early Benedictine abbots in America—Boniface Wimmer and future bishop Martin Marty—in a paper that underscored their contrasting approaches to the role of the monastery in America. Monson pushed the idea of "usefulness" or "utility" in attempting to understand the ecclesiology of these abbots and how their respective foundations shaped monastic life well into the twentieth century. Finally, Jacob Betz (University of Chicago) provided a work in progress on incarcerated Catholic youth and religious free-

dom in America from 1865 to 1890. Audience questions were mediated by session chair Patrick J. Hayes (Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province).

The Executive Council also met on Thursday afternoon.

A full day of sessions began on Friday. Four panels and a roundtable were held in the morning, and four more sessions were held in the afternoon, which were followed by two optional tours later in the day.

In the morning Robert E. Carbonneau, C.P. (Passionist Historical Archives) chaired a roundtable session and the audience response on "Building a Catholic Archival Network." Emilie Gagnet Leumas (Archdiocese of New Orleans) presented on "Documenting the Catholic Experience in Louisiana," Patricia A. Lawton (Catholic Research Resources Alliance) presented on "Building Community and Content," and Ellen D. Pierce (Maryknoll Mission Archives) presented on "The Internet Mission Photography Archive at USC: Maryknoll's Global Collaboration to Share Visual Resources."

The panel "Reconsidering Episcopal Leadership and Trusteeship in the U.S. Catholic Church" found Paul Lubienecki, a graduate student at Case Western Reserve University, presenting a paper on the efforts of John Timon, Vincentian bishop of Buffalo, to create a favorable space for Catholic life in upstate New York. He highlighted Timon's recruitment and support of the Daughters of Charity whose hospital served all citizens of Buffalo. Stern opposition from Protestant adversaries did not daunt Timon. William J. Galush (professor emeritus of history, Loyola University Chicago) presented his research on the Milwaukee-based Federation of Catholic Laymen. Founded by Polish activist Michael Kruszk, this organization mobilized laypeople to demand a share in administration and direction of Polish parishes. Although he appealed to certain fundamentals of American freedom, his model was the extensive lay involvement of churches in Europe. Patrick McNamara (archivist, Archdiocese of New York) presented the paper "George W. Mundelein: The New York Years, 1872-1915" on the early career of one of Chicago's greatest archbishops. A priest of the Diocese of Brooklyn, the bright, ambitious, and organizationally astute Mundelein rose to power in his native see. Appointed auxiliary of Brooklyn, he was ceded large amounts of power by his failing Ordinary and, by the time of his appointment to Chicago in 1915, was the *de facto* leader of this large and growing diocese. Mundelein demonstrated special talent for building big and architecturally elegant buildings. McNamara argued that Mundelein's better-known tenure in Chicago was to some extent prefigured by his earlier experience in his native Brooklyn. A lively discussion followed.

The third panel of the morning found Margaret M. McGuinness (La Salle University) chairing "Constructing Catholic Identity in Modern America." William B. Kurtz (University of Virginia) presented the paper "The Making of a Catholic Hero: William S. Rosecrans and the Catholic Memory of the

American Civil War," arguing that Catholic convert and Civil War general William Rosecrans has been ignored by historians examining the place of Catholics in that conflict because they have focused primarily on the Irish experience. In "Promotion of and Devotion to the Little Flower as Window to Chicago's Catholic Life in the 1920s," Michael D. Jacobs (University of Wisconsin-Baraboo) explained how devotion to the Little Flower helped to create a shared identity among a diverse group of ethnic parishes. Again, a lively discussion and question period followed the presentations.

The fourth panel on Friday morning, "The Papacy between Traditionalism and Modernity: From Pius XI to Benedict XVI," was chaired by J. Casey Hammond (Singapore University of Technology and Design). Frank J. Coppa (St. John's University) presented "The Pre-Vatican Reformism of Pius XI and Pius XII," whereas Peter C. Kent (University of New Brunswick, Canada) focused on postconciliar popes in "John Paul II and Benedict XVI between Reform and Restoration." Kevin Madigan (Harvard University Divinity School) served as commentator.

Friday afternoon began with the graduate student roundtable "Mining Religious Sources: Profits and Pitfalls," which was chaired by Kathleen Sprows Cummings (University of Notre Dame). Participating were three archivists, two librarians, and three senior scholars as well as dozen graduate students. After all present introduced themselves and described their current projects, the senior scholars and archivists suggested helpful techniques for graduate students approaching archivists for the first time. These included asking a senior colleague in their field to make the initial introduction, framing their topic clearly, and recognizing the fact that all archives are organized differently and that the archivist will not be approaching the collections with the same perspective or the same questions as the researchers. The problems and challenges of working with digitalized material were discussed. Participants also raised challenges particular to their individual research projects.

Three panels were held Friday afternoon. "The Popular Culture of Transatlantic Catholicism in the Twentieth Century" included the following papers: "Guy Thorne, Popular Catholicism, and Fin-de-siècle Literature" by Bethany Kilcrease (Aquinas College); "Parish Closure versus Cultural Celebration: Basque and Hispanic Immigrant Catholic Church Experience in Twentieth-Century America" by John P. Bieter Jr. (Boise State University); and "No Free Pass: Representations of Catholic Guilt in Popular Culture" by Sarah K. Nytroe (DeSales University). James M. O'Toole (Boston College) chaired the session and provided some comment before extended audience discussion.

"Conciliar Catholicism in Comparison: Public Activism in the United States and Germany, 1965-85" offered comparisons of two case studies of Catholicism in the immediate aftermath of the Second Vatican Council, in Germany and the United States. Kirsten Oboth (Ruhr-University Bochum) and Isabelle Nagel (Ruhr-University Bochum) offered papers comparing the trans-



formation of women religious in both countries. Jens Oboth (Ruhr-University Bochum) and Daniel Gibboney (Florida State University) offered papers comparing peace movements in the two nations. Nagel presented the paper "The Transformation Process of Women Religious in the United States between the 1950s and the 1970s" that focused on the role of the Sister Formation Conference and American norms of participatory governance in the reform process pursued by the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Dubuque, IA. Kirsten Oboth presented "The Transformation of the Good Shepherd Sisters in Germany between the 1950s and the 1980s," which explored how Catholic sisters in the Good Shepherd Sisters embraced a radical form of total obedience in the postwar period, even as German society and the Catholic Church were moving toward more collegial models of shared authority. Jens Oboth presented "Coming to Terms with the Nazi Past as a Catalyst of Religious Emancipation and Transformation? The German Section of 'Pax Christi,' 1948-89" in which he traced the gradual evolution of Pax Christi in Germany from an initially devotional and Marian-centered Catholic Action movement seeking the conversion of Europe to a politically-oriented organization that criticized the complicity of German bishops in the human atrocities of World War II. Gibboney presented "Monasticisms of Different Flavors: Thomas Merton and Daniel Berrigan's Engagement with Buddhism, Opposition to the Vietnam War, and the Making of the Catholic Church in Post-Vatican II America," in which he argued that both Merton and Berrigan drew from a model of monasticism and religious community as a critique of worldly realities that could be employed to criticize American action in the Vietnam War. Amy L. Koehlinger (Florida State University) chaired the session and offered a response that highlighted some comparative issues raised by the papers, specifically the role that national organizations played (or did not, in the German case) in the renewal process of women religious and the divergent ways that German and American Catholics responded to the challenge of living in a state that was involved in violent conflict and human rights violations.

In "Rome and American Culture from Leo XIII to John Paul II," Cassandra L. Yacovazzi (University of Missouri-Columbia) presented "The Yankee and the Pontiff: A Comparison of Samuel Clemens' and Pope Leo XIII's Critique of Modernity in the Late Nineteenth Century"; Peter S. Cajka (Boston College) delivered "Beyond Self-Mortification to the Politics of Human Rights: Paul VI's 1966 Abolition of Fasting in the American Context, 1930-85"; and Dominic E. Faraone (Marquette University) spoke on "Death and the Council: Vatican II and Catholic Grief in Milwaukee." Charles R. Gallagher, S.J. (Boston College) chaired the session and served as commentator. This panel composed entirely of graduate students focused on the many aspects of cross contact between Rome and United States from the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries. These cultural contacts range from American classical literature to the observation of pietistic practices. All three papers dealt in one way or another with the adjustment of both practice and person to modernity. Yacovazzi took the

view that Clemens, through his "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court," and Pope Leo XIII, in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, both took a cynical position toward modernism and the rise of technology in the West. Rather than counting this as a reaction to industrialization, the paper argued that both principals came from different paths to philosophically agree upon the larger objective. Cajka, presenting the most provocative paper, elicited the most response. In his discussion of Lent, Cajka introduced the concept of *disembodiment* in terms of Lenten practice and effects on the body; he argued that a shift occurred prior to and after the Second Vatican Council, which allowed for this disembodiment to take place. Faraone offered a very well-researched and well-argued paper on how one diocese dealt with social and economic problems connected to funeral rites, grieving, and the economic forces connected to modern issues involving death and dying in Catholicism.

In addition to the various sessions and roundtables that individuals could attend during the annual conference, members were also invited to participate in two Chicago tours. Ellen Skerrett (Jane Addams Papers Project) conducted the first tour: "In the Shadow of Hull House: Catholic Church Architecture on Chicago's Near West Side," which was hosted by the Catholic Studies Program, University of Illinois at Chicago. This was followed by a tour of nearby St. James's Chapel, conducted by Ralph Keen (University of Illinois at Chicago) and sponsored by the Catholic Studies Program at UIC. An onsite reception concluded the event.

The annual General Business meeting was held in the late afternoon where changes to the Constitution were approved after careful and serious deliberation (see the Report of the Executive Secretary and Treasurer in this issue).

Three sessions and a roundtable were held on Saturday morning. The first session, "Catholic Architecture and the Shaping of Urban America," featured Catherine Osborne (Fordham University) on "Lay Patrons of Church Architecture in Twentieth-Century American Catholicism"; Joseph C. Bigott (Purdue University Calumet) on "Form Followed Culture: Roman Catholic Parish Architecture in Chicagoland, 1860-1935"; and Denis R. McNamara (University of St. Mary of the Lake/Mundelein Seminary) on "Hidden in Plain Sight: The Theological Foundations of Chicago's Immigrant Church Architecture." The chair and commentator was Peter W. Williams (Miami University, Oxford, OH).

The second session, "Urban Catholic Education: The Best of Times, the Worst of Times," was chaired by Philip Gleason (professor emeritus of history, University of Notre Dame), who also served as commentator. It began with "Praying to Saint Anthony: The Recent History of Urban Catholic Education," a paper delivered by Timothy G. Walch (director emeritus, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library) that discussed a number of initiatives that sought to respond to the critical challenges facing Catholic educators since the 1960s.

He viewed as particularly encouraging the development of the combined Nativity/Miguel-Cristo Rey network of schools and the growth of teacher preparation programs under the aegis of the University Consortium for Catholic Education. In contrast to Walch's broad overview of recent initiatives, Justin D. Poché (College of the Holy Cross) concentrated on a highly charged moment in a particular locale in "The Politics of Reconciliation in New Orleans Catholic Schools, 1962-1972" (a title different from one provided to the planners of the ACHA program). Poché reviewed the problems encountered by Catholic educators in their efforts to achieve racial integration in the decade following Archbishop Joseph Rummel's integration order of 1962. The third paper, "Reimagining Catholic Education in Newark: The Resurrection of St. Benedict's Prep," was presented by Thomas A. McCabe (Rutgers University-Newark). As the title suggests, it was sharply focused on the experience of a single school in Newark, NJ, a city torn by social, economic, and racial upheaval. Required by exigent pressures to close for the academic year 1972-73, St. Benedict's Preparatory School managed to reinvent itself to serve a new, nearly all-black clientele; it has since prospered as an integrated academy. In his comments, Gleason noted that the three presentations moved from the national, through the regional, to the individual-school level in terms of scale. He also called attention to the interesting role played by religious communities of men in Walch's and McCabe's papers. The audience, though small, raised a number of questions, and a lively discussion ensued.

Shawn F. Peters (University of Wisconsin, Madison) responded to two papers for the panel "Issues and Outcomes Surrounding the Second Vatican Council." These were supplied by Rosalie G. Riegle (Saginaw Valley State University) and Nicholas Rademacher (Cabrini College). Riegle's work centered on oral testimonies of several dozen Catholic Workers, the results of which form part of two forthcoming books that will emerge this year. The paper was a foretaste of these volumes, as was the response of Peters, whose own book on the Catonsville Nine is under contract with Oxford University Press. Peters, a native of Catonsville, MD, felt that a more balanced historiographical study was required to place the trial that took place in Catonsville into a broader cultural and religious context. Rademacher is also interested in the social activism of Catholics, and one in particular was the focus of his contribution. He examined the life of Catherine de Hueck Doherty as she moved from the slums of Chicago to her spiritual retreat in Combermere, Ontario, Canada. For this work, he mined both American and Canadian archives and built his paper on unpublished letters between Doherty and her spiritual director, Paul Hanley Furfey (The Catholic University of America). Patrick J. Hayes (Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province) moderated this session.

Matthew Cressler, PhD candidate at Northwestern University and the 2011 John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award recipient, chaired "Scandal, Resistance, and Practice: A Roundtable on John Seitz's *No Closure* (2011)." Participants

included Brian J. Clites (PhD candidate, Northwestern University), who discussed the relationship between the clergy sex abuse crisis and the crisis of parish closures in contemporary American Catholic life. John T. McGreevy (University of Notre Dame) discussed the relationship between the parish as a pivotal institution in American Catholic history and notions of Catholic modernity. Kristy Nabhan-Warren (Augustana College) discussed the use of ethnographic and ethno-historical methods in the study of American Catholicism. John Seitz (Fordham University) responded to the three commentators and discussed new avenues for further research of American Catholic life in the twenty-first century.

The Presidential Luncheon convened at noon with 2012 ACHA President Thomas F. X. Noble (University of Notre Dame) presiding. Sixty-four members and guests were in attendance. Cardinal Francis George, O.M.I., archbishop of Chicago, welcomed the members of the Association to Chicago and offered the blessing (see below for the cardinal's invocation). Several awards were presented during the event (for details regarding the recipients, see the section on awards in this issue). Following the luncheon, Larissa J. Taylor (Colby College and 2011 ACHA president) delivered her presidential address, "Joan of Arc, the Church and the Papacy, 1429-1920."

Saturday afternoon had one session with four panels. The first panel, "Protestant Catholicity: The Hidden Reformation of American Christian Communities," was chaired by James Hudnut-Beumler (Vanderbilt University). Papers by Thomas F. Rzeznik (Seton Hall University) on "The Measure of Faith: Religious Communities and the Culture of Assessment in Early Twentieth-Century Church Surveys," Mark Thomas Edwards (Spring Arbor University) on "A Higher Form of Collectivism: The Rise of Evangelical Catholicism," and David R. Bains (Samford University) on "Where Rome Is Right: Shaping a Protestant Catholicism through Worship" were commented upon by Elesha Coffman (Princeton University) and Laura R. Olson (Clemson University).

The second panel of the afternoon, "Depictions of Catholic Life on the Silver Screen: From Italy to Hollywood," featured Anthony B. Smith (University of Dayton) on "Manhattan *Citta Aperta*: Neo-Realism, Catholicism, and Postwar American Cinema"; Thomas Aiello (Valdosta State University) on "The Paranoid and the Damned: Ira Levin's *Rosemary's Baby* and the Changing Religious Culture of the 1960s"; and Debra Campbell (Colby College) on "Sisters Have at It: Women Religious React to *The Nun's Story*." Serving as chair and commentator for the panel was Bren A. O. Murphy (Loyola University Chicago).

The third panel of the afternoon, "Catholicism in the City of the Big Shoulders," was chaired by Steven Rosswurm (Lake Forest College, IL), who also provided commentary. Presenters included Dominic A. Pacyga (Columbia College), "The Hardscrabble Roots of the Daley Machine: Bridgeport and the Rise of Richard J. Daley"; Charles H. Shanabruch (St. Xavier University),



"Edward Marciniak: Secular Christian Service"; and Timothy B. Neary, "The People's Bishop: Bernard J. Sheil of Chicago" (Salve Regina University).

The last panel of the afternoon, "Presidential Policy and the Catholic Church in America from Jimmy Carter to George H. W. Bush," was chaired by Timothy G. Walch (director emeritus, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library), in which all three panelists delivered substantive papers on the growing influence and role of Catholicism in American political life in the decades after World War II. Of particular note was the discussion of the challenges faced by Presidents Carter and Bush in eliciting support for their programs from the leadership on the American Catholic establishment. These findings were presented by Kevin Schultz (University of Illinois at Chicago), "William F Buckley Jr. and the Catholic Accommodation to Free Market Capitalism"; J. Brooks Flippen (Southeastern Oklahoma State University), "Catholicism and the Politics of Family during the Carter Years"; and Lawrence J. McAndrews (St. Norbert College), "Success and Setbacks of American Catholics during the Bush Administration."

The annual Mass for the deceased members of the Association was held on Saturday evening with Joseph N. Perry, auxiliary bishop of Chicago, presiding. As was the case last year, the liturgy was well attended. Following Mass, a Social was held for members of the Association.

Sunday's first sessions began at 8:30 am with four panels. The first panel, "Franciscan Pioneers and Prophets in the United States" featured Jeffrey M. Burns (Academy of American Franciscan History) on "Prophetic Franciscans in California, 1795-1970"; Lawrence Jagdfeld, O.F.M. (Sacred Heart Province), on "Challenges to and Accommodations by Pioneer Friars of the Sacred Heart Province"; and James A. Gutowski (Gilmour Academy) on "Hyacinth Epp, O.F.M. Cap., Pioneer and Prophet in Pennsylvania." Jack Clark Robinson, O.F.M. (Oblate School of Theology) chaired the panel, and Daniel Dwyer, O.F.M. (Siena College) provided commentary.

For the panel "Catholic Response to Modernity," Thomas Albert Howard (Gordon College) presented on "Ignaz von Döllinger on the Eve of Vatican I"; K. Aaron Van Oosterhout (Michigan State University) discussed "The Church under Siege: Popular Conservatism and Defense of Religion in the Mexican Reform Period, 1858-67"; and Indre Cuplinskas (St. Joseph's College of the University of Alberta, Canada) spoke on "Theological Sources for the Spirituality of Specialized Catholic Action in Quebec, 1930s and 1940s." Thomas F. X. Noble (University of Notre Dame and 2012 ACHA president) commented, and R. Bentley Anderson, S.J. (Fordham University and ACHA executive secretary-treasurer) served as chair of the panel.

The panel titled "Martin Luther in His Catholic Context: Some New Research" found David Luy (Marquette University) discussing "Martin Luther on the Metaphysics of the Incarnation: Medieval or Modern?," Christopher

Samuel (Marquette University) presenting on "'Heavenly Princes' and 'Superior Servants': Angels in the Sermons of Martin Luther," and Charles L. Cortright (Wisconsin Lutheran College) speaking on "Medieval and Catholic Continuities in Martin Luther's Understanding of the Human Body." The panel was chaired by Brad S. Gregory (University of Notre Dame), and the commentator was Ron Rittgers (Valparaiso University).

"Looking at the Face of European Catholicism from North American Eyes," the fourth panel of the morning, found Charles Keenan (Northwestern University) focusing on the dimensions of ecclesiastical reform by a faction of cardinals in the sixteenth century in "Right to Reform: Cardinals, Popes, and the Schismatic Council of Pisa, 1511." Next, Sean P. Phillips (University of Notre Dame) presented "'But Sin Maketh Nations Miserable': Usury, Catholicism, and the Political Economy in Early Nineteenth-Century France." This was followed by J. Casey Hammond (Singapore University of Technology and Design), who presented "'The Need for a Body that Strengthens our Vocation': An Episode of Laity Seeking Lives of Perfection in Fascist Italy," which explored the intensely spiritual, but apolitical, activities of the Pio Sodalizio dei Missionari della Regalità di Cristo. Finally, Sarah Shortall (Harvard University) presented "Dueling Modernisms: Henri de Lubac and the Interwar Critique of Neo-Thomism." Barton E. Price (Grand Valley State University) chaired. The panel entertained a lively discussion, which focused on the panel's theme of viewing European history with North American interpretations.

The second and final session of the conference had three panels of interest. First, "The American Catholic Church and the 'Problem' of Immigration in the Twentieth Century," had three presenters: Grainne F. McEvoy (Boston College), "A 'Constructive' Immigration Policy: American Catholic Social Critics and Immigration Restriction, 1916-29"; Maggie J. Elmore (University of California, Berkeley), "Segregating Sacred Space: Mexican American Catholicism in Northwest Texas, 1924-36"; and Todd Scribner (The Catholic University of America), "'Not Because They Are Catholic, but Because We Are Catholic': The Bishops' Engagement with Immigration in Twentieth-Century America." Maddalena Marinari (St. Bonaventure University) served as chair and commentator.

The penultimate panel, "De-Centering Old Stories: Where Was North American Catholicism Born?", was composed of Guillaume Teasdale (University of Ottawa), speaking on "Trans-Atlantic and Cross-Border Catholicism: The French Parishes of the Detroit River Region before the 1830s"; Eric Desautels (Concordia University, Montreal), speaking on "Keeping in Touch with National Heroes: The French Canadian Missionaries, Their Journals, and the Deconfessionalization Process, 1920-80"; Catherine O'Donnell (Arizona State University), speaking on "Loretto, Pennsylvania as an Experimental Catholic Community"; and Tangi Villerbu (University of La Rochelle), speaking on "Vincennes, 1804-23: 'Marguilliers,' French

Missionaries, and the New Nation.” Kent Wright (Arizona State University) provided commentary, noting that the panel papers complemented each other very well as they presented the French, Russian, Spanish, and Old World Europeans in general and contributed to the development of Catholicism in North America. A lively question-and-answer period followed. As Villerbu remarked, this may have been the most “French” session at the ACHA, given the participation of three native speakers of French and two other fellow travelers.

Finally, panelists of “Tensions within the North American Church” presented local, regional, national, and international case studies that focused on tensions facing the Church in the twentieth century. Alvah Green III (University of New Orleans) focused on the issue of parish closings in post-Katrina New Orleans, in “Fighting Spirit: New Orleans’ St. Henry’s 160-Year Long Effort to Survive, 1856–2007.” Seth Smith (The Catholic University of America), in “Implementing Vatican II Outside of the ‘Ghetto’: A Comparison of Two Isolated, Southern Parishes,” took a regional approach to conflict within American Roman Catholicism in the postconciliar era. In “Sectarian or Sanctifying: John Hugo and the Historiography of Catholic Radicalism,” Benjamin Peters (Saint Joseph College) delved into the conundrum of prophetic witness within a triumphant ecclesiology. Peter E. Baltutis (St. Michael’s College in the University of Toronto and Presidential Graduate Fellowship recipient) pursued dual approaches to the question of charity and justice within the Canadian context in “Creative Tension between the Laity and the Institutional Church: Development and Peace, Cardinal Carter of Toronto, and the ‘1982 Funding Crisis.’” While R. Bentley Anderson, S.J. (Fordham University) chaired the session, the audience provided a lively exchange with the panelists, serving as the commentator.

This was one of the largest annual meetings in terms of panels, papers, and participants. More than 150 individuals registered for the conference, ninety papers were presented, and thirty panels were organized.

The next meeting of the Association took place in New Orleans on March 22–25, 2012, on the campuses of Loyola University and Tulane University. The ACHA will return to New Orleans in January 2013 for its ninety-third annual meeting.

R. BENTLEY ANDERSON, S.J.

*Executive Secretary and Treasurer*

**2012 ACHA Presidential Luncheon Invocation  
by Cardinal Francis George, O.M.I., Archbishop of Chicago**

Thank you for the invitation to speak and pray with you today. I am truly pleased to join you and to welcome you to the Archdiocese of Chicago. I thank in particular Ellen Skerrett and Larissa Juliet Taylor for the invitation to offer the invocation and say a few words.

G. K. Chesterton wrote, "We cannot be certain of being right about the future; but we can be almost certain of being wrong about the future, if we are wrong about the past."<sup>1</sup> The Church carries the past in the tradition that unites us to Christ. And she carries with that living tradition a long historical memory. Both the tradition and the history that provides its context make the Church an original voice in every age and every society. The rigorous and conscientious study of the past ensures that history will not be manipulated by purposes foreign to it in the present. History relativizes the present, freeing us from the solipsism of the present moment and also permitting us to welcome the future, even though it will separate us from what we are accustomed to now. Where the vision of faith informs the study of history, everything temporal is relativized in the light of eternity; in the end, history is what God remembers.

It is harder to avoid the clichés of the present when information or commentaries spread at lightning speed without regard to context or perspective, without analysis or interpretation. Your work, for which we are all grateful, gives others the tools needed to analyze the present in a more responsible way. "Thinking outside the box" is a formula for imagining a different future, freeing us from present predicaments. But it seems to me that thinking outside the present box is less necessary if, with the help of history, the box is already large enough to hold in memory the capacities of human achievement.

Pope Benedict XVI, in *Caritas in Veritate*, wrote, "The earthly city is promoted not merely by relationships of rights and duties, but to an even greater and more fundamental extent by relationships of gratuitousness, mercy and communion." As you know, the pope has spoken often of "an ecology of the human spirit," the network of relationships that tell us who we are from age to age. Christianity is a spirituality, but one that is historical and communal. It is not spirituality as an individual quest, as spirituality is often presented today. It is a spirituality that does not isolate anyone in his or her own experience but relates the believer to God and to everyone and everything God loves. It gives us a place to stand in history while transcending it and encourages study to achieve truth in as comprehensive a manner as possible. The pursuit of truth, as you know, is not always a popular quest, because many now believe that objective truth is the enemy of subjective freedom.

This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the Second Vatican Council. The motivation of Pope John XXIII, set out in *Humanae salutis*, the document that convoked the Council's preparation, was to use the unity of the Church to bind up the wounds of a divided world. The Council was missionary in its intent, aiming to introduce the world to its savior in a new age and to open the Church to more intensive dialogue with

<sup>1</sup>G. K. Chesterton, *What I Saw in America* (New York, 1922), p. 285.



the world saved by Christ. Pope John wanted the human race to become a human family and, more, the family of God, his people. Today, the world is uniting for many of the reasons spelled out in *Gaudium et Spes* fifty years ago, but it is not always uniting in ways that foster the common good of humanity. What the Church continues to ask for fifty years after Vatican II is not privilege but simply the possibility of speaking freely, knowing that her own categories of understanding, grounded as they are in faith, will always contain a call to conversion that prevents her from becoming chaplain to the status quo.

Today you are honoring a man and a woman whose work ensures that the stories of the Catholics of the Archdiocese of Chicago will be heard for years to come. On behalf of the Archdiocese of Chicago, I would like to congratulate all those who are being recognized today for their contributions, but particularly Ellen Skerrett and Jac Treanor, the vice chancellor of the Archdiocese for Archives and Records. We are indebted to Jac for his vision, his insight, his leadership, and his very hard work over the past twenty-five years in making the Archdiocesan Archives and Records Center a premier repository and one of the world's largest collections of archdiocesan archival materials. It is a treasure not only to historians but also to all the faithful today and will continue to be so for generations to come.

As you know well, the history of the Catholic Church in this Archdiocese is closely tied to the history of Chicago and the surrounding metropolitan area. We were here before Chicago came to exist. I would be remiss if I didn't note that Ellen Skerrett was instrumental in researching and editing the excellent two-volume *History of the Parishes of the Archdiocese of Chicago* (Chicago, 1980), published in observance of the centenary of the Archdiocese of Chicago. In the foreword my predecessor, Cardinal John Cody, quotes from Pope John Paul II's homily to people gathered in Grant Park for the papal Mass on October 5, 1979. His words dovetail neatly with the conference's theme. In closing, I share them with you:

Your ancestors came from many different countries across the oceans to meet here with the people of different communities that were already established here. In every generation, the process has been repeated: new groups arrive, each one with a different history, to settle here and become part of something new. . . . *E pluribus unum*: you became a new entity, a new people, the true nature of which cannot be adequately explained as a mere putting together of various communities.

And so, looking at you, I see people who have thrown their destinies together and now write a common history. Different as you are, you have come to accept each other, at times imperfectly and even to the point of subjecting each other to various forms of discrimination; at times only after a long period of misunderstanding and rejection; even now still growing in understanding and appreciation of each other's differences. In

expressing gratitude for the many blessings you have received, you also become aware of the duty you have towards the less favored in your own midst and in the rest of the world—a duty of sharing, of living, of serving. As a people, you recognize God as the source of your many blessings, and you are open to His love and His law.

Let us pray together:

Almighty and ever-living God,

You created us and endowed us with knowledge, wisdom and initiative so we might cooperate with you in building a just society and a peaceful world.

In your wise providence, you bless all human endeavor;

Grant us the fortitude to use your gifts wisely:  
to face challenges with perseverance and fairness,  
to solve problems with creativity and trust,  
to bring your healing love to a broken world.

Bless those gathered here for the American Catholic Historical Association's Conference and others who have come for the larger meeting as well.

May the time spent together and the values held in common be a source of renewal of spirit.

May efforts to highlight the depth, the breadth and the influence of "Communities and Networks" engender hope for the future.

May each of us rejoice in the goodness of your creation and the truth of your Word in our worship and work, in our communities, in our lives, in all our relationships.

God of mercy and love, fill us all with your grace so that we may love you more deeply, serve others more generously and strive always for what is right and good.

Bless the food we are about to eat, those who prepared it and those who will serve it.

By the incarnation of your Son, you gathered all things in heaven and on earth into unity.

Fill our hearts with joy, hope and peace today and throughout the year to come, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

### Report of the Committee on Nominations

At the General Meeting of the Association, Kathleen Sprows Cummings (University of Notre Dame), chair of the Nominating Committee, reported and certified that the following individuals had been elected to office this past fall. To the office of the vice-president: Margaret M. McGuinness, La Salle University; to the Executive Council, the following three individuals were elected: Charles R. Gallagher, S.J., Boston College (to serve the unexpired term of R. Bentley Anderson, S.J., Fordham University) for the term 2011-14; Suzanne Brown-Fleming, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, for the term 2012-15; and Leigh Anne Craig, Virginia Commonwealth University, for the term 2012-15. And for a position on the Committee on Nominations, Una Cadegan, University of Dayton.

### Report of the Committee on Distinguished Award Recipients

The ACHA awards for lifetime scholarship, excellence in teaching, and service to Catholic studies were presented at the Presidential Luncheon on Saturday, January 7, 2012.

John O'Malley, S.J. (university professor, Georgetown University), was this year's recipient of the ACHA Lifetime Distinguished Scholarship Award for his sustained contribution to our understanding of Catholic history. This award was given not for any single piece of scholarship; rather, it was awarded for a sustained series of works that O'Malley had produced that had animated and influenced the discipline and those who follow it. As one who nominated him stated:

John's scholarship represents a tremendous service to the Catholic Church. He has taught those within and without to see it not as a timeless monolith, but as a vast and dynamic community whose changes and continuities deserve consideration and respect. His scholarship demonstrates his abiding commitment to the Church.

O'Malley has toiled in the field of Catholic history for more than forty years, producing such seminal works as *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA, 1985) and *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA, 2008). But just as important, he has given of his time to help form generations of new scholars interested in the dynamic nature of Christianity. Stated one of his former students, O'Malley "is not simply a great scholar . . . more important, [he is] a great friend of scholars."

Angelyn Dries, O.S.F. (professor emerita, Saint Louis University), received the ACHA's Excellence in Teaching Award for an outstanding career as teacher, mentor, and friend to numerous young scholars. Dries was recognized for her commitment to educating and developing not just the mind but also the spirit of her students. In doing so, she has modeled what a true teacher is:

instructor, guide, inspiration. As a scholar and teacher of American missiology, Dries has challenged her students to envision U.S. Catholicism from various perspectives, including cross-cultural experiences seen through the eyes of women, the poor, and migrants. In doing so, she has exposed young scholars to new ways of understanding the Christian world; more important, she has trained the next generation of teachers to think beyond the conventional. As one of her students wrote:

She has treated me with the utmost respect, in many ways like the very figures that she studies, as persons with multifaceted lives whose value can surface in unexpected ways. Angelyn has an inestimable gift for connecting people and looking positively toward future possibilities that will remain a permanent legacy among her students.

John "Jac" Treanor (archivist, Archdiocese of Chicago) was this year's Service to Catholic Studies Award recipient for his contribution to the promotion of Catholic studies beyond the arena of the classroom or publishing field. For some three decades, Treanor has been a national leader in the professionalization of church archives in the United States. A founder and officer of the Association of Catholic Diocesan Archivists, Treanor has provided critical leadership and guidance to many dioceses and religious orders in the United States seeking to upgrade and improve the quality and accessibility of church archives. He is an archivist's archivist. As Jimmy M. Lago, chancellor of the Archdiocese of Chicago, has noted:

Jac is an outstanding advocate for an understanding of church history and records as the footprints of the Holy Spirit, demonstrating sacred interventions in this local church to those who would see. . . . The Archdiocese of Chicago is privileged to have such a talented and committed leader as Jac Treanor.

LARISSA J. TAYLOR, *Chair*  
Colby College

### Report of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize

Ulrich L. Lehner (assistant professor and associate director of undergraduate studies, Marquette University) received the John Gilmary Shea Prize for his monograph *Enlightened Monks: The German Benedictines, 1740-1803* (New York, 2011). Lehner's remarkable book adopts the notion of an eighteenth-century religious enlightenment to argue that a large number of German Benedictines in southern and middle Germany (as well as Austria and Switzerland) responded to the unprecedented challenges of the period by promoting enlightened thought and attitudes that steered between the extremes of secularism and reactionary Catholicism. The book demonstrates in surprising new ways how eighteenth-century Benedictines of the Catholic Enlightenment engaged with all branches of contemporary academic study while accommodating the monastic life with modernizing trends in European



society. Engagingly written, deeply researched, and seriously engaged with current research, Lehner's work demonstrates that the Enlightenment was far more than a secular movement pitted against an obscurantist religious outlook. It was, rather, a multifaceted trend to reconcile science and reason with matters of faith. *Enlightened Monks* illustrates how, paradoxically, an institution known most as a relic of the medieval past actually stood on the front lines of this endeavor.

KATHERINE L. JANSEN, *Chair*  
*The Catholic University of America*

### **Report of the Committee on the Howard R. Marraro Prize**

Stefania Tutino (professor in the Department of History and associate professor in the Department of Religious Studies at University of California, Santa Barbara) has garnered the Howard R. Marraro Prize for *Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth* (New York, 2010). In this meticulously researched volume, Tutino rescues the Jesuit saint and cardinal Robert Bellarmine from the box in which he has been placed—censor, inquisitor, opponent of Galileo—and sets him in the context of a confession-alized Europe of developing temporal states over which, according to Bellarmine's theory of *potestas indirecta* ("indirect power"), the church exercises spiritual hegemony—thus empowering the pope, as emperor of souls, to intervene at will.

SHARON STROCCHIA, *Chair*  
*Emory University*

### **The Report of the Committee on the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award**

Matthew Cressler (PhD candidate, Northwestern University) received the John Tracy Ellis Award for best dissertation written in 2011: "To Be Black and Catholic: African American Catholics in Chicago from Postwar Migrations to Black Power." Members of the committee were especially impressed by the richness of his topic, which blended a Chicago-based micro-history with a re-evaluation of African American Catholicism. They also applauded the clarity of his research presentation, which impressively conveyed its vitality.

LEZLIE KNOX, *Chair*  
*Marquette University*

### **The Peter Guilday Prize**

The Peter Guilday Prize for 2011 goes to Helena Dawes (University of Western Australia) for her article "The Catholic Church and the Woman Question: Catholic Feminism in Italy in the Early 1900s" that appeared in the July issue (XCII, no. 3, pp. 484–526) of *The Catholic Historical Review*. Based

on an extensive use of relevant secondary literature that places the issue in the context of Italian politics and culture and on a close reading of the contemporary newspapers and journals, but especially of the collection of personal papers of Adelaide Coari (1881–1966) housed at the Fondazione per le Scienze Religiose Giovanni XXIII in Bologna, Dawes's study tells the fascinating story of an emerging Catholic feminist movement that was crushed by an alliance of upper-class Catholic women with ecclesiastical authorities fearful of possible modernist influences.

The principal antagonists of the story are Adelaide Coari, a schoolteacher turned secretary and editor, and her protector and patron, Giacomo Maria Radini Tedeschi, the social activist bishop of Bergamo (1904–14) who advocated more rights for women to re-Christianize Italian society. They were opposed by the Veronese countess Elena da Persico (1869–1948) and Pope Pius X (r. 1903–14), who held traditional Augustinian and Thomistic views of women as misbegotten males with flawed rational faculties who held the primary role of propagating and caring for children and serving men. When the Contessa da Persico and her ally, the priest Francesco Mariani, forced the resignation of the progressive Maria Baldo Maggioni as editor of the periodical *L'azione muliebre*, Coari left the journal where she had served as secretary and founded a new journal, *Pensiero e azione*.

From 1904 to 1908 this journal became the mouthpiece of middle- and working-class Catholic women and the organ of the Milanese branch of the Christian Democracy movement. It backed workers' rights and women's suffrage and entered into dialogue with secular feminists. Against the advice of Pius X, Coari attended the First National Congress of Italian Women meeting in Rome in April 1908. When her motion to promote instruction in Catholicism in primary schools was voted down, the congress "unanimously" voted for religious neutrality in primary schools. Conservative Catholics launched a campaign against *Pensiero e azione* as a "nest of heretics" infected with modernist ideas. Despite his earlier support for the periodical, Andrea Carlo Ferrari, the archbishop of Milan (1894–1921) accused of modernist tendencies, was pressured to suppress the periodical in July 1908.

With balance and objectivity, Dawes documents the efforts of Baldo and Coari to promote their cause without rousing the ire of conservatives and reveals the strategies used by their opponents to suppress their efforts to obtain for women better employment as well as educational, social, and legal rights. As such, this article is a significant contribution to the literature on Catholicism in Italy at the beginning of the last century and merits the Peter Guilday Prize of the American Catholic Historical Association.

NELSON H. MINNICH, *Editor*  
ROBERT TRISCO, *Acting Editor*

## 2011 and 2012 ACHA Presidential Graduate Fellowships

The second set of Presidential Graduate Fellowships—instituted to assist graduate students who wish to travel to ACHA meetings to present papers—was awarded to Molly Gallaher and Erin Bartram to participate in ACHA's 2011 joint spring conference with the Canadian Catholic Historical Association in Toronto. Gallaher is working on her PhD at the University of New Hampshire on "Canadian Borderlands and French-Speaking Catholics in the Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth-Century Saint John River Valley." Bartram's PhD work at the University of Connecticut focuses on "Jane Minot Sedgwick II and the World of American Catholic Converts, 1820–1890."

For the 2012 ACHA annual meeting held in Chicago, the ACHA awarded its third set of Presidential Graduate Fellowships to Peter Baltutis, a PhD candidate at the University of Toronto, and Catherine Osborne, a PhD candidate at Fordham University. Baltutis delivered the paper "Development and Peace: Cardinal Carter of Toronto and the 1982 Funding Crisis," whereas Osborne presented on "Lay Patrons of Church Architecture in Twentieth-Century American Catholicism."

## Report of the President

In my year as president, I oversaw the transition of the executive secretary and treasurer position from The Catholic University of America to Fordham University. R. Bentley Anderson, S.J., the ACHA's new executive secretary and treasurer, was able to provide from his dean and president offers of support that far exceeded what CUA had provided. In view of increasing financial difficulties facing the ACHA, the move was both necessary and forward-looking in that we now can provide at less cost the basic operations of the association. Anderson has been instrumental in this change, taking charge *de facto* on July 1, to the degree he could, and officially on October 1. Numerous challenges occurred during the transition, not least of which was obtaining an accurate accounting of membership numbers. Our commitment to transparency and working together with our members to make this a vibrant and forward-looking association has been a key goal of my presidency, but one that will continue. I thank Anderson for his willingness and commitment to serve.

My presidency was a time of transition in other respects as well, all based on the incredible work of Steven Avella (Marquette University), my predecessor, who made clear to me that neither the presidency nor any other position in the ACHA is honorific. Every position carries responsibilities that all nominees must expect to assume if elected. I was fortunate in having such a wonderful mentor in helping me—and the Association—make the transition to the twenty-first-century world, which means largely online development. During this time, the Web site has evolved, not without glitches, but we hope to have all of that fixed very soon.

I feel my most important contribution was my vision of the presidency and vice-presidency as positions of teamwork with an active Executive Council. Too often in the past, people have been elected but not necessarily served in their various positions. When I first met with the Executive Council in January and April 2011, we bonded as a unit, dedicated to furthering the future of the ACHA. Active commitment to service to the association must always be a foremost consideration when anyone is nominated for a position.

I know that the future will be in good hands. Thomas F. X. Noble, the ACHA's new president, is dedicated to continuing the work of transition, as is the new vice president and president-elect, Margaret M. McGuinness. Our new and continuing Executive Council members are determined to create an association of which all members can be proud to be a part. Developing the Web site further, attracting new members, and continuing the work of funding Presidential Graduate Fellowships and Presidential Awards is an essential part of our future, and I ask all of you to be part of it.

We had an unusually large and well-attended set of panels at Chicago in 2012, and I would especially like to thank program committee members Ellen Skerrett (Jane Addams Papers Project) and Malachy R. McCarthy (Claretians Missionaries Archives USA) for their incredible work in making this a great year of sessions for the ACHA. We have work to do, but we are making huge advances.

Many thanks to all of you for your support over the past year, and I look forward to working with you in the future.

LARISSA JULIET TAYLOR  
*Colby College*

### **Report of the Secretary and Treasurer**

*Membership.* At the end of 2011, the Association had 579 active members, of whom 344 were ordinary members, 94 were retired members, 76 were student members, and 65 were lifetime members (individuals and institutions). The Association can also report that there were 360 lapsed or expired members recorded for 2011. Under the ACHA Constitution, the official membership number is the total of all members, including the expired ones, which would bring the total to 939. With the changes made to the Constitution in Chicago, the official membership count for 2012 will consist only of active members.

*Transition.* As of October 1, 2011, the headquarters of the American Catholic Historical Association are located on the campus of Fordham University in the Bronx, New York City. The move was not without its challenges, as the transfer of records and other ACHA material was time-consuming. This move, nevertheless, was necessary to the financial health and well-being of the Association and for the long-term vitality of the organization.



Fordham University has been quite generous in terms of financial and staff support. We hope the relationship between the two institutions is long-term.

*Web Site.* The ACHA has committed a considerable amount of its financial resources to bring the organization into the twenty-first century. Part of that initiative is exploiting the various ways the Internet can promote work of the Association. The 2011 officer elections were conducted online, the 2012 annual program was available on the Web site, and the annual ACHA awardees were announced via the Web. This is the future of the Association.

*Finances.* Given the transition of office in October, the financial report is a partial one. Based on the ACHA membership and its various categories, dues generated \$26,680 this year. This figure is based on 344 regular members paying \$60 a year (\$20,640), 94 retired members contributing \$40 (\$3760), and 76 students contributing \$30 (\$2280). The Association paid The Catholic University of America Press \$27,792 for 579 copies of *The Catholic Historical Review* (this figure is based on total membership, including lifetime members— $579 \times \$12$  an issue  $\times$  four issues a year for a total of \$27,792). The deficit spending on the *CHR* was \$1112.

As of January 4, 2012, the endowment, which is overseen by David Canham of Deutsche Bank, stood at \$889,268.77. All of the ACHA investments have been consolidated into a single account at Deutsche Bank, as the T. Price and Vanguard portfolios were closed. During calendar year 2011, the investment portfolio had a time-weighted return of -2.07 percent. The uncertainty of the global economy and the stock market could adversely impact the value and returns of the ACHA's investments for the foreseeable future. In 2010 the Association ran a deficit of more than \$35,000; because the transition has made it very difficult for me to produce an accurate financial report for 2011, I cannot state with any certainty the deficit for this past year. I hope to do so by our annual meeting in January 2013. Because the Association continues to draw from both the interest and the principal of its investments, I predict, unfortunately, that deficit spending will again be in the neighborhood of \$20,000–\$30,000. Although the move to New York City will reduce the ACHA's staff expenditures in 2012 by \$19,000, the Association does not generate enough revenue from its membership dues to cover all expenses. Use of the secretary and treasurer's stipend to cover some expenses will help lower the ACHA's deficit spending, but that is a short-term solution to a long-term problem. Green initiatives—that is, online voting, Web postings, electronic messaging, and so forth—will also result in savings by reducing postage and handling fees, but that will not be enough to close the gap between income and expenditures. The officers, the Executive Council, and I will continue to explore ways to reduce expenses and raise revenue.

The Executive Council approved the proposed budget for 2012 of \$70,000 for the following expenses:

\$27,800	<i>The Catholic Historical Review</i> (579 × \$12 issue × 4 issues, plus extras)
\$12,000	Stipend for the Executive Secretary and Treasurer
\$9,000	Salary for Webmaster
\$3,750	Annual meeting (printing costs, social, AV support, complimentary luncheons)
\$2,500	Electronic software updates
\$2,500	Printing and postage
\$2,500	Accounting expenses (e.g., filing 990 form)
\$2,000	Presidential Graduate Fellowships (4 × \$500)
\$2,000	Miscellaneous
\$1,500	Travel stipend for the Executive Secretary and Treasurer
\$1,200	John Tracy Ellis Prize
\$1,000	Plaques for recipients—lifetime scholarship, excellence in teaching, service to Catholic studies
\$750	Howard R. Marraro Prize
\$750	John Gilmary Shea Prize
\$650	Online voting
\$100	Peter Guilday Prize

*2011 Financial Statement.* The only way the Association was able to meet its expenses was to withdraw interest accrued from the portfolio, which, as noted above, had a time-weighted return of -2.07 percent this year.

<i>Income:</i>		\$85,660
Dues	\$26,680	
Interest withdrawals:	\$57,480	
Donations:	\$ 1,500	
<i>Expenses:</i>		\$85,660
\$27,800	<i>The Catholic Historical Review</i> (579 × \$12 issue × 4 issues)	
\$19,000	Salary for secretarial support at ACHA-CUA	
\$12,000	Stipend for the Executive Secretary and Treasurer	
\$9,000	Salary for the Webmaster	
\$2,750	Annual meeting (printing costs, social, AV support, complimentary luncheons)	
\$2,500	Electronic software updates	
\$2,400	Printing and postage	
\$2,000	Presidential Graduate Fellowships (4 x \$500)	
\$2,000	Accountant expense (e.g., filing 990 Form)	
\$1,500	Travel stipend for the Executive Secretary and Treasurer	
\$1,200	John Tracy Ellis Prize	
\$500	Transition expenses (office supplies, stationery)	
\$500	Annual appeal expenses (postage and printing)	
\$750	Howard R. Marraro Prize	
\$750	John Gilmary Shea Prize	

\$600	Online voting
\$310	Plaques for recipients—lifetime scholarship, excellence in teaching, service to Catholic studies
\$100	Peter Guilday Prize

*Printing, Publishing, and Postage.* For members who *do not* wish to receive electronic messages, programs, or ballots, the Association has to charge for paper services. Beginning June 1, 2012, new and renewing members who wish to receive printed material from the Association will be assessed an additional fee of \$10 per year. This fee increase was approved by the Executive Council in Chicago. The Executive Council and the general membership also approved a shift to paperless programming. Beginning with the 2013 New Orleans meeting, members will access the program electronically via the ACHA Web site. For those individuals preregistering for the New Orleans meeting, a printed program will be provided.

*Constitutional Changes.* The following changes to the Constitution and Bylaws of the ACHA are necessary to reflect the move to Fordham University, the need for more accurate accounting of members, and the desire to have more effective participation by members of the Executive Council and its committee members.

Please note that, according to Article X, the Constitution can be changed by a two-thirds majority vote at a business meeting, provided the proposed change has been approved by the Executive Council and distributed to the membership. According to Article VI of the Bylaws, the Bylaws of the ACHA Constitution can be amended by the Executive Council at any regular meeting of the council. In Chicago, the Executive Council and the general membership at the Business Meeting approved the following changes.

#### *Changes to the Bylaws*

**8a.** Strike Bylaws I.3.b., which reads: “..., hire in conjunction with the editor of the *Catholic Historical Review*, and supervise the office secretary and any student or part-time help” (Action item)

*Rationale:* The ACHA headquarters have moved, and the office is configured to the needs of the new host institution.

**8b.** Strike I.3.h: “. . . for the annual meeting for printing in folder form . . . prepare the other materials to be enclosed with the printed program, and oversee the mailing of the ballot, which he receives from the chairman of the Nominating Committee.”

*Rationale:* As noted above, the Association is reducing the amount of printed material that has to be mailed to members. Electronic copies of ACHA material will be provided to members in a timely fashion, including balloting information and program material.

**8d. Strike Bylaws, Article V: “the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C.” Replace with “Fordham University in New York City, New York.”**

*Changes to the Constitution*

**8e. Strike Article III.3: “Members whose dues are in arrears more than twelve months shall have their names dropped from the membership rolls of the Association.”**

*Rationale:* This form of accounting is misleading and allows for membership inflation. A nonpaying member is counted as a “member in good standing” for one year after his or her membership has expired; however, financially, this individual is not contributing to the organization. A realistic budget cannot be constructed based on this system.

**8f. Strike Article VII.2: “There shall be a Nominating Committee consisting of three persons, one of whom shall be elected each year for a term of three years. The Committee shall make nominations for the Vice-Presidency, the Executive Council, and the Nominating Committee as provided for in the Constitutions and Bylaws, which nominations shall be submitted to the membership to determine the election. Active members may propose other candidates in accord with procedures outlined in the Bylaws.”**

Replace with: “Elections Board. There shall be an Elections Board composed of five members: a Convener and four Elections Officials (EO), who shall oversee the nomination and election processes of all elected offices as prescribed in the Constitution and Bylaws.”

“Officers of the Elections Board. The Convener of the Elections Board (EBC) is elected by the general membership for a three-year term and serves as chair at the Elections Board meetings. By virtue of office, the vice-president and the secretary of the ACHA are Elections Officials. The two remaining EO positions will be filled by a second-year and third-year member of the Executive Council (EC), serving a two-year and one-year term, respectively. The EC members will be appointed by the president in consultation with the voting members of the Executive Board.”

[The exception to the explanation provided above concerns the first Convener of the new Elections Board.]

“The President shall appoint the first Convener to serve a three-year term. Upon completion of that individual’s term in office, the regular election process will be followed (i.e., the Convener will be elected by the general membership of the Association). Former



**members of the Nominating Committee are not eligible to run for this office."**

**8.g. Add [bold] to Article V.3: An at-large member elected to complete an unexpired term may be re-elected to a full term immediately if serving less than ■ majority of the unexpired term.**

*Rationale:* It is quite possible that an individual could serve more than five years on the Executive Council under the present system.

**8.h. Strike Article V.4: "Elections shall be held each year sixty days before the annual meeting and shall be certified by the Nominating Committee no later than the annual meeting. Newly elected officers and members of the Executive Committee should be notified in time for them to attend the regular meeting of the Executive Council with voice but not vote."**

Replace with: **"Elections shall be held no earlier than one-hundred and twenty days before the annual meeting and no later than ninety days. Results shall be certified by the Elections Board within one week of the conclusion of balloting."**

**8.i. Strike Article V.6: "All changes in officers and members of the Executive Council and committees take effect at the end of the annual meeting."**

Replace with: **"The presidential and vice-presidential terms end at the conclusion of the annual Executive Council meeting. Members of the Executive Council take office one week after election results are announced and certified by the Elections Board and the Executive Secretary of the Association. Committee assignments terminate at the conclusion of the annual meeting."**

*Rationale:* The terms of office for ACHA officials are confusing. According to the present Constitution, newly elected Executive Council members have to wait one year after being elected to be effective participants in the EC. The presidential term is not affected by the new wording—just clarified. The same is true of committee assignments.

**8.j. Strike VI.2: "Not less than sixty days prior to the annual meeting the Executive Secretary shall mail to each member of the Association notice of such meeting with a copy of the program."**

Change to read: **"An electronic version of the annual meeting program will be posted on the ACHA Web site and made available to all members once the Program Committee has approved and finalized all proposals and panels."**

*Rationale:* The cost of printing and postage is rising. We have the electronic means to communicate with all but 10 percent of the total membership. To print and ship the annual program for 2012 only cost approximately \$1200.

*Recommended Change to the Bylaws*

**8.k.** Strike Article II.1: Committee on Nominations (see Constitutions VII, 2.).

Replace with: **II.1 Elections Board** (see Constitutions, VII. 2). **Conducting Elections.** Beginning no later than April of each year, the Convener of the Elections Board and the Elections Officials will begin the process of identifying potential candidates for all elected ACHA offices. Ideally candidates should be drawn from ACHA members in good standing; active members may propose candidates to the Elections Board. Once identified, the potential nominee is to be contacted, asking if he/she is willing to run for office. At that time, the potential candidate must be informed of the duties and responsibilities of office.

By mid-June, the Convener will inform each candidate that he/she is to submit a vision statement, CV, and current photograph by the end of July. If the material is not provided in a timely fashion, the EBC may, in consultation with fellow board members, replace the candidate.

In mid-August, the Convener of the Elections Board will provide the ACHA Webmaster with the list of candidates for office, their vision statements, their CVs, and photos. This information should be posted on the ACHA Web site the last week in August. The general membership should be informed of this development.

After Labor Day, the EBC will ensure that the general membership is contacted regarding the election process.

Online voting will begin no later than September 15th and conclude fourteen days later.

For those requesting paper ballots, the EBC will ensure that that material is sent out by the first week in September. Return ballots must be postmarked by September 22nd.

Officers of the Elections Board will certify the returns within one week after the ballots have been tallied. A certification message should be sent to the EC immediately, and the EBC will notify the candidates of the results.

**8.l.** Strike I.3.k., which reads: "k. offer suggestions of candidates to the Committee on Nominations and answer questions about the eligibility or past service of individuals being considered."

*Rationale:* Creation of an Elections Board warrants the change.

*ACHA Internship Program.* Beginning in 2012, the Association will begin an internship program in cooperation with the Curran Center for American Catholic Studies at Fordham University. Funding for this program is provided by the Office of the Provost, Fordham University, and the executive secretary and treasurer of the ACHA. Eventually there will be three undergraduate ACHA interns in any given academic year. This initiative will give future historians the opportunity to learn how to operate a nonprofit, scholarly enterprise as well as will augment an effective ACHA administration in the twenty-first century.

R. BENTLEY ANDERSON, S.J.  
*Secretary and Treasurer*  
*Fordham University*

### Editor's Report

Volume XCVII (2011) consisted of 958 pages. It published twelve articles, one essay in the series *Journeys in Church History*, two miscellanies, two review articles, 263 book reviews, and six brief notices.

The twelve articles were distributed as follows: two medieval, three early modern, three late modern, and four American. Of the twelve articles, five authors came from outside the United States (one from Australia, one from Belgium, two from France, and one from Portugal). Subsidies allowed five authors to exceed the page limits.

The book reviews were distributed among the following areas: general and miscellaneous (thirty), ancient (nineteen), medieval (fifty-six), early modern (sixty-one), late modern (forty-six), American (twenty-seven), Latin American (thirteen), Canadian (one), Far Eastern and Australian (nine), and African (one). The authors of the book reviews came from institution in the following countries: the United States (178 or 67.5 percent); United Kingdom (thirty or 11 percent); Canada (eighteen or 7 percent); Ireland (nine or 3 percent); Italy (six or 2 percent) and Germany (four or 1.5 percent). The remaining 8 percent came from Australia (three); Belgium, China, the Philippines, Slovenia, and Switzerland (two each); and Finland, France, Israel, Mexico, and Puerto Rico (one each). One of the review articles was by an author from a Canadian institution.

As the tables below reveal, the editors dealt with seventy-eight articles. Of the forty-six articles on hand from the previous year, eleven were published in 2011, twelve were accepted for publication, fourteen await a response from the author to the critiques of the referees, seven were abandoned, one withdrawn, and one rejected. Of the thirty-two submitted in 2011, one was published, one accepted, ten rejected, one withdrawn, and nineteen are pending.

The editorial staff continues to function smoothly as a team. From January to August, Monsignor Robert Trisco was responsible for the book review, Periodical Literature, and Other Books Received sections. For academic year 2011-12 starting in September he is also generously serving as the acting editor while Nelson H. Minnich is on sabbatical. Ms. Elizabeth Foxwell continues as the invaluable staff editor who ensures that the journal gets out on time error-free. Ms. Rita Bogley, who worked half-time for the American Catholic Historical Association until the office was transferred to Fordham University in October, now works twenty hours a week for the *Review*. Mr. Daniel V. Frascella continues as the industrious graduate assistant for book reviews and computer services. For their dedication to the journal the editor is deeply appreciative.

The board of advisory editors has provided invaluable advice on a number of issues. At the ACHA annual meeting in Boston last year, planning for the special centenary issue in 2015 was discussed. Over the course of the year, the topics to be treated were decided, and distinguished contributors for each have been found. With the help of the advisory editors, the next contributor to the series *Journeys in Church History* was chosen and commissioned. Discussions among the editors also are proceeding on a new format for the journal: cover and layout design. The editor is very grateful for the wise assistance they have provided him.

TABLE 1.  
Manuscripts submitted before 2011.

Area	Accepted Awaits Publication	Abandoned	Rejected or Withdrawn (W)	Awaiting Author Response	Published in 2011	TOTAL
General						
Ancient		1				1
Medieval	4	1		1	2	8
Early Modern	3	1		3	3	10
Late Modern	1	2	W-1	4	3	11
American	3		1	3	3	10
Latin American	1	1		1		3
Canadian				1		1
Far Eastern		1				1
African				1		1
TOTAL	12	7	2	14	11	46



**TABLE 2.**  
**Manuscripts submitted in 2011.**

Area	Accepted	Conditionally Accepted	Rejected or Withdrawn (W)	Pending	Published in 2011	TOTAL
General			1			1
Ancient			1			1
Medieval			1	2		3
Early Modern			1	4		5
Late Modern	1		R-3 W-1	6		11
American			3	3	1	7
Latin American				3		3
Canadian						
Far Eastern						
Middle Eastern						
African				1		1
TOTAL	1		11	19	1	32

**TABLE 3.**  
**Book reviews published in 2011.**

Area	January	April	July	October	TOTAL
General	9	9	3	9	30
Ancient	4	4	5	6	19
Medieval	14	9	12	21	56
Early Modern	16	13	8	24	61
Late Modern	15	9	7	15	46
American	7	6	3	11	27
Latin American	1	3	3	6	13
Canadian	0	0	0	1	1
Far Eastern/Australian	2	1	2	4	9
African	1	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	69	54	43	97	263
Brief Notices	0	4	0	2	6

## BOOK REVIEWS

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### General and Miscellaneous

*The Future of History*. By John Lukacs. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 177. \$26.00. ISBN 978-0-300-16956-0.)

John Lukacs often has reflected on the nature of history. This short volume revisits some of what he has written, but with an eye specifically to the future of the historical discipline. He views history, as many of us did, before the appearance of social history and its many stepchildren. For Lukacs, history is a literary rather than a scientific exercise, and, when properly pursued, its achievement is knowledge that participates in both objectivity and subjectivity. But recently the study of history often has not been properly pursued; and in part this book, without being a tale of woe, traces the decline of the field and the appearance of a series of recent unfortunate fads.

The first of the book's seven sections is on "Historianship"—the professional teaching and writing of history. Unfortunately, Lukacs repeats some of the misinformation about the history of such words as *primitive* and *progress* found in his earlier writings. If this seems evidence of some superficiality in his knowledge of ancient and medieval history, it does no great damage to his larger arguments. Lukacs retains his sense of humor: Playing with the well-known definition of a specialist as someone who knows more and more about less and less, Lukacs observes that today we have a kind of opposite—specialists who know less and less about more and more, some specializing in multiculturalism (p. 19).

The second section, "Problems for the Profession," gives good discussions of many points. The pages on the limitations of polls especially are worthy of note. As in other of his books, Lukacs stresses the weakening of state authority and sovereignty following World War II and expects this to continue as the bourgeois modern European age passes into history. Nevertheless, he does not see this as justifying the present neglect of the study of diplomatic and military history. What is needed is a new diplomatic history that takes account of how the democratization of the world has complicated the story that is to be told.

In spite of the very real problems that accompany the growth of technology, the decrease in attention spans, and the difficulty of determining what on the Internet is reliable, there has been a real increase in the appetite for history, and this is the subject of section 3 of Lukacs's book. Interestingly, Lukacs

sees the growing appetite for history as linked with decrease in belief in progress and increase in skepticism about "modernity." Following Wendell Berry, he sees the emerging division as not between conservatives and liberals, but between those who view themselves as creatures and those who think of themselves as machines.

Lukacs devoted section 4 to "Re-Cognition of History as Literature," and section 5 turns to "History and the Novel." Section 6, "Future of the Profession," takes up such intriguing questions as the future of books and reading, and the shortsightedness of American liberal historians. Lukacs does not view the future optimistically. A final, brief section again adumbrates discussions found in Lukacs's earlier writings, presenting these in the context of his thesis that we are living at the passing of the modern age. One of the chief achievements of that age was the spread of historical consciousness, and Lukacs discusses whether this will last. Following one of Alexis de Tocqueville's insights—that inattention is the greatest defect in democratic character—Lukacs thinks that in the pictorial age that is upon us, respect for the past will not be lost. The book closes with a brief "Apologia."

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GLENN W. OLSEN

*Ely: Bishops and Diocese, 1109–2009.* Edited by Peter Meadows. (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer. 2010. Pp. xx, 354. \$50.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83540-0.)

This collection of essays celebrates the ninth centenary of the foundation of the Diocese of Ely. The editor and eight other contributors have examined in detail the lives and careers of a succession of fifty-four bishops, from Hervey to Anthony Russell, in chronological order. Peter Meadows has assembled some of the leading scholars among contemporary historians in the field of English ecclesiastical history, including Nicholas Vincent for the thirteenth century, Felicity Heal for the late-fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century, Ian Atherton for the period between 1559 and 1667, and Frances Knight for the years 1864 to 1957. Other competent contributions in the medieval period are provided by Nicholas Karn (the twelfth century); Benjamin Thompson (the fourteenth century); Peter Meadows (the fifteenth century); and, in the post-Reformation era, by Evelyn Lord (1667 to 1748), Peter Meadows (1748 to 1864), and Brian Watchorn (1959 to 2009). As one of the smallest and also wealthiest among English dioceses through much of its history, Ely had the additional attraction of the presence of Cambridge and the University of Cambridge within its bounds. Furthermore, it was relatively close to London, the seat of government and the royal court. An impressive number of Ely bishops have been academics as well as graduates, some (like Hugh de Balsham) instrumental in the foundation of colleges and others serving as heads of colleges. Eight Ely bishops served as royal chancellors, Thomas Goodrich in 1552 being the last, and four went on to occupy the archiepiscopal see of

Canterbury before 1500. Details of episcopal oversight of diocesan administration are to be found in the series of registers that provide the record of the bishops' official acts, of which the earliest surviving example is that of Simon de Montacute (1338-1445). The severance of ties with Rome and the papacy in the 1530s was followed by a lengthy period of tension and uncertainty during which the English church struggled to forge its own distinctive identity among the churches stemming from the European Reformation. In this development, as the authors make clear, Ely bishops played a significant role: the moderate Lancelot Andrewes (1609-19) advocating compliance with the sacramental rites and ceremony laid down by the Book of Common Prayer, whereas his successor, Nicholas Felton (1619-26), preached Calvinistic Puritanism, and Matthew Wren (1638-67) survived the Commonwealth years imprisoned in the Tower of London. Among more recent diocesans, Harold Browne (1864-73) is credited with drawing clergy and laity together to share responsibility for the maintenance and well-being of their parish church and surrounding community.

The final chapters deal with diocesan and parish activities and organizations, missionary endeavor at home and abroad, and the increasing financial problems brought on by contemporary economic constraints and the shortage of clerical manpower. Although the chapters succeed one another in chronological order, most of the individual chapters are thematically structured, the text constantly moving backward and forward in time with few references to dates. Even a diligent reader is apt to lose both the sequence of events and the underlying thread of continuity. This difficulty, which is aggravated by the sheer quantity of information provided, could have been remedied by some pruning of insignificant, if not irrelevant, details. It would have been helpful to have included for reference an appendix that included a list of the bishops together with the dates of their tenure of office. There is an impressive selection of both color and black-and-white plates, for which the editor is to be commended.

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JOAN GREATREX

*Roads to Rome. A Guide to Notable Converts from Britain and Ireland from the Reformation to the Present Day.* By John Beaumont. (South Bend, IN: St. Augustine's Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 493. \$55.00. ISBN 978-1-587-31720-0.)

For Victorian Catholicism, the Catholic Emancipation of 1829 and the re-establishment of a Catholic hierarchy in 1850 restored national identity and respectability to believers villainized and marginalized for 300 years. John Henry Newman's rightly famous "Second Spring" sermon on July 13, 1853, heralded a new era that augured well for the Church's future in Great Britain. W. Gordon Gorman documented Catholic success in "*Rome's Recruits: A List of Protestants Who Have Become Catholics since the Tractarian Movement*



(London, 1878). Subsequent editions were published, with the last appearing in 1910.

The rush of Protestants, especially English Anglicans, to the Church of Rome over the last three decades has occasioned the odd reference to a "third spring." If so, legal consultant and freelance writer John Beaumont assumes the Gorman role. Beaumont became a Roman Catholic in 1980, later compiling *Converts to Rome: A Guide to Notable Converts from Britain and Ireland during the Twentieth Century* (Port Huron, MI, 2006). Three works followed: *Converts from Britain and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Port Huron, MI, 2007), *Jewish Converts* (Port Huron, MI, 2007), and *Early Converts* (Port Huron, MI, 2008). In his introduction to *Converts to Rome*, published as an appendix to this volume, Stanley L. Jaki, O.S.B., clearly connects the works of Beaumont and Gorman and considers the former as a revival of "a most praiseworthy enterprise which came to an end shortly before World War I" (p. 473). Perhaps it is slightly disingenuous of Beaumont not to acknowledge Gorman's work in his introduction. Without Gorman, Beaumont's task would have been much harder. Gorman, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (generally the old rather than the new edition) provide Beaumont with most of his biographical data, but Beaumont must have scoured numerous autobiographical works in his search for the motives behind the conversion. The inclusion of this material makes this volume especially valuable and provides many data for any attempted explanation of the phenomenon of conversion.

The entries for Elizabethan and Jacobean England are generally accurate, although stylistic inconsistencies exist (e.g., Anglican clergy referred to as "clergymen" and "ministers," although the latter term is generally restricted to non-Conformist clergy). But the entries for post Gorman twentieth-century converts, not their Elizabethan predecessors, are the reason for acquiring this book. Many entrants are still alive. However, the criteria for inclusion are unclear. Some distinguished converts (e.g., Kenneth Noakes, patristic scholar; Colin Amery, architectural writer and adviser to the prince of Wales; and Andrew Sanders, professor of English at the University of Durham) are missing. Actress Diana Dors and her third husband, Alan Lake, are included. Literary distinction demanded the inclusion of such embarrassing converts such as Oscar Wilde and E. W. Rofe. But what explains the omission of Margaret, duchess of Argyle? Beaumont, like Gorman, excludes a reference to himself.

Gorman stressed English, Scottish, and Welsh aristocrats and social elites. Beaumont moves beyond the governing classes to the theater, cinema, literature, and academia. Talk about conversion is not fashionable in a present-day society that is "ecumaniacal" (to use Jaki's term). Beaumont has provided us with a very useful reference work even if we query its apologetic tone. Gorman had intended to publish a new edition and announced in January

1924 that it was almost ready to go to press. But the litigation that resulted from the mistaken inclusion of a peer of the realm in an earlier edition devastated Gorman. Let us hope that nothing similar prevents Beaumont from continuing this work.

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THOMAS M. MCCOOG, S.J.

*Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*. Vol. V. Under the direction of Guy Philippart. [Corpus Christianorum, Hagiographies V.] (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010. Pp. 808. €275,00. ISBN 978-2-503-52583-9.)

This book is the fifth and final volume of a formidable enterprise begun more than thirty years ago, a definitive set of essays on the state of the field of the study of medieval hagiography. The volume begins with a "Table générale des matières" that sets forth a very logical order of essays, beginning with "Antiquity" (essays on Latin Africa, Europe, and St. Jerome); Italy (seven chronological periods from 300–1550, each with geographically-based essays on South, Central and North Italy); and similarly divided sections on Spain, the Latin East, Hungary, Croatia and Slovenia, Bohemia and Moravia, Poland, Gaul, Germany, France, the Netherlands, and the British Isles (pp. 5–7).

However admirable this plan, however, the order of publication turned out to be very different. For example, volume I starts with Latin Africa and Jerome, but then skips to North Italy 1130–1220; Spain 1450–1550; the Latin East; Latin German hagiography 1220–1450; Vernacular German texts 1350–1550; Southwest France 750–950; Central France in the same period; and Anglo Norman, Middle English, and Scots hagiography. Volume V is just as varied, containing essays on Italian saints' lives and passions 300–550, Central Italy 950–1130, and 1130–1220. In the introduction to volume I, published in 1994, Philippart explains that he originally had hoped to bring them out as a group in the order listed in volume V, but soon found this idea "utopian." Once several essays had been submitted and had languished for two years, it was decided that the volumes would be issued as the essays were submitted to the editor, with the assurance that scholars would be able to find what they wanted easily enough (I:23). Perhaps this is true, but it does make for a somewhat disjointed volume and puts a rather heavy burden on the reader.

In spite of this oddity of organization, however, there are some very fine contributions to the study of medieval hagiography in volume V. Cécile Lanéry's monumental essay on the hagiographical passions written in Italy between 300–550 (pp. 15–369) gives ample social contextualization for these often grisly accounts; and the analysis of Central Italian hagiography from 1130 to 1220 by Antonella Degl'Innocenti (pp. 731–98) makes careful distinctions between ecclesiastical categories (episcopal, monastic, eremitic, and lay saints) and the varied historical and cultural contexts of the lives

(*Translatio Apostoli*, Anglo-Irish saints, and ancient martyrs). These essays are models of erudition and clarity that would be very useful to students.

It is a joy to see this massive project finished at long last. The essays in these five volumes will certainly be important references for scholars of the medieval hagiographical tradition for at least the next generation of scholars.

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E. ANN MATTER

*Psychology and Catholicism: Contested Boundaries.* By Robert Kugelman. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Pp. v, 490. \$125.00. ISBN 978-1-107-00608-9.)

Robert Kugelman, a psychology professor at the University of Dallas, has written an intellectual history of the relationships between psychology and Catholicism in America from 1879 to 1965—a more circumscribed subject than his title suggests, but an authoritative history of these interactions.

Although American Catholics in psychology lack a signal figure—a Freud or Jung, or a seminal work or theory—their interactions are deep and varied. At their heart is a contest between faith and reason, between the soul and the self, which has altered everything from pastoral counseling and the confessional to marriage preparation and Catholic education. However, giving an account of these interactions is conceptually challenging, because psychology as a field has contested roots, practices, meanings, and relationships with other disciplines.

To navigate this uncertain terrain, Kugelman identifies four broad characterizations of the interactions between psychology and religion. First, since psychology develops only from empirically tested results, it neither depends on nor challenges theological claims. Second, psychology, like all knowledge, has philosophical presuppositions that participate in and challenge theological claims, so psychology is bound, in some fashion, to philosophy and theology. Third, theological commitments precede the developments of psychology, so the only valid psychology is a confessional psychology. Fourth, religion is irrational and psychology is rational, so psychology is a replacement for both theology and faith.

In Kugelman's account, Catholics understand the relationships between faith and psychology chiefly through one of the first two categories, either as an empirical science whose claims do not affect or depend on their faith, or as a field of knowledge whose claims, although distinct, participate in theological and philosophical claims.

After establishing these categories in the first chapter, Kugelman develops these relationships over eight chapters that function like case histories of specific moments and movements in recent history. These densely researched

and illustrated chapters draw on primary and secondary texts, magazine articles, correspondence, professional meetings, research publications, and textbooks. They are suitable to assign individually to graduate or advanced undergraduate students, especially the chapters on psychoanalysis, depth psychology, and the institutionalization of psychology. Kugelmann evinces a deep knowledge of the history of both psychology and Catholicism, which makes these chapters rewarding. He shows how Catholics develop a rapprochement with psychology around sexual morality and personhood and how the clergy and laity employ psychology. In these chapters, Kugelmann's history significantly improves on previous texts. Less successful are early chapters on modernism and neo-Scholasticism that, although accurate and detailed, are better accounted for by other historians.

In the final chapter, Kugelmann offers a constructive account for the relationship, suggesting that psychology return to the soul. In its initial development, psychology did not discuss the soul, in part to distinguish itself from theology. Kugelmann argues that it is now necessary to revisit the soul within psychology and argues for a movement analogous to *ressourcement* theology. He notes the development of indigenous psychologies, psychologies developed out of a particular community's practice for a particular community's account of psychological phenomena. He argues, like Henri de Lubac, for a return to sources indigenous to Catholicism—say, John Cassian on self-disclosure.

This possibility is particularly moving. In De Lubac's great work, *Catholicism: Christ and the Common Destiny of Man* (San Francisco, 1988), he wrote that

the greater becomes one's familiarity with this immense army of witnesses, the closer one's association with this one or that, the keener is the realization of how deep is the unity in which all those meet together who, faithful to the Church, live by the same faith in the Holy Spirit. (p. 20)

If Kugelmann can spark a similar engagement of psychology with the riches of Catholicism, this book will prove not just authoritative, but prophetic.

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ABRAHAM NUSSBAUM

### Ancient

*The Origins of Feasts, Fasts, and Seasons in Early Christianity.* By Paul E. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson. [Alcuin Club Collections, 86.] (Collegeville, MN: A Pueblo Book, Liturgical Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 222. \$29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-814-66244-1.)

Paul Bradshaw and Maxwell Johnson, both professors of liturgy at the University of Notre Dame, here provide an excellent introduction to recent



scholarship on early Christian feasts, fasts, and seasons. The book is also readily accessible to nonspecialists interested in these topics. The twenty chapters cover the whole range of the field from the emergence of Sunday as a weekly celebration of the coming *Parousia* to the beginnings of Marian worship at an earlier date than has often been assumed. The authors take positions, where evidence and argument permit, while judiciously leaving undecided matters that remain controversial.

The authors persuasively overthrow many of the conclusions of an earlier generation of scholars, some of which remain deeply embedded in popular belief. Sunday originates not as a weekly memorial of the Resurrection, but as a celebration of "the Lord's Day," in an eschatological sense. The annual observance of the Passion on the date of the Passover full moon (Quartodecimanism) is the oldest Christian practice, not a later Judaizing innovation. Annual celebration of the Resurrection on the Sunday after Passover grew out of Quartodecimanism, but not until Sunday itself had taken on a paschal significance.

Lent originates not as a gradual extension of the two days of fasting before Easter, but from a three-week period of preparation for baptism associated with several seasons of the year. The tradition of a forty days' fast was originally an imitation of Jesus's forty days in the wilderness and associated, especially at Alexandria, with the feast of the Epiphany.

The rapid acceptance in the fourth century of December 25 as a separate feast of the Nativity was theologically motivated. The feast of Epiphany or Theophany was so named because Jesus appeared as Son of God at his baptism. These "adoptionist" overtones became inappropriate in the context of fourth-century trinitarian theology.

The chapters on "Initiation at Easter" and "The First Martyrs and Saints" are especially enlightening. Because baptism required a preparatory period of fasting and fasting was prohibited on Saturday, except before Easter, Easter became an appropriate time for initiation. Baptism at the Easter Vigil is well attested in North Africa and Milan, but not as universal as has sometimes been supposed. Whereas earlier scholars sometimes relegated the cult of martyrs to the realm of superstition, more recent studies have rediscovered the centrality of such worship to ordinary Christian experience. As the age of persecution passed, veneration was extended to noteworthy ascetics, bishops, and others.

In a few instances, overreliance on secondary sources has left unchallenged the outdated findings of an earlier generation of scholars. The authors repeat, for example (p. 59), the unfounded assumption that differences between Rome and Alexandria on the date of the equinox led to differences in their Paschal calculations. Although March 25 was the traditional date of the equinox in the Roman calendar, the Roman cycle of eighty-four years used

in the fourth and fifth centuries set March 22 as the earliest permissible date for Easter and thus implicitly accepted the Alexandrian date of March 21 for the equinox.

This and a few (very few) other minor errors neither vitiate the authors' conclusions nor detract from the general usefulness of this highly informative book.

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*Hadrian and the Christians*. Edited by Marco Rizzi. [Millennium Studies: Studies in the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E., Vol. 30.] (New York: Walter de Gruyter. 2010. Pp. vi, 186. \$98.00 ISBN 978-3-110-22470-2.)

*Hadrian and the Christians* is a publication that must excite curiosity about this emperor whose reign is widely considered to be one of peace, prosperity, and religious tolerance. It is sixty years since Stewart Perowne expressed his opinion that Hadrian was the catalyst for the rise of Christianity. Now editor and contributor Marco Rizzi proposes a fresh approach that will investigate the role played by Hadrian in creating an environment in which Christianity was able to define and present itself (for example, p. 2). Five other scholars from related disciplines have each contributed essays. These are of varying standards with some lapses in providing accurate references and coin catalog numbers.

It is commendable that a comprehensive list of ancient sources is supplied, but it would have been even more useful to have a general discussion of these in Rizzi's introduction with his observations on the writings of Aristides, Ignatius, and Justin. An alteration in the order of the essays would have permitted a better understanding of Hadrian; Marco Galli could then have provided more commentary on Hadrian's early influences, particularly how his *paideia* was gained and the rôle models who informed his later policy making, especially in religious matters. Some mention should have been made of Hadrian's year (or more; c. 110–12) in Greece and his initial introduction to the mystery cults and their connection with Hercules. This might explain Hadrian's early coins depicting Hercules, in addition to his acknowledgment of the deity of Gades, his mother's *patria*.

Apparently, the essayists worked closely together and determined that 124/25 represented a turning point in Hadrian's religious policy. This is never clearly stated except by Alessandro Galimberti; he concludes that the fake letter of Hadrian to Servianus provides a fifth-century retrospective insight into Hadrian's religious policy, showing that he had "settled his accounts with Judaism, embarked on a new course with Christianity and reviewed the relationship with Egyptian cults" (for example, p. 120). Hadrian was always aware

of his duty as *pontifex maximus*, but there is no doubt that his curiosity and personal search for religious fulfillment would have led him to thoroughly examine the beliefs of his subjects. From the start of his reign there were no persecutions against Christians. Ignatius's martyrdom took place during Trajan's reign, recorded as during the consulship of Senecio and Sura, so in 107. At this time Cornelius Palma was governor of Syria, Trajan was concluding the second war in Dacia, and Hadrian was en route to his appointment as governor in Pannonia Inferior. Hadrian's tolerance of Christians, apparent from his letter to Minicius Fundanus (replying to Gratianus's request for guidance), cannot be attributed to the Apologists to whom he may have granted an audience in 124/25 or even c.131/32, according to Galimberti. Although the excavations of the *Antinoeion* at the Villa are of enormous interest, the cult of Antinous was very late in Hadrian's reign. Elena Calandra could have made her essay more pertinent by including a discussion of Burton MacDonald's theory of mystery cult activity in the subterranean passages and the South Theatre.

Hadrian's vision of *Panbellenion* both reflected his love for Greece and the Greeks and his awareness of their persistent intercity rivalry. It represented Hadrian's pursuit of *tranquillitas*. Yet despite Hadrian's best intentions, as Giovanni Bazzana shows in his scholarly and thorough essay on the Bar Kokhba Revolt, the emperor misunderstood the Judaeans. His reaction to the rebellion was a typical Roman response, exacerbated by worsening health, his grief for Antinous, and the destruction of his dream of *pax Romana*.

Livia Capponi makes several very interesting points: that Hadrian visited both Jerusalem and Alexandria early in his reign; that the Egyptian cults played a vital role in providing a spiritual background for Christianity, with the customs and beliefs of Serapis worshipers overlapping with those of Christians; and that the Alexandrian *Serapeum* was a holy place for Christians and Jews. Hadrianic building flourished in this atmosphere of religious tolerance.

The separation of Jews and Christians and their differences are made clear, but not that both suffered the same problem with the imperial cult, which demanded that the emperor be worshipped before their God. The essays, unfortunately, fail to provide sufficient evidence to support Rizzi's ambitious claims that Hadrian's religious policies were instrumental in the rise of Christianity. Hadrian would probably have been surprised to find himself considered the hero of a religion that would struggle to emulate his religious tolerance.

*Theodoret's People: Social Networks and Religious Conflict in Late Roman Syria.* By Adam M. Schor. [Transformation of the Classical Heritage, XLVIII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 342. \$49.95. ISBN 978-0-520-26862-3.)

It is common knowledge that the Christological controversies surrounding the Third and Fourth Ecumenical Councils (in 431 and 451, respectively) involved far more than just theological debates, and a great deal of scholarship has focused on the complex politics of these discussions. Adam Schor's work, *Theodoret's People*, significantly advances this scholarship by providing a carefully researched, nuanced portrayal of the social networks among bishops and prominent lay civil leaders, networks that Theodoret spent his life fostering and that he utilized in his efforts to forge Christological consensus in a confusing, fractured environment. Schor's analysis of the interaction between clerical networks in Syria and his elucidation of the various approaches that different bishops took to the leadership of these networks is outstanding. His portrayal of the link between clerical networks and the performance of patronage is also excellent, and his work thus makes a major contribution to our understanding of late-antique Roman society.

Given Schor's focus on social history, it is not surprising that he largely stays away from doctrinal issues, but in his final chapter—certainly the most tantalizing of the book—he argues persuasively that the Syrian (“Antiochene”) picture of Christ mirrored the networking, interactive way Syrian bishops functioned (in contrast to the Cyrillian picture of Christ that mirrored the top-down way the Alexandrian bishop acted in Egyptian society). This assertion gives doctrinal historians much to chew on. At the same time, it is worth pointing out that when Schor does range into the realm of theology, his categories for describing the Christological controversies are a bit stale compared with the freshness of the rest of his work. He depicts the theological portion of the controversies as primarily a clash between miaphysite and dyophysite understandings of Christ and writes glowingly of Theodoret's defense of the “two natures” formula on the grounds that Christ had to be a single person with two identities to be our mediator. True enough, but virtually any bishop in the fifth century would have agreed with this assertion. The fundamental theological questions were more specific than Schor alleges.

Ironically, in spite of the understandably oversimplified way in which Schor's work handles the theological issues, it seems to this reviewer that his book has more theological significance than he probably realizes. Many scholars have argued that the actual theological differences between Antiochenes and Alexandrians were not that significant. Others of us have claimed that Theodoret and most of the other Antiochenes were not actually “Antiochene.” In either of these scenarios, most (or even all) of the fifth-century bishops



were trying to say the same thing, and thus one of the most perplexing historical questions is why so few of them realized this. Schor's analysis of constantly shifting social networks provides a means of explaining the fact (if it is a fact) that so many bishops opposed each other so rancorously when they actually shared a common faith. In providing a very plausible explanation for this phenomenon, Schor has done historians of all stripes—doctrinal as well as social—a great service. Not only can we more accurately understand the way social networks functioned but also, with Schor's help, we can see that the battle lines in the controversy often did not line up with the actual lines of theological agreement and disagreement. Armed with this recognition, we are in a better position to probe where the theological lines actually lay and whether or not there was a consensus beneath the shifting sands of doctrinal expression and clerical networking.

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*Monaci, vescovi e scuola nella Gallia tardoantica.* By Roberto Alciati. [Tem e Testi, Vol. 72.] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 2009. Pp. xi, 273. €39,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-863-72083-9.)

In recent years the late-antique school, rightly considered a key factor to the survival and evolution of Greco-Roman civilization, has been attracting scholarly attention. The vivid interest in the Third Sophistic and the excitement raised by the discovery of schoolrooms at Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria are just two examples. Roberto Alciati's book certainly is part of this development, although it does not focus on the school as institution, either monastic or secular. Alciati describes the subject of his interest as the relationship among teachers, pupils, and texts, or the creation of a textual and interpretative community in the monastic milieu of southern and central Gaul, from the beginning of its literary history early in the fifth century to the publication of *Vitae Patrum Iurensium* in c. 520. However, he does not clearly explain the criteria for his choice of monks, bishops, and writers who composed this community—and this choice is not self-evident.

The construction of the book seems to reflect the order of research. Alciati is interested in such topics as the teacher-student relationship, the formation of monastic literary canons, and the character of teaching, but he does not present them in thematic order. Consecutive chapters are devoted to major monastic milieus and authors—the circle of St. Martin of Tours and Sulpicius Severus, Lérins and associated personages (Eucher, bishop of Lyon; Salvian of Marseille; St. Vincent of Lérins; and St. Faustus, bishop of Riez), the community of Condatisco in the Jura, Julianus Pomerius, and Claudianus Mamertus. Such a construction has the obvious advantage of permitting Alciati to fix and carefully analyze every quotation from these authors in its context, but at a price—the reader sometimes is at a loss to understand the

author's aim. His quite convincing textual interpretations are easy to follow, but his comprehensive vision of the problem less so.

The conclusions, if not groundbreaking, are definitely interesting. First, Alciati demonstrates that the most important element that several prominent Gallic monks and bishops adopted from their school (whatever form it took) was the method—the classical method of interpreting texts and constructing arguments as well as a method of teaching, manifest especially in *quaestiones et responsiones* and dialogues. Second, he shows that the teacher-student relationship, like the links of patronage, created an important network that connected monks, bishops, and other teachers. Third, he reveals how consciously the canon of monastic “school” texts was formed and how a library could have played a founding role for a community. Fourth, Alciati shows that education in a monastic environment was not based on Christian literature alone and that philosophical training was appreciated and evidently found useful.

A comparison of the Gallic model with other approaches to Christian education would have been welcome. There is a chapter on the Cappadocian Fathers, but not on Latin authors from outside Gaul who were involved in teaching. Therefore, it is up to the reader to decide whether Alciati's monastic Gaul is just a case study or a phenomenon apart.

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ROBERT WIŚNIEWSKI

*Heaven's Purge: Purgatory in Late Antiquity.* By Isabel Moreira. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 310. \$65.00. ISBN 978-0-199-73604-1.)

This is an important and thoughtful study of a subject plagued by the success of Jacques Le Goff's *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago, 1984), which tried to prove that purgatory did not exist in Western consciousness until the twelfth century invented the noun. Isabel Moreira gets far beyond this oversimplification, thanks to a faithful reading of many difficult sources. Her book is a model for work in the humanities, with an interdisciplinary approach to law, theology, and visionary literature. Her conclusions are clear and succinct. However, the use of the term *late antiquity* for the Western world until the 700s results in a chronological misunderstanding and confuses the reader. In addition, in the first chapters there are frequent references to other scholars without presentation of their views. A separate chapter summarizing *Stand der Forschung* would have been helpful. However, the endnotes are helpful in substantiating the conclusions of the well-written text.

In a short review it is not possible to convey the rich layers of this monograph, but the reader can look forward to many fresh interpretations of a varied source material. The author largely rejects Peter Brown's attractive view that the concept of purgatory arose from an Irish context. The evidence is lacking that the classical idea of amnesty was exchanged for an Irish belief

in the purgation of the individual (p. 142). Moreira shows instead how early-medieval culture was deeply dependent on monastic, biblical, and patristic literature. She does a superb job in showing how St. Boniface and the Venerable Bede, although they did not know each other, both contributed to a new understanding of the possibility of purgation in the afterlife. She refuses to accept the long-held belief that belief in purgation in the afterlife somehow comes from “barbarian” attitudes, whether found in law codes or other sources. We are assured that by the time of Bede and Boniface, a connection was seen between prayers for the dead and the alleviation of purgatorial fire, a linkage that St. Augustine had failed to make (p. 165). For the barbarian chieftain Radbod it was outrageous that he could not secure through his baptism the salvation of dead family members. But Bede and his successors refused to permit the heresy of Origen—that in the end all would be saved. Purgatory became a necessity for all the baptized, but not a guarantee of universal salvation. This “compassionate theology of purgatory” was useful for missionaries (p. 190).

This monograph does more than illustrate the development of the doctrine of purgatory; it contributes to the intellectual and social history of early-medieval Europe.

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BRIAN PATRICK MCGUIRE

### Medieval

*Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe.*

By Charles Freeman. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. xvii, 306. \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-300-12571-9.)

In writing a history of the Christian cult of relics, Charles Freeman does a valuable service for the educated and curious because—remarkably—such a thing did not previously exist in English. To his great credit, Freeman has read widely and voraciously. He has organized his findings in twenty-six loosely chronological chapters with brief notes and bibliography, charting the rise and fall of the cult. Although not deeply scholarly, the book fills a need with a lively narrative and a plenitude of specific and fascinating bits of information.

The strength of this book is its compelling sense of storytelling. The book organizes and delivers an overview of the rich work produced by scholars in the last twenty years. Celebrated scholars such as Peter Brown, Caroline Bynum, Eamon Duffy, Patrick Geary, Miri Rubin, André Vauchez, and many others are allowed to “speak” through the author. In chapters where the scholarship is particularly rich and focused—such as those on Byzantine relics and the Crusades, those on the rise of Gothic architecture, on the issues of the resurrected body, or the history of papal canonization (for some reason sensationally titled “Christ’s recruits . . . fight back”)—Freeman’s ability to write exciting narrative sweeps one along. Generally there are big themes—poli-

tics, religion, conflict, and resolution—but there also are many telling anecdotes and a sense of the personal and the touchingly human.

The urge for storytelling also is the weakness of the book. In the effort to forge a narrative from frightfully disparate material, at times the textures of densely argued scholarly theses have been flattened and contexts have been distorted. To take one example, it cannot be doubted that there are some similarities between pagan practices and the new cult of Christian saints, but Peter Brown has very eloquently argued against Edward Gibbon's thesis of the mere continuation of polytheism. It is dismaying to see it revived here. Occasionally it is difficult to discover the source of quotes, despite the use of notes. Often legends are presented as if worthy of belief (especially in regards to very early dates), and at other moments the author's skepticism creeps in with a randomly inserted (sic). Although surely Freeman's work here is very much to be admired, perhaps inevitably in such an ambitious book, errors occur.

As mentioned above, Freeman's story has an arc. That is, in taking up a very English point of view (understandably, as Freeman is English), the story is "completed" in the formation of the English Church and the European Protestant Reformation. Admittedly, there is an attempt at a sort of coda about the Catholic church after the Reformation, but the penultimate paragraph seems to express the author's conclusion best: "An alternative approach, that the supernatural might be a figment of the imagination, was being formulated for the first time but its definition, notably in the Enlightenment, lies far beyond the scope of this book" (p. 269).

Encountering references throughout to "credulity," "mass hysteria," and generalizations about the "medieval mind," one realizes one is in the company of a very good popularizer who very much takes up the point of view of his more skeptical audience—one slightly appalled at all this "relicing" and its corollary superstitious behavior. Nonetheless, all is saved by a tasty storyline. This is a book that is well worth reading and one that, it is to be hoped, will lead the reader into the scholarship it so enthusiastically presents.

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CYNTHIA HAIN

*War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture.* By Katherine Allen Smith. [Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, Vol. XXXVII.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer, 2011. Pp. x, 239. \$90.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83616-2.)

During the last twenty-five years or so, medievalists have broken down the old artificial distinction between "those who fought" and "those who prayed" to demonstrate how closely the monastic world and the world of the secular aristocracy were intertwined. Crusaders and members of such groups as the Templars were simultaneously fighters and men following religious dictates, and, as many recent scholars have demonstrated, the spread of ascetic monas-



ticism would have been impossible without the support of the warlike leaders of society. Building on that work, Katherine Allen Smith here takes the analysis one step further to reveal how much monastic language and metaphor owed to warfare. Monks saw themselves as warriors engaged in spiritual battles, as Davids overthrowing Goliaths, as fighters requiring the same fortitude and determination against their enemies as knights in battle. Those converting to the religious life gave up violence but did not give up being soldiers—they were just a different sort of soldier. Although scholars have long noted monastic use of the term *miles Christi* (a soldier of Christ) to describe a monk, this is the first in-depth study of how those in the cloister fashioned their image and their mission in terms borrowed from secular warfare. Smith's chief focus is northern France and England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with forays back to early Christian writers.

The first chapter explores the prevalence of war—both real and metaphorical—in the Bible and in the writings of the Church Fathers, indicating how thoroughly the monastic liturgy would have been imbued with the language of armed combat. In the second chapter, Smith goes over the evidence indicating the close connections between knights and nobles on one hand and cloistered monks on the other, arguing that knightly converts to the religious life brought warlike attitudes with them. The third chapter traces the history of the concept of a “soldier of Christ” from the early Church through the twelfth century.

All of this is in preparation for the final two chapters, the real heart of Smith's argument—a close discussion of the martial imagery in monastic texts and an analysis of the pious yet powerful warriors whom the monks admired in the high Middle Ages. The latter group included both the warrior-saints of distant antiquity and such semi-legendary figures as St. William of Gellone. In addition, the monks admired warriors who converted to the religious life, giving up their wealth and authority but not their unceasing opposition to anything conceived as the enemy. Here, Smith gives a number of examples, going beyond the well-known St. Bernard of Clairvaux and other knights of the Cistercian order. Most interesting, however, of the pious warriors are the *loricati* (“mailed ones”), those who wore actual armor while battling spiritual evil. An appendix lists twenty-one such *loricati* from between the mid-eleventh and mid-thirteenth centuries, former warriors who continued to wear mail (often under their robes) as a form of penitence.

Smith writes clearly and well. Her conclusion—that monks learned from warriors as well as the other way around—is novel and well argued. The bibliography is extensive and up to date, and the notes are at the bottom of the page where they belong. This important book is a welcome addition to the recent literature on the relations between medieval church and society.

*Sacred Folly: A New History of the Feast of Fools.* By Max Harris. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 322. \$49.95. ISBN 978-0-801-44956-7.)

The Feast of Fools was celebrated in the Middle Ages principally in northern France on January 1 (the Feast of the Circumcision), Epiphany, or its octave. Church authorities had complained of boisterous New Year festivity as early as the eighth century, but it is in the twelfth century—when the feast had acquired its name and become a celebration of the subdiaconate—that the most famous and scathing condemnations appear. A famous 1198 letter from a papal legate to the bishop of Paris enumerates a wealth of liturgical offenses, including clerical cross-dressing and turning the blessing with holy water into a dunking. Later reformers cited other scurrilous activities such as censing the altar with burning shoe leather.

Max Harris's *Sacred Folly* aims to revise this long-held view of the feast's rowdiness, which he posits can be traced to two causes. First, he questions the credibility of most of the shocking claims made about the feast's celebration, noting that the most famous condemnations are not eyewitness accounts but instead vaguely attributed "reports" from others. Second, Harris looks to E. K. Chambers's influential work *The Mediæval Stage* (Oxford, 1903). Chambers performed yeoman's work in assembling all of the available extant evidence of the feast, but conflated secular and liturgical New Year's practices. Chambers also aggregated evidence from across continents and centuries, creating a view of the feast as a uniformly monolithic entity. Finally, by privileging the official condemnations of ecclesiastical authorities over other evidence, Chambers "exaggerated the disruptive character of the Feast of Fools and minimized its positive contribution to the seasonal liturgy" (p. 4).

For Harris, the Feast of Fools was "a scripted addition to the seasonal liturgy, initiated and controlled by the clergy," initially conceived as "an absorbing liturgical alternative to secular Kalends masquerades" (p. 23) that responded to official complaints (initially from Pope Innocent III) not by suppression or sanitization, but rather by creating even more absorbing and expanded liturgies such as those of Sens, Beauvais, and Laon.

Part 1 (chapters 1–5) examines older festive activities mistakenly connected with the Feast of Fools, demonstrating that they are not genuine precursors. Thus, medieval theologians' belief that the feast had a pagan past (a view that appears unequivocally in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*) is also incorrect. Part 2 (chapters 6–10) then explores the creation of the feast *de novo* in northern France in the twelfth century, viewing it in a context of "economic prosperity, intellectual ferment, and architectural and liturgical innovation" rather than as a corrective to "social disorder and clerical decay" (p. 66).

Part 3 (chapters 11–15) examines ecclesiastical support for the new feast after its creation to roughly 1500. Although it was critiqued or even banned in some places, Harris documents overall support of the feast. (An attractive

and helpful map in the book's front matter summarizes locations of known and dubious Feasts of Fools.) In part 4 (chapters 16–20), the story turns. Here, Harris traces the rise of attacks on the feast during the course of the fifteenth century and its survival in some places into the sixteenth and, at Noyon at least, even later. The fifth and final part (chapters 21–25) describes in some detail the goings-on supported by the lay festive societies. Harris argues that these societies were not an outgrowth of the clerical feast but instead part of “a broader explosion of amateur dramatic activity” that peaked between 1450 and 1560 (p. 243).

This is an important book, an essential and captivating modification to the long-held view of the feast's overall raucousness. Particularly compelling are the sections in which Harris unravels the more outrageous claims about the feast. His debunking (chapter 7) of the activities reported at Beauvais—including the priest and congregation braying like a donkey and a clerical drinking competition—is scholarly detective work of the finest kind, as is the tracing (in chapter 8) of the claim that the Parisian celebration involved bloodshed to a misreading of Peter the Chanter's *Verbum abbreviatum* (1191/92).

At the same time, one cannot help but wonder if the vast corpus of ecclesiastical condemnation might not have had at least some basis in reality. One's suspicions are strengthened, rather than dispelled, by the few places in which the author seems to protest too much. For example, Harris emphasizes that the “fools” of the feast were Pauline “fools for Christ's sake,” whom God loves because of their lowly status. Nevertheless, the inversion of clerical seating arrangements during the feast—with subdeacons taking the places of chapter officials—was surely a genuine, albeit temporary, supplanting. Harris overcorrects when he claims that “the church hierarchy understood the overthrow [described by the chant *Deposuit*] to apply not to themselves but to unbelieving or recalcitrant secular powers,” ignoring the likelihood that the deposition could be both unfeigned and nonthreatening (p. 91).

*Sacred Folly* will appeal to a wide audience. Anyone interested in church history, festal traditions, or the relationship between clerical and secular culture will find it engaging. Its compelling material, meticulous research, and eminently readable style make it the rare “crossover” book for scholars and nonscholars alike.

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ROBERT LAGUEUX

*Greeks, Latins, and the Church in Early Frankish Cyprus*. By Christopher D. Schabel. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, 949.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2010. Pp. xii, 332. \$165.00. ISBN 978-1-409-40092-9.)

A proverbial crossroads, Cyprus hosted numerous cultures and religions during the late Middle Ages. Their local development and continued inter-

changes with the larger medieval Mediterranean world make Frankish Cyprus a compelling yet challenging subject of study. One of the greatest challenges is that our understanding of many of the issues and even the issues themselves have become quite knotted over time and can be difficult to untangle. In the ten studies collected here—the earliest published in 1998, the newest appearing for the first time—the historian Christopher Schabel clarifies a number of the questions that have not only affected local scholarship but also have affected areas of study further afield. The rich variety of studies, focusing on the period 1191–1359, assures that there is much of worth both for scholars who focus on Frankish Cyprus and for those who come to the island tangentially.

Schabel's strength as a scholar—reflected in this collection—is his consistent use of grounded, historical research and comparative study to unravel confusing threads in both the primary and secondary literature, explain their origins, correct past misconceptions, and place them in their medieval context(s). Article II ("The Myth of Queen Alice. . ."), for example, represents Schabel at his best. He thoroughly examines a problem in our contemporary scholarship through the lens of an exhaustive and extensively documented study of both the primary documents and their reception by medieval, early modern, and modern authors, including those writing in Greek. As in all of the articles, his treatment includes copious amounts of supporting information and references to his sources. The particular issue at hand, the role of Queen Alice in the subjugation of the Greek clergy on Cyprus (c.1213–23) is very entangled historiographically, and readers, including those more familiar with the events, may find it useful to reread the appropriate sections of article I ("The Status of the Greek Clergy in Early Frankish Cyprus") to assure themselves of the current state of understanding once they have finished article II.

Many of the studies have also been made more readily available to scholars by their inclusion here. In this regard, article I on the status of the Greek clergy will be seminal for most readers seeking to understand both the medieval, cultural/religious and the modern, scholastic environments on the island. Schabel re-evaluates the traditional understanding (in which the Latin Church consciously and continuously oppressed and impoverished the Greek) and presents a new, nuanced view centered on various spheres of activity such as the economy, jurisdiction, doctrine, and practice in their broader medieval context.

Readers interested in particular popes, bishops, or other figures and/or groups may want to begin with the index and will most likely be drawn to articles IV (Greek bishops), V (Latin bishops), VI (Cistercians and certain nobles), VII (Peter de Castro), VIII and IX (Elias of Nabinaux), and X (Hugh IV de Lusignan). Those more interested in either local events or Cyprus's role in contemporary issues, church-related and otherwise, may find themselves drawn to article II, article III ("The Martyrdom of the Thirteen Monks of Kantara"), and the general narratives of articles VII–X. The amount of infor-



mation provided by these studies may seem overwhelming to some readers, but the process of cross-checking people and interpretations is made easier by the index that Schabel has provided. All readers will want to note the corrections, updated bibliography, and notes that he has added to the texts, as well as his useful preface. Taken together, these ensure that this is and will remain for quite some time a very rich and useful collection.

*University of Minnesota, Morris*

JAMES G. SCHRYVER

*The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church, 1100-1560.* By Richard Fawcett. (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. 2011. Pp. xiv, 456. \$100.00. ISBN 978-0-300-17049-8.)

Over the past thirty years, Richard Fawcett's numerous publications have revolutionized our understanding of medieval church architecture in Scotland. The fruits of his brilliant research are now brought together with fine illustrations in this handsome new volume. The book opens with an introduction to church architecture in Scotland before 1100, and there follow eight chapters arranged chronologically and a conclusion on the impact of the Reformation. Comprehensive endnotes and a bibliography facilitate further study on the buildings. Fawcett's passion for architectural history exudes throughout his presentation and meticulous analysis of the buildings, and this cannot fail to be infectious for specialists and nonspecialists alike. His keen eye for detail combined with an unparalleled knowledge of the buildings and profound understanding of comparative material in Europe provides us with an unparalleled view of Scottish churches in a European context. Churches are discussed in their appropriate historical setting and, where documentation permits, in terms of their patronage. Small churches and those known only from Antiquarian sources are examined alongside the "great monuments." For twelfth-century churches Fawcett demonstrates close ties with exemplars in England, particularly Durham Cathedral and its influence on Dunfermline Abbey and Kirkwall Cathedral and several smaller churches. In the thirteenth century, Lincoln Cathedral was a favorite point of reference, as at Holyrood Abbey. Yet the Scottish churches were by no means provincial copies of English models, especially in the smaller Romanesque churches of the Northern Isles. In Orkney, the round tower at Egilsay and the twin round western towers at Deerness (now lost) are allied to northern Germany, which was then in the same ecclesiastical province. The southwest nave doorway at Whithorn Cathedral is associated with Irish Romanesque. The ambitious design of the twin-towered façade of Arbroath Abbey incorporates reticulated masonry, perhaps as an expression of royal status or even imperial aspirations, whereas the huge round window may reflect northern French models such as Laon Cathedral. Elsewhere, we encounter adventurous designs such as the huge, four-light east window with rose-window-like oculus of the east front of Kirkwall Cathedral, the west façade of Holyrood Abbey, and the variety of the plate tracery in the south choir aisle windows of Glasgow

Cathedral. Moreover, in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral there are remarkable spatial innovations and complex vault patterns.

Political and diplomatic ties with France and commercial links with the Low Countries account for many architectural associations from the late-fourteenth century and afterward. Especially intriguing is an inscription at Melrose Abbey that records the career of the Paris-born mason John Morow and various Scottish churches on which he worked. Fawcett establishes Morow's œuvre and includes striking parallels with the windows of the south nave chapels at Amiens Cathedral, and tracery designs and sculptural details at Vincennes Castle Chapel just east of Paris. These and other flowing tracery designs are symptomatic of the lack of interest in the contemporary Perpendicular style of England on the part of Scottish patrons and architects. Connections with the Low Countries are manifest, as in the unusual form of the crossing piers at Aberdeen in relation to the west tower piers of Brussels Cathedral, and tracery design at King's College, Aberdeen, and Utrecht Cathedral.

This book is a masterpiece and will be the starting point for all future research on medieval church architecture in Scotland. It is highly recommended as a model for all architectural historians and medievalists with an interest in ecclesiastical architecture as well as the general reader who just wants to enjoy and understand this period of Scottish heritage.

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MALCOLM THURLBY

*The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff.* Edited by George Hardin Brown and Linda Ehrsam Voigts. [Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Vol. 384; Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Vol. 35.] (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies; Turnhout: Brepols. 2010. Pp. ix, 438. \$70.00. ISBN 978-2-503-53383-4.)

The sixteen studies in this volume honor Richard W. Pfaff—Rhodes Scholar, biographer of M. R. James, expert on the liturgy of the medieval church, and Episcopalian priest—who taught in the History Department at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, from 1967 until his retirement in 2006. Reflecting the distribution of the honoree's own interests, the contributions subdivide into two sections: "Liturgical Studies" and "Historical Studies."

Three contributions within each section are thematically connected. The Sarum liturgy provides the link within the first section. William Peter Mahrt shows how, when the site of Salisbury Cathedral was moved in the early-thirteenth century from within the old hilltop Roman fort of Sarum down to the

plains below, processions at the new cathedral tended to reflect the topography of the old structure, despite notable differences in architecture and layout. These continuing features of the processions were in turn incorporated into the Sarum rite, which by the end of the Middle Ages had been adopted in most dioceses of the English church's southern province. Two complementary essays by Nigel Morgan and Sherry Reames discuss the diversity of the content of the many late-medieval manuscripts that carry the Sarum rite. Morgan studies the Sanctorale portions of nineteen Missals and fourteen Breviaries produced between c. 1250 and c. 1350 to demonstrate how the use of Sarum spread during this period; the evidence establishes that in numerous manuscripts certain Sarum feasts were omitted, whereas non-Sarum feasts were frequently included—a reflection of the persistence of the traditions of the diocese for which an individual manuscript was prepared. Reames discusses hagiographical texts added to the normal contents of the Sarum Sanctorale in some ninety manuscripts. Noting the fluidity and pluralism presented by the manuscripts, she concludes that “many dioceses and individual churches adopted the Sarum liturgy piecemeal, accepting most of its calendar and ceremonial while retaining non-Sarum feasts that had local importance” (p. 169).

Among the other liturgically focused contributions, Janet Sorrentino analyzes the unusual emphasis on perseverance in the votive Mass for laybrothers that occurs in a thirteenth-century Missal of the Order of Sempringham. Identifying this characteristic as a response to an earlier rebellion by the order's laybrothers, she offers a valuable discussion of the status of *conversi* within the new religious orders of the twelfth century. Christopher A. Jones's essay extends a previous study in which he argued that the great Carolingian liturgist Amalarius wrote an early work on the special liturgies of the last days of Holy Week. He presents the text of two twelfth-century bifolia surviving in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1229, which contain an anonymous compilation on the *triduum sacrum*; he proposes that two sentences are drawn from the lost Amalarian treatise. Elizabeth C. Teviotdale discusses the gospel extracts of Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 302, an illuminated late-Anglo-Saxon manuscript that has often been categorized as a gospel lectionary, even though the extracts occur in biblical rather than liturgical order. Teviotdale argues that the manuscript is a devotional book prepared for a private, probably Benedictine, owner connected with Worcester; she sees its closest parallel in the Gospels of St. Margaret of Scotland, which likewise presents a set of extracts compiled for a specific patron's devotional use. Andrew Hughes examines anomalous features of the page layout in two fifteenth-century copies of the liturgy for St. Thomas Becket's vigil, seeking to determine what these features reveal about the stages by which complex liturgical manuscripts were produced. Readers who are not adept paleographers may find this article somewhat impenetrable; it is regrettable that its accompanying illustrations are of poor quality and that the color reproduction repeatedly referenced is nowhere to be found.

The first three essays among the "Historical Studies" are linked by their Anglo-Saxon focus. In his contribution on pastoral care in early-Anglo-Saxon England, Alan Thacker offers a resolution of the ongoing debate over the respective roles of monasteries on the one hand, and priests and bishops on the other. He detects a false dichotomy here—the evidence indicates that there were relatively few priests in seventh- and eighth-century England; that they tended to live in communities called *monasteria*; and that these communities, although devoted to contemplation on one level, were also the purveyors of pastoral care to their local communities. Joshua A. Westgard discusses the material relating to St. Wilfrid that in a dozen manuscripts is added to the annalistic recapitulation near the end of the Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. He suggests that these Wilfridian additions hint at a larger, unfulfilled project to supplement the recapitulation with material relating to the Christianization of Mercia. Joseph Wittig considers the Old English translation of *metrum* 9 ("O qui perpetua") of book III of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* to determine whether the Latin glossing tradition influenced the translator's expansions on and departures from Boethius's original text. Detecting no specific debt, he concludes that both translation and glosses exemplify a wide-ranging interpretative activity indicative of the growing importance accorded Boethius's text within the monastic schools.

The "Historical Studies" include two sparkling contributions by Chapel Hill emeriti. Jaroslav Folda analyzes the twenty-five (originally twenty-six) historiated initials of London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS 12—a copy of the Old French translation of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* and its continuation to 1232. Commenting on the artist's sensitivity, his originality in selecting unusual but important scenes for illustration, and his success in presenting a panorama of crusading history, Folda concludes that the initials are the work of an English artist of the 1240s who perhaps trained at Salisbury and may have worked in one of the centers connected with the new wave of secular book illustration. Through a magisterial survey of the transmission of Greek and Arabic medical literature newly available in the thirteenth century, Michael McVaugh deduces the likely career path of Gilbert the Englishman, author of a major medical compilation, the *Compendium medicine*. McVaugh convincingly proposes that Gilbert was born after 1210, completed his arts training at Paris after 1230, received medical training there or at Montpellier, and (following a brief interlude of professional activity in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem) established himself as a regent master of medicine probably at Montpellier; the *Compendium* itself McVaugh dates to the 1250s, some twenty years later than has often been suggested.

Rodney Thomson's contribution examines the book-purchasing activities of William Reed, bishop of Chichester (1368–85), whose acquisition of some 536 volumes made him the greatest private collector in fourteenth-century England. Most of Reed's books relate to the university curriculum, and it seems to always have been his purpose to give them away to institutions, pri-



marily Oxford colleges, where they would be of service to students and fellows. Barbara F. Harvey's unrivaled familiarity with the Westminster Abbey muniments is in evidence in her exploration of a significant characteristic of late-medieval monasticism: the ability of Benedictine monks, with abbatial permission, to dispose of a certain amount of money (the *peculium*) for their own purposes—in the case of senior monks, as much as £8 annually. Harvey establishes that the Westminster monks might use their *peculium*—which they possessed in express contravention of the Rule of St. Benedict—to purchase spices, clothing, books, furnishings, and indulgences, to benefit family members, or to contribute toward the restoration of the abbey's fabric. Siegfried Wenzel's rather brief essay discusses four formulaic Latin documents and prayers added to a fifteenth-century English sermon collection, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.6.26. Although this manuscript has previously been categorized as a friar's workaday sermon book, Wenzel concludes that the added texts indicate a probable monastic affiliation for the codex. The final essay, by Charles F. Briggs, considers manuscript evidence for the teaching of moral philosophy in England from the later thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. Logic, speculative grammar, and scientific inquiry dominated the English university curriculum, especially at Oxford, but Briggs demonstrates that Aristotle's moral philosophical works were repeatedly copied, commented upon, abbreviated, and indexed by English scholars, providing material that might then surface in sermons, political texts and speeches, and books of advice for princes.

The volume ends with a full list of Pfaff's publications, an index of feasts, an index of manuscripts, and a general index. It maintains a generally high editorial standard, although there is a scattering of minor errors among the Latin quotations, abbreviation practices are not always consistent, and there is divergence in the dating of certain manuscripts between the contributions by Morgan and Reames. Although the diversity of subject matter makes it difficult to identify a thematic unity running through the volume, there is real substance here, and much that advances and refines our knowledge of medieval English liturgy and history. The book is a worthy tribute to a superlative scholar.

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TIMOTHY GRAHAM

*The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century.* By Marie Therese Flanagan. [Studies in Celtic History, XXIX.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 295. \$99.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83597-4.)

This, the twenty-ninth volume in the prestigious Studies in Celtic History series, is a worthy addition to the library of anyone interested in medieval Irish history and in the Irish church's engagement with the wider European reform movement. With chapters on sources, medieval dioceses, bishops and ecclesiastical culture, St. Malachy and monastic reform, the re-formation of lay

society, and lay piety and devotion, Marie Therese Flanagan traces the development of the Irish church and church practice in the twelfth century in the course of analyzing the Irish “manifestation of a much wider European phenomenon” (p. xi). Armed with this volume and *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal*, ed. Damian Bracken and Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel (Portland, OR, 2006), scholars are now well equipped with broad-based studies of this most important of developments in medieval Ireland.

Within the volume under review here, the importance of certain individuals to the broader narrative is highlighted and teased out. These include Cellach of Armagh; Gillebertus of Limerick; and, in particular, St. Malachy—the chapter devoted to his role in introducing a new monasticism is thorough, learned, and highly informative. The author makes the interesting observation (pp. 161–62) that “it is difficult to point to a major pre-twelfth-century monastery that survived without being transformed into a monastic community following either the Benedictine or Augustinian rules, into a cathedral church, into a parish church, or disappeared altogether.” This shows how completely the ecclesiastical landscape was transformed in Ireland during this period.

In this study, Flanagan has scrutinized an abundance of archaeological, architectural, hagiographical, historical, and literary sources. One way in which this study can be extended is by further analysis of an even larger corpus of relevant Irish-language texts. To take just a few examples: Ruairí Ó hUiginn’s reading (in *Éigse* 32) of *Tochmarc Emire* in the light of the reform agenda concerning marriage could be drawn upon here; *Acallam na Senórach* could be mined further, particularly considering Máire Ní Mhaonaigh’s treatment (in *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century*) of its constituent theological debates; and John de Courcy’s interest in the combined cult of Patrick, Brigid, and Colm Cille in the mid-1180s (discussed on p. 223) also may be reflected in the *Acallam* (as pointed out by Ann Dooley in *Éigse* 34). Furthermore, *Immram Snédgusa*, *Maic Ríagla* and associated Columban voyage narratives also are ripe for inclusion in any such study. But this is work for another day.

A particular issue in dealing with relevant Irish-language sources, however, is the problem of dating them closely. This often proves impossible to achieve. Issues raised in a seminal article by Gearóid Mac Eoin (in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 68 [1982]) still remain relevant despite the advances made in the study of Middle Irish in the interim. This is an issue for some of the texts analyzed by Flanagan: thus, dating *Betha Cholmáin maic Luacháin* so closely (to 1122) is hard to sustain, particularly since the *Life* contains discrete linguistic strata; referring to the *Acallam* as a “mid-twelfth-century text” (pp. 23–24) would no longer reflect current thinking (see Ann Dooley in *Éigse* 34); and accepting the seventh-century dating of

*Amra Coluim Chille* (p. 28) may no longer be tenable in light of the ongoing work of Jacopo Bisagni. These few examples show how treacherous the ground is for those wishing to contextualize and utilize Irish-language material within a broader historical framework.

The standard of printing and presentation throughout is high, and only a small number of mistakes and misprints are evident: thousandth anniversary (p. xi: *recte* nine-hundredth anniversary); O'Boyle (p. 29n141/p. 272: *recte* Boyle); Breatnach (p. 31n148: *recte* Bhreathnach); 7-6 (p. 39n20: *recte* 7-26); Imar (p. 43: *recte* Ímar); of Ciaráin (pp. 107/284: *recte* of Ciarán); Echtigern (pp. 162/287: *recte* Echthigern); *Visio Tnugdal* (p. 180n57: *recte* *Visio Tnugdali*); *Finfáidech* (p. 225; *recte* *Findfáidech*); Murray, "The Cross of Cong" (p. 272: *recte* Ó Riain and Murray, 'The Cross of Cong' [as at p. 224n147]); Ó Cuív (p. 273: *recte* Ó Cuív); *Corus Béscnai* (p. 286: *recte* *Córus Béscnai*; title is translated differently on pp. 81 and 216). The order of citations within author entries in the bibliography is also inconsistent. A more serious inconsistency that might cause confusion, however, is the title of the book. This is given on the cover and on the spine as *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century*, whereas the official title page reads (incorrectly, one presumes) *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*; this should be rectified in any future reprint.

However, such caveats aside, this is an important contribution to our understanding of Ireland in the twelfth century. Flanagan has given us much food for thought, and her hope—expressed in the introduction—that the book might open paths for future discussion will surely be realized.

University College Cork

KEVIN MURRAY

*Das Augustinerchorherrenstift Bernried*. By Walburga Scherbaum. [Germania Sacra: Die Kirche des Alten Reiches und ihre Institutionen, Dritte Folge, 3: Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Mainz, Das Bistum Augsburg 3.] (New York: Walter de Gruyter. 2011. Pp. xvi, 504. \$225.00. ISBN 978-3-110-25182-1.)

There was an Augustinian canon bubble in twelfth-century Bavaria and Austria. Noble families like the Welfs, Babenbergs, Sulzbachs, and Weyarn-Falkensteins and such bishops as Conrad I of Salzburg (1106–47) and Hartmann of Brixen (1140–64), who were themselves Augustinian canons, founded collegiate churches to preserve their dynastic memories and/or to care for souls. Some such as Berchtesgaden—a Sulzbach foundation and princely provostry (*Fürstpropstet*), which possessed lucrative salt works—were wealthy, but Berchtesgaden's location in what is now a national park was probably more conducive to the contemplative than the active life. (The location helps to explain its notoriety in the twentieth century.) The still-func-

tioning house of Klosterneuburg, upstream from Vienna, benefited from its ties to its Babenberg benefactors and their Habsburg successors and the fact that the burial place of the patron saint of Austria, Margrave Leopold III, lay there. (The twelfth-century masterpiece, the altar of Nicholas of Verdun, where Leopold's bones rest, is a major tourist attraction today.) Other houses like Au and Gars on the Inn River—which owed their existence to a minor comital house, the Mödlings—were insignificant. Bernried, on the west bank of the Starnberger see, southwest of Munich, fell into the latter category.

The archives of Bernried, if they ever existed, do not survive; thus, we know virtually nothing about the church during the Middle Ages. (Bernried suffered from three major fires, and diocesan visitors and ducal officials criticized the later provosts for their poor record-keeping.) Both the village and the church, whose name means a place cleared by Bero, were mentioned for the first time in Pope Calixtus II's privilege of protection, which copyists dated November 12 in either 1122 or 1123. The pope granted Bernried Roman liberty, but not exemption, from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Augsburg. The founder was Count Otto I of Valley, a member of one branch of the house of Scheyern-Wittelsbach. Since Valley is situated on the Mangfall, a tributary of the Inn, we can only speculate why Otto chose a location distant from the heart of his power. Perhaps, it was too close to the rival foundation of Weyarn, but the site may have been part of his wife's inheritance. Moreover, Otto was an ally of the Welfs, who were the advocates of the nearby Augustinian houses of Polling and Rottenbuch, the latter, a major center for the dissemination of the Augustinian Rule. Bernried provided refuge in the early 1120s for a number of reformers, most notably Paul of Bernried (d. 1146/50), Pope Gregory VII's biographer, who had been forced to leave Regensburg. Paul procured Calixtus's privilege and wrote the *vita* of the seer Herluca (died c. 1128), who had been chased from Epfach on the Lech along with the hermit Sigebot, the first provost of Bernried. No cult developed around Herluca, but her example may have inspired the establishment of a convent of women at Bernried that was mentioned once in 1226. (Many of the Augustinian churches were double houses.) Upon the death of the last Valley in 1268, the Wittelsbach dukes of Bavaria acquired the advocacy.

Internal discipline declined in the thirteenth century; for example, a provost was killed around 1130, under unknown circumstances, by Bernried retainers. An effort was made to reform the church in the fifteenth century. The Reformation had minimal repercussions initially, but by 1572 only five canons lived in the house, and those who served as parish priests had concubines and children. Spanish troops who were quartered in Bernried in 1633–34 did considerable damage. After the Thirty Years War the Wittelsbachs assisted with reconstruction. The canons served as parish priests in twelve parishes and their chapels, but the income from the tithes did not cover the cost of maintaining the churches. In the early-modern period the canons were the sons of craftsmen and minor officials; neither nobles nor



peasants joined. After 1624 some of them were educated in the Jesuit gymnasium in Munich, and several attended the University of Ingolstadt. Bernried was never an intellectual or cultural center, but, perhaps not surprisingly in eighteenth-century Germany, music flourished.

The house received its initial endowment from the Valleys and their vassals and ministerials, but it was always inadequate. For example, in the 1750s Bernried owned 221 farmable properties, whereas the Augustinians of Rottenbuch and Dietramszell possessed, respectively, more than 500 and 321 holdings (p. 296). Wittelsbach taxes, special levies, and forced loans added to Bernried's distress. French requisitions during the Second Coalition War (1799-1801) were ruinous. When Bernried was secularized in 1803, it was one of the five most indebted Bavarian monasteries and collegiate churches (p. 312). Since then, the former collegiate church has served as the parish church of St. Martin, and missionary Benedictine nuns have lived since 1949 in the convent buildings.

Walburga Scherbaum, the archivist of the municipality of Bernried, has assembled meticulously every scrap of information about the church and organized it in accordance with the standard format of the "Germania Sacra" (see *ante*, 96 [2010], 755). Sections 30 and 31, which provide an oversight of Bernried's property holdings, income, expenditures, debts, and estate management during the last two centuries of the church's existence, will be of most interest to early-modern German historians. No doubt, local historians and students of the Augustinian canons will find other sections useful, too. In judging Bernried's significance, it is important to remember that our economy is not God's.

*Illinois State University*

JOHN B. FREED

*The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles. Hitherto Unnoticed Witnesses to the Work of John of Worcester. Vol. 1: Introduction and Commentary; Vol. 2: Texts and Translations.* Edited and translated by Paul Antony Hayward. [Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Vol. 373.] (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Arizona State University. 2010. Pp. xxxiv, 353; iii, 354-750. \$140.00. ISBN 978-0-866-98421-8.)

The significance of the annals edited and translated by Paul Antony Hayward is minor from an historical point of view but rather greater from a historiographical one. Thus, although they add little to our knowledge of events in England during the twelfth century, they are potentially more revealing about the practice of writing history then. It is this latter aspect that justifies the expansive presentation of them here—a two-volume set with a combined total of 750 pages, the entirety of the first volume being devoted to introduction (nearly 200 pages) and commentary (some 150 pages).

The principal concern of the commentary is to note sources and analogues for individual entries in the chronicles; and, although these occasionally include charters or privileges (notably *sub anno* 811, the dedication of Winchcombe church; pp. 251-70), they are principally other chronicles and annals. The scattered evidence thus furnished is drawn together in the substantial introduction that highlights the facts that the Winchcombe and the Coventry Annals share a common stock for their entries to 1122, and that more than 90 percent of this shared material is also to be found in the *Chronica chronicarum* of John of Worcester. From this it is deduced: first, that the Winchcombe and Coventry Annals and John's depended on the same source; and second (more daringly) that since the lost source shared "affinities of method, purpose and outlook with the known works of John of Worcester" (p. 97), it was probably also his work.

The motive imputed to John for the hypothetical text was "to reach out to a new and different audience from that which was likely to use *Chronica chronicarum* or *Chronicula*" (p. 97), a proposition that rests on, and supports, Hayward's analysis of the functions of annals more generally (chapter 1). Rather than representing a more primitive form of history writing than chronicles, they met a different need, here identified as pedagogical—annalistic world chronicles, it is argued, were teaching tools (pp. 37-41). This in turn explains why the manuscripts in which such texts appear may be "booklets or collections of a humble kind . . . their format and their sometimes scruffy aspect is aptly explained by the hypothesis that they are teaching texts" (p. 43).

Notwithstanding the complexity of the material, the arguments are set out with masterful clarity. At each step, the reasoning seems cogent and the conclusion plausible. The fact that the evidence on which they are based is scattered through 500 pages of apparatus and notes—not to mention across other texts and editions altogether—means that it is virtually impossible for a reviewer to deconstruct them. However, in general terms the inevitability of the conclusion diminishes with each of the steps, as summarized above. This summary, it should be noted, reverses the order in which the ideas are presented by the author, who starts with the hypothesis that annals were teaching tools. Now, there is an element of "chicken and egg" in such a premise, for do annals appear in such contexts because they were actually teaching tools, or rather because "schoolmasters" were the most likely members of a community to have the interest, skills, opportunity, and possibly even the formal responsibility to contemplate earlier annals and to record new ones?

In sum, this is an impressive edition with a thorough and thoughtful introduction that not only explicates the significance of the Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles and their relationship to the literary culture of Worcester, but raises important issues about annal writing in general, with suggestions that now need to be tested in relation to other examples. One

looks forward to the appearance of further installments of the “larger project, the subject of which is the great outburst of historical activity that took place in England after the Norman Conquest” (p. xi), of which the present study is apparently but part. Alongside recent works such as Dauvit Broun and Julian Harrison’s “stratigraphic” edition of the Melrose Chronicle (Rochester, NY, 2007), the present study embodies a welcome change in the sophistication with which the annals and chronicles of individual religious houses are analyzed and published.

*Durham University*

RICHARD GAMESON

*Crusade, Heresy and Inquisition in the Lands of the Crown of Aragon (c. 1167–1276)*. By Damian J. Smith. [The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, Vol. 39.] (Leiden: Brill, 2010. Pp. xii, 249. \$138.00. ISBN 978-9-004-18289-9.)

This is a very useful book, meeting as it does the author’s goal of giving attention to the relatively neglected subjects identified in the title. Not neglected individually—crusade, heresy, and inquisition are always in fashion, and the Crown of Aragon can hardly be said to have suffered historiographically in recent decades. But as people who write on the themes in question usually focus on different regions, and people who write on the region in question usually focus on different themes, the book addresses several needs. The author recounts his histories and analyzes his key texts in a readable and occasionally stylish fashion, grounding his work firmly in intelligent readings of the sources, backed by reference to the most recent scholarship. The book’s main weakness is that its various parts—strong individually—never really cohere. There is a bigger story here that remains to be told.

After a brief introduction that presents the book’s subjects and addresses some of the sources and earlier scholarship, the book unfolds in five chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 focus on political history, particularly the rhythms of the involvement of Catalonia-Aragon in the lands north of the Pyrenees and their dynamic relationship to peninsular affairs before, during, and after the Albigensian Crusade—how, in short, “the restoration of Christian Spain influenced the history of what was to become France” (p. 4). The author argues strongly for the significance of the Battle of Muret in 1212 as a real turning point in the shared history of northeastern Iberia and southern Francia. Indeed, the two chapters serve as an admirably lucid account of that complex history, one that offers equal time to Catalanian, Aragonese, and various Occitanian interests. Chapter 3 turns to religious history. The author analyzes the controversial evidence for the 1167 heretical council of Saint-Félix, with its apparent references to the Crown of Aragon. There follows a series of sub-regional analyses of heresy in the Crown in the thirteenth century, rounded out by a discussion of an antiheretical tract of Lucas, bishop of Túy. Chapter 4 focuses on the career and works (*Liber Antitheresis*, c. 1191–92; *Liber contra*

*Manicheos*, c. 1222–23) of Durán of Huesca, an early associate of Valdes of Lyon and then leader of the Poor Catholics. He makes the point that the Waldensians were, in the Crown, both more of a concern and more of a real threat than the dualist heretics who attract all the attention. Chapter 5 turns to the early history of the papal inquisition in the Crown, from the earliest royal antiheretical legislation of the 1190s through the statutes of Tarragona in 1234 and 1242 that introduced the inquisition, to later evidence for the inquisition in practice. The author pays particular attention to the thought and direct influence of St. Ramon de Penyafort.

The political and religious histories told here are obviously intertwined, and clear points of contact appear throughout the book, but they do not ground an extended argument. The author was (and remains) in a position to make more ambitious claims about the impact of heresy on politics and politics on heresy in this region. His take would be important and novel precisely because of the skill with which he integrates historiographically distinct areas. A related merit of the book is the way in which the geographical framework decenters Barcelona: Urgell, Lleida, and Tarragona come across as more significant, a fact that other historians of the region would do well to keep in mind. Readers of this journal, however, are likely to find most valuable the fact that the book adduces unfamiliar evidence for some of the central themes in medieval church history.

*Columbia University*

ADAM J. KOSTO

*Paris, 1200*. By John W. Baldwin. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 289. \$65.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-804-76271-7; \$24.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-804-77205-5.)

I loved this book. In it, one of the great scholars of medieval French history brings to bear a lifetime of inquiry and knowledge in a 250-page volume that is at once an introduction (in that it can be read by laymen, students, or non-French historians) and a work of consummate scholarship (in that it has nothing of a survey's simplicity or reductiveness). In his preface to the American edition, John Baldwin explains that, inspired by the millennial celebrations of 2000, he set out to write about Paris in 1200 for a French ("lay") audience. Its success in France led to this English edition. The delightful conceit of the book is to focus on the year 1200—with a decade's leeway to each side and a laser focus on Paris—and, by doing so, to strip away the accumulated layers of "backward" reading that often comes with treatments of medieval Paris that end up relying so heavily on later sources. The result, for me, was disarming. The year 1200 seems comparatively late in the great developments of medieval culture and politics. Yet, in 1200, the cathedral of Notre Dame was unfinished. The university was not yet established. The conquests against King John and his allies were in the future. The mendicants had not yet arrived. As I was reading, I felt as if I was being led, gently,



through Baldwin's own scholarly career: Chapter 1 drawing on *Masters, Princes, and Merchants* (Princeton, 1970); chapter 3 drawing on *The Government of Philip Augustus* (Berkeley, 1986); chapter 5 drawing on *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages* (Lexington, MA, 1971); chapter 6 drawing on *The Language of Sex* (Chicago, 1994). Two individuals dominate the narrative: Pierre the Chanter (as he is referred to here and whose writings are often the jumping-off point for this or that discussion) and Philip Augustus, whose reign spanned in each direction beyond the parameters established here. Baldwin even has them meet and talk in chapter 2. I recognize Baldwin's scholarship at every turn. And I was hence surprised by the impact of bringing the pieces all together, in dialogue with each other, around the table of the year 1200. I will, perforce, continue to consult his other works, but this book will be a standard reference for me henceforth, and I will certainly use it in the classroom.

Baldwin opens by looking at the events that the chronicles "like newspapers today . . . broadcast with banner headlines" (p. 2): The Interdict imposed for the marital troubles of Philip Augustus, the peace treaty between King John and Philip that followed the sudden death of Richard the Lionheart, and the skirmish between students and bourgeoisie on the left bank. Chapter 1, "The City and Its Bourgeoisie," treats the topography and social makeup of Paris, using Philip's building of the great wall as a way to unpack the different social and economic forces of the turn of the century. The second chapter, "Faces and Hidden Visages," introduces Pierre the Chanter and Philip Augustus, and discusses the role and image of women at the time (the "hidden faces"). Chapter 3, "King Philip and His Government," is a recapitulation of Baldwin's 1986 book. Chapter 4, on "The Church, Clergy, and Religious Life," takes Notre-Dame as its center and ranges from façade iconography to preaching. Chapter 5, "The Schools," offers essentially a case study on the development of the Cathedral Schools, the masters, the politics, the curriculum, and the pedagogy. Chapter 6, "Delight and Pain," treats—rapidly—royal ceremony, marriage and sex, heresy, and crusade, always through recourse to events in Paris and the writers of Parisian masters and preachers. The epilogue, "Raising the Roof" (of Notre-Dame), sweeps through the events and achievements of the thirteenth century.

I will end by quoting one of my favorite of many takeaway "tidbits," this one appearing in the epilogue: "The American medievalist Charles Homer Haskins used to affirm to his classroom that St. Louis was a luxury that France could afford only because of Philip Augustus" (p. 247). And this book shows us why.

*Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations.*

By L. J. Sackville. [Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages, Vol. 1.] (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press in association with Boydell & Brewer. 2011. Pp. xii, 224. \$90.00. ISBN 978-1-903-15336-9.)

In this concise work, L. J. Sackville has offered us a comprehensive overview of the anti-heretical literature of the central Middle Ages. Without becoming bogged down in various debates, Sackville has made available an exceptionally useful descriptive guide that takes the reader on a tour among inquisitional literature, registers, legal texts, and antiheretical tracts. All of this is bound together with an interesting textual study of various themes found in these works.

Her introduction is a good and up-to-date account of recent heresy scholarship. After making the obligatory nods to R. I. Moore and Mark Pegg—who see only power relations and artificial constructions of heresy in church-affiliated texts—she then proceeds to treat the sources themselves. In her first chapter, Sackville offers a lively overview of antiheretical literature; and she traces the new sobriety in thirteenth-century texts, as they move away from tired tropes about heresy and into the field of serious analysis. She perhaps makes too much of the distinction between lay and clerical antiheresy tracts, since even the clerical ones, especially that of St. Peter of Verona, can get very polemical.

She next moves into a brief presentation of conciliar and legal texts, which is quite useful. Especially interesting is her roundup of legal opinions and consultations about the various canonical and civil issues that crop up with regard to heresy. In most cases, legal opinions seemed to conform with lay feelings toward heresy. What was important was not what a person believed, but rather how he acted. The interaction with the community gave the necessary clues for implication in a heretical movement.

Although her examination of inquisitorial registers themselves is brief, her investigation of inquisition manuals is far more extensive, with a systematic breakdown of their various approaches to heresy. One wishes that there would have been more consideration of various hagiographical sources, including lesser-known saints, as well as a discussion of antiheretical sermons of the 1200s; however her focus on inquisition-specific literature allows a deeper analysis of the sources she does cover.

This is a well-written and -edited book. There are very few errors. Footnote 106 is missing from page 40; and the letter from the cardinals (p. 80n153) was written in the papal interregnum after the murder of the Avignon inquisitors in 1242 and not after the death of Peter of Verona. Otherwise, this is an exceptionally well-researched and -presented book, touched with unexpected hints of humor such as the index reference to “cheeky monkeys.”

Sackville brings all of her previous readings of antiheretical texts to bear in chapter 5, which offers a textual examination of various ways in which ecclesiastical writers sought to understand heresy. In the end, Sackville shows a remarkable respect for her sources and subjects, churchman and heretic alike:

[A] reading that sees the heresy represented in the Catholic tradition as entirely and deliberately constructed has to deny the range and variety of the surviving corpus of material in order to do so. . . [W]hile the contents (of the literature) are affected by central ideas, they are not invented by them. (pp. 198–99)

This is a healthy breath of fresh air in a field dominated by deconstruction to the point of wholesale denial of evidence. Sackville's work will be useful to both researchers and students, providing a finding guide and descriptive assessment of particular late-twelfth- and thirteenth-century inquisitional literature.

Jacksonville State University

DONALD PRUDLO

*Jakob von Vitrys »Vita Mariae Oigniacensis«: Zu Herkunft und Eigenart der ersten Beginen.* By Vera von der Osten-Sacken. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz: Abteilung für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte, Band 223.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2010. Pp. 270. €49,95. ISBN 978-3-525-10102-5.)

This work was accepted as a doctoral dissertation by the theological faculty at the University of Göttingen in 2008. After a survey of the relevant literature, the study is divided into three main parts: the author, James of Vitry (d. 1240); the structure, date, genre, purpose, and audience of the *Vita* (written 1215); and the spirituality represented in the *Vita*. The author's thesis is that James de Vitry and his heroine, Blessed Mary of Oignies (d. 1213), were deeply influenced by the pastoral aims of the circle of the Parisian master, Peter the Chanter, and developed a form of urban, female, and lay spirituality that emphasized *imitatio* of and *compassio* for the suffering Christ and service to the sick.

The author develops her thesis in an orderly and thorough fashion. She describes pastoral reforms advocated by Peter the Chanter and his associates, which reached Marie and the other holy women of Brabant directly or indirectly through preachers like James of Vitry and Fulk of Neuilly, and others such as John of Nivelles. Their preaching aimed at penitence and reform and was strongly critical of usury, banking, and clerical negligence. Mary of Oignies and her husband, whose families seem to have been well-off members of the commercial class of Nivelles, gave away their wealth and for at least a decade and probably longer served the sick in a leper hospital in Willambrouck near Nivelles. They lived together as brother and sister until

around 1207 when Mary took up residence on the grounds of the monastery of Augustinian Canons at Oignies, founded in 1187 by Giles of Walcourt and his family. Shortly after Mary went to Oignies, James of Vitry interrupted his studies at Paris and joined the community there. He came under Mary's influence and became a strong advocate of the *mulieres religiosae*.

In the author's account, Mary and other *mulieres religiosae* heeded the reform preachers' call to conversion from lives stained by ill-gotten wealth, followed the naked Christ, embraced his sufferings in their own bodies, and served his suffering brothers and sisters. They then spent the final years of their lives in prayer and contemplation accompanied by mystical experience, but without becoming professed religious. James of Vitry wrote the *Vita* primarily to counter lay and critical criticisms of the *mulieres religiosae* and to gain the support of his clerical peers for this new way of life as well as to offer examples to inspire them to more dedicated pastoral ministry and to use in popular preaching.

Although much of what the author writes will be familiar to those who know the life of Mary of Oignies, they will certainly find new ideas and information. She is especially good at placing the *Vita* in its historical context. For example, the section on service to the sick is well done and helps redress the overemphasis on Mary's last years in both James of Vitry's *Vita* and the *Supplement* to it by Thomas of Cantimpré. The author is nonjudgmental and is not under the spell of any particular critical theory. That is refreshing, but it also means she does not engage with some issues of interest to English-speaking feminist scholars. It is therefore helpful to read this book in conjunction with the introduction by Anneke Mulder-Bakker to *Mary of Oignies, Mother of Salvation* (Turnhout, 2006). Vera von der Osten-Sacken's bibliography, which does not include works by Caroline Bynum or Walter Simons, extends to about 2003, although an appendix makes use of Suzan Folkert's study in Mulder-Bakker's volume of the manuscript tradition of the *Vita Mariae*. The manuscripts indicate a strong interest in Mary's *Vita* among Cistercians, a group that James de Vitry seems to have wanted to win over to support of the *mulieres religiosae*.

*Monastery of the Ascension*  
Jerome, ID

HUGH FEISS, O.S.B.

*The Gibraltar Crusade: Castile and the Battle for the Strait*. By Joseph F. O'Callaghan. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 376. \$55.00. ISBN 978-0-812-24302-4.)

Joseph F. O'Callaghan continues to build on his impressive body of work over the last two decades, taking on the subject of the Guerra del Estrecho (War for the Strait of Gibraltar), which concerned Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Granada, and Morocco between 1250 and 1350. Although this is familiar ter-



rain for Iberian specialists, the subject has received far less attention from other researchers, especially in the Americas. In a style that is now familiar, O'Callaghan begins with a geographical and political overview of the principal actors in the struggle for control of the Strait of Gibraltar before starting his accounts of the manifold conflicts during the reigns of Alfonso X the Learned (1252–84), Sancho IV (1284–95), Fernando IV (1295–1312), and Alfonso XI (1312–50). As such, he demolishes the notion, still current in some circles, that the Reconquest had stalled after the first half of the thirteenth century and only awaited its final resolution in the late-fifteenth century. In fact, the southern part of Spain—with the port cities of Cadiz, Tarifa, Algeciras, Gibraltar, Malaga, and Almeria, among others—was one of the most conflicted areas of the time, drawing constant attention and massive resources from all the kingdoms surrounding it and exposing the local populations to the constant threat and trauma of warfare. The author also covers in detail the tangled diplomatic web accompanying this conflict. Each of the rulers, as well as significant factions within each kingdom, pursued their self-interests regardless of religion and ideology, creating a complicated and ever-changing set of alliances that always defied easy explanation or categorization.

This study, however, succeeds in both presenting the struggle, weaving in its manifold characters, circumstances, and elements—especially the issue of religion and crusading—in a way that is accessible to the reader, but never oversimplified. In addition to detailing how the Moroccan Marinid regime's peninsular ambitions were finally demolished through their defeat at the battle of Salado (1340) and the capture of Algeciras (1344) under Alfonso XI, how Granada slowly became more isolated, and how Castile assumed an ascendant role in the area, he is also careful to cover the many Christian initiatives that failed such as the concurrent siege of Algeciras and Almeria respectively by Fernando IV and James II of Aragon (1291–1327) in 1309; Castile's loss of Gibraltar in 1333 and its inability to recover it; and the civil wars that enveloped Castile, Granada, and Morocco at various stages of this century-long struggle. If anything, this will undoubtedly stimulate interest and debate among specialists and nonspecialists alike.

Another of this work's particularly important contribution is the chapter "Waging the Crusade of Gibraltar," which, until a full-length study of the subject is published, is one of the best outlines in English of the Castilian military system in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It takes into account the latest research and delves into areas as diverse as the sinews of warfare, but also its social and ideological aspects and the ever-present element of the crusade, with its religious, ideological, and financial dimensions. This should provoke excitement among military historians and help stimulate new research on the subject.

With the breadth of his knowledge and ability to harness so many diverse sources, O'Callaghan has again highlighted yet another important

period of Iberian history, and the fields of Hispanic and medieval studies are richer for it.

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NICOLÁS AGRAIT

*Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc. Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273–1282.* Edited by Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi, and Shelagh Sneddon. [Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, Vol. 147.] (Leiden: Brill. 2011. Pp. xvi, 1088. \$209.00. ISBN 978-9-004-18810-5.)

Deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale is a vast collection of 258 volumes containing copies of documents from Languedoc, created in the seventeenth century under the supervision of Jean de Doat at the behest of Colbert, Louis XIV's chief minister. Colbert was primarily interested in maintaining the rights of the Crown, but, for modern historians, the great benefit has been the preservation of swathes of documents that would otherwise have been lost. The Doat copies are by no means perfect, but they are good enough to enable the publication of this fine edition of volumes 25 and 26 containing depositions made in Toulouse between 1273 and 1282, mostly before Pons of Parnac and Ranulph of Plassac. The production of the original registers was, in part, the consequence of a crackdown led by King Philip III, following the death of Alphonse of Poitiers in 1271, when the lands concerned fell to the Crown. A minor revival of Catharism in the 1260s, together with a revolt by Roger-Bernard III, count of Foix, in 1272, reinforced the king's desire to assert his rights. The editors have two audiences in mind—first, specialists in heresy and the history of the Inquisition, for whom they have reproduced as literal a version as possible; and second, readers who might wish to learn more about these subjects but lack the expertise to use the Doat copies more directly, for whom there is a parallel English translation. The translation will be particularly attractive to undergraduates planning dissertations, as it offers the possibility of studies in depth of some of the many human stories to be found here, as well as presenting an intriguing methodological challenge.

The material has rich potential. The inquiries took place during what is now realized to have been a period of transition, since the institutional outlines of the Inquisition were beginning to emerge, culminating in the more developed structure that can be seen in the early-fourteenth century. These documents show that, by the 1270s, this had already become a formalized organization with extensive archives, designated buildings and prisons, and proper finances. The depositions themselves were set out by experienced notaries, usually in a predetermined and carefully constructed pattern. Outside witnesses added another dimension, especially if a particularly important deponent was appearing, when their numbers and status increased. The identity of such witnesses was important, for their very pres-

ence could influence the outcome of the interrogation. Thus not only the content but also the actual structure of the deposition is crucial to the understanding of its historical significance. This does not, of course, exhaust the possibilities. The impact of the campaigns against heresy had, by this time, forced the Cathar hierarchy into exile in Lombardy, from where they kept contact with supporters in Languedoc through a system of *ductores*, who made their living carrying messages and money and escorting believers along the connecting routes. One of these, Peter Maurel of Auriac, much of whose career can be reconstructed from these depositions, was finally apprehended in 1274 after operating for at least nineteen years. Moreover, a significant prerequisite of such a system was the existence of a Cathar church in Lombardy, many of whose leaders are mentioned in these depositions, which seems to contradict some recent views that suggest the Cathars never created such a structure.

This is an important collection, edited with great professionalism, with an informative introduction, detailed annotation, a calendar of depositions, and excellent indexes, all of which make the handling of the material so much easier and effective.

*University of Reading*

MALCOLM BARBER

*The Embodied Word: Female Spiritualities, Contested Orthodoxies, and English Religious Cultures, 1350-1700.* By Nancy Bradley Warren. [ReFormations: Medieval and Early Modern.] (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xi, 339. \$36.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-04420-6.)

Warren's provocative work highlights previously unexplored aspects and influences of English female religiosity in medieval and early-modern Europe. Warren reads medieval and early-modern texts in "conversation with each other" (p. 20), and she joins some authors unexpectedly in this exchange of ideas such as the medieval mystic Julian of Norwich matched with Protestant Grace Mildmay and English Benedictine nuns living in exile on the continent in the seventeenth century. Holy bodies, Warren emphasizes, have power. This power can inhere in individuals and communities and be transmitted through the bodies themselves; texts about those bodies; and usage of these texts for a variety of purposes both religious and nonreligious, from the medieval to the early-modern era.

Warren crafts her analysis around four variations of understanding embodiment, which she terms *incarnational piety*, *incarnational epistemology*, *incarnational textuality*, and *incarnational politics*. Although the usage of the terms may force the reader to flip back in the text to ascertain their precise meanings, Warren's interpretive framework is sound. She carries it through her work deftly, calling readers' attention to how different aspects of embodiment work together and build upon one another in the lives, beliefs,

texts, and actions of her subjects. These embodiments impact not just the lives of these women and their spiritual communities but also larger local, national, and international identities.

Warren's work builds on historical scholarship on embodiment and women's religiosity such as Caroline Bynum's as well as studies of specific women or groups of women such as David Wallace's work on Luisa de Carvajal and Caroline Bowden's on English female religious communities in exile. Warren also advances study of English women writers' contributions to social, religious, and political concerns of their day, extending the insights of scholars such as Carole Levin, Frances Dolan, and Katherine Gillespie. What distinguishes Warren's work is her attempt to nuance our understanding of artificial boundaries and deceptive binaries in our interpretations of women's religiosity. She integrates Catholic with Protestant, medieval with early modern, body with spirit, experience with knowledge, and individual with community to enhance our perceptions of how such categories work together, informing and transforming one another. Changes in female spirituality, thus, are often not what we expect. The conversation Warren creates between medieval mystic Margery Kempe and Protestant prophet Anna Trapnel, for example, demonstrates how religious women's strategies to create female authority bridge traditional Catholic/Protestant and medieval/early-modern divides by emphasizing Kempe's and Trapnel's similar understandings of their relationships with Christ, centered in the body. These are often complex and ambiguous relationships that Warren tries to tease out, but she succeeds more often than not in convincing the reader that such relationships exist and are worthy of exploration in greater depth.

In a rare weakness, Warren's final chapter on early-modern men's writings would benefit from a stronger segue from Warren's earlier examinations of incarnational politics, since she seeks to use such male-authored texts to describe political and cultural uses of medieval history and female spirituality that reinforce or deny English political legitimacy and shape national identity. Despite the rough transition, Warren's contrast of Robert Parsons's writings with Thomas Robinson's *The Anatomie of the English Nunnery in Lisbon in Portugal* (London, 1622) is one of her most persuasive. Finally, a conclusion and bibliography would strengthen this work's impact and usefulness for advanced scholars.

Although, occasionally, dense prose can make this work a slow read, and Warren sometimes pushes an interpretation too far—such as asserting that in Kempe's and Trapnel's writings we see “something like a textual version of the doctrine of real presence at work,” claiming that these texts “are Christ” and that textual lives are “sacramental documents” (p. 172)—Warren succeeds in demonstrating the important connections between women's physical/textual corpus and interwoven religio-political events of this era.



*Parisian Licentiates in Theology, A.D. 1373–1500: A Biographical Register.* Vol. II: *The Secular Clergy*. By Thomas Sullivan, O.S.B. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Vol. 37.] (Leiden: Brill. 2011. Pp. xii, 636. \$255.00. ISBN 978-9-004-20270-2.)

The work under consideration is the second volume of Thomas Sullivan's prosopographical study of Parisian graduates in theology from the years 1373–1500. This volume concerns itself with the secular licentiates in theology.

Modern interest in identifying the actual graduates of the theological faculty of the medieval University of Paris began with the four-volume *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis* of Heinrich Denifle and Émile Chatelain (Paris, 1889–97) and continued with Palémon Glorieux's two-volume study of the Parisian theological masters in the thirteenth century, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1933–34). More recently, James Farge has pioneered the biographical study of sixteenth-century Parisian theologians in his *Biographical Register of Paris Doctors of Theology, 1500–1536* (Toronto, 1980). In the last decade, detailed and thoughtful studies both by William Courtenay and James Farge have provided scholars with a better description of the Parisian academic community and its milieu within the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively. Sullivan's earlier prosopographical study of Benedictine monks at the University of Paris from 1229 to 1500 (New York, 1995) identified and provided valuable biographical information about Benedictine and Cluniac monks who attended the University of Paris during that time period.

As his chief source for the present volume, Sullivan utilizes the *Registrum Facultatis theologiae. Ordo licentiatorum 1373–1694*, found in the manuscript Paris, BnF ms lat 5657-A and compiled by Philip Bouvot, beadle of the Parisian Faculty of Theology in the seventeenth century. This work presents a biographical register of 461 secular clerics licensed in theology from 1373 to 1500.

Sullivan begins his study with a detailed discussion of Bouvot's register and then examines the most useful reference sources for the University of Paris, its Faculty of Theology, and its colleges for the period under review. He next presents a chronological list of all theological graduates, both secular and religious, totaling 1044 names (pp. 9–44). The bulk of the work is a biographical register of the secular graduates in theology arranged alphabetically.

What follows is a detailed biographical survey of each graduate, providing variations in the form and spelling of his name. He then notes the date of the graduate's licensing ceremony, the rank earned by the individual within the total number of students graduating within his licentiate class, and the date when the individual was *magistratus* as a master of theology. Sullivan next identifies the geographical origin of the licentiate and, through his detailed

biographical study, is able to place each licentiate within a meaningful historical context. Following the entry for each licentiate is a bibliography of his writings and the sources for that bibliography. Sullivan also has included two appendices; one arranges the secular *licentiati* according to their first name, whereas the second organizes them according to their college affiliation.

What Sullivan has compiled here is an extremely useful reference tool for historians of the University of Paris. He has filled a large lacuna in the historical scholarship by first identifying the names of the secular graduates in theology of the University of Paris for the last quarter of the fourteenth century and all of the fifteenth century, and then providing them with a thorough and scholarly biographical analysis. Sullivan's work—in the tradition of Glorieux, Farge, and Courtenay—will remain one of the standard reference manuals for anyone studying the Parisian Faculty of Theology in the medieval and early-modern periods.

*Southeastern Louisiana University*

ANDREW G. TRAVER

*Lodovico Pontano (ca. 1409–1439): Eine Juristenkarriere an Universität, Fürstenhof, Kurie und Konzil.* By Thomas Woelki. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Vol. 38.] (Leiden: Brill. 2011. Pp. xiv, 936. \$318.00. ISBN 978-9-004-19471-7.)

When Lodovico Pontano died in Basel in 1439, he was little more than thirty years old. Despite his comparative youth, Pontano was a trained jurist who had taught at universities, served in the Roman Curia, and represented King Alphonso V of Aragon at the Council of Basel (1431–49). Pontano emerges from this study as a talented young man whose services were in demand and who pursued his opportunities. He received his doctorate in Bologna and spent a few years in Florence (1428–31). Then he joined the Curia as an auditor of the Rota (1431–33) before removing to Siena (1433–36). In 1436 he was brought into the service of Alphonso. Pontano already had ties with the humanist Antonio Beccadellia (Panormita), who was in the king's service in Naples. Shortly thereafter, Alphonso sent him to Basel to work together with the canonist Nicolaus de Tudeschis (Panormitanus). They were not harmonious partners. Moreover, both found their support of the council against the pope constrained by Alphonso's unwillingness to back the deposition of Eugenius. Nonetheless, Pontano served the council on missions, especially when the assembly was resisting transfer by Pope Eugenius to the city of Ferrara to meet with the emperor (John VIII Paleologus) and the representatives of the Greek church. Pontano might have played a major role in Basel's further conflicts with Eugenius, but mortality overtook him. The jurist was reported to have stayed in Basel in hope of being made a cardinal by Felix V, the pope elected by the council to replace Eugenius IV (r. 1431–47). Instead, he died in an outbreak of plague. Pontano left behind a considerable body of legal writings and polemics addressing

aspects of the struggle between pope and council. Although not the author of any new doctrines, Pontano was a capable jurist cut down in his prime.

Thomas Woelki has provided Pontano with a massive study of his career based on both printed and archival sources. The book includes editions of ten short works written between 1436 and 1438. These document the jurist's role at Basel and representing the council in Savoy, Cologne, and Burgundy. The texts make occasional references to the Bible and classical authors, but they mostly draw upon Roman and canon law. The book is buttressed with a thorough listing of Pontano's works in manuscript and print. The list of works includes commentaries, *repetitiones* (expositions of individual texts), *singularia* (brief expositions of particular points of law), tracts on legal topics, *consilia* (opinions about specific cases), speeches, and polemics. Pontano's *Singularia* were his best-known legal writings. The book makes use of these texts to find biographical details as well as for evidence of Pontano's teaching of law, his application of it to cases, and the positions taken by the jurist in the conciliar crisis of the mid-fifteenth century. Woelki has found manuscripts of Pontano's writings in repositories as far apart as Berkeley, Ghent, Cortona, and Berlin. The book also has an extensive bibliography of related literature. The resulting volume gives Pontano a thorough, relentless treatment from cradle to grave. Few medieval jurists have been as well served.

Rutgers University

THOMAS M. IZBICKI

### Early Modern European

*Papal Justice: Subjects and Courts in the Papal State, 1500-1750.* By Irene Fosi. Translated by Thomas V. Cohen. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 272. \$29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-813-21858-8.)

In these last thirty years studies on the Papal State during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries have brought to light results with an intensity never experienced before. The institutions and social life that characterized the multiform realities of the Papal State have been the object of much research, especially after the publication of Paolo Prodi's *The Papal Prince: One Body and Two Souls* (Bologna, 1982; trans. New York, 1987), which opened the way to this fertile historiographical period.

The existence of Italian regional states in a European context characterized by absolute and centralized monarchies has been strictly connected with the role of the papacy in maintaining balance among the Italian states. The main area of interests for scholars in these last three decades has been the relationships and conflicts among the institutions of the Papal State, an absolute nonhereditary monarchy in which the demands of a state in construction had somehow to go hand in hand with the supra-national nature of religion.

Much attention has been given to the role of the institutions of justice and public order. The works of Irene Fosi on this topic have been substantial and based on an unrivaled range of sources. In *La società violenta* (Rome, 1985), the author concentrated on the role of the nobility in the origins of banditry, also interpreted as a form of hostile action against the control of the territory by the state. In *All'ombra dei Barberini. Fedeltà e servizio nella Roma barocca* (1997) she examined the separation of the role of the cardinal-nephew—a position intrinsically linked to the personal nature of power—from that of secretary of state, a position in the framework of an impersonal administration. Moreover, the author has written various essays and edited collections on the papal judicial system.

With this work, the author presents scholars with a general picture of justice at the time of the papacy, which now can be appreciated by American scholars. She also includes additional material on Niccolò Orsini, third count of Nola and Pitigliano (pp. 92–99); conclusions; and an extensive bibliography.

The book presents for the first time an overview of the papal justice system in which the many conflicts are examined vis-à-vis their effects on the organization as well as on the control of the territory and personal conscience. Furthermore, the effects of the multiplicity and overlapping of the innumerable courts throughout the territory—particularly in Rome—are examined, confirming conclusions from numerous studies about this period: The competition among different courts gave justice a functional elasticity that fit the dominant, hegemonic justice of the state to the interests of the elite.

Written in a clear style, which is faithfully maintained in this translation, the book analyzes the principal aspects of reforms, in particular that of 1612. What emerges is that the control on the judiciary was essential to separate personal interests from the administration of justice, corrupt in its conduct and inclined to find a settlement between parties—useful to the tribunals and as an instrument of discipline. This leads the author to claim that it is not possible to speak of “administration,” a concept that evokes coherence and rationality, but rather a justice strongly oriented to become “an instrument of social control and a device for political uniformity” (p. 16). The objective of that justice was extremely difficult to accomplish—controlling the “restless nobles” had to coexist with respecting their privileges; the overcoming of private justice and vendetta led to courts full of informers, law enforcement officials, *ex officio* procedures, and a vast array of retributive laws and regulations that were used to prosecute nobles only when they represented a threat to the sovereign. Thus, this machinery most often involved only the common people and worked on a double track—as a cruel deterrent and a profitable extrajudiciary activity. There were very delicate situations such as the need to control conflicts within families and the conduct of the clergy, who typically fell under the jurisdiction of bishops but often was at odds with the Inquisition.



In this regard, the author has presented a very realistic picture based on the vast range of cases examined from court documents.

Pertaining to the relationship between sin and crime, the author portrays the Inquisition as a dominant entity that controlled consciences and imposed discipline, showing that the boundary between the "*foro interno*" and the "*foro esterno*" was very subtle. The same areas were sources of conflict among European powers.

*Archivio di Stato di Roma*

MICHELE DI SIVO

*Simone Porzio: Un aristotelico tra natura e grazia.* By Eva Del Soldato. [Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Centuria, 6.] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 2010. Pp. xvi, 332. €42,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-863-72275-8.)

Modern scholarship has viewed Simone Porzio (1496–1554) as an Aristotelian follower of Pomponazzi, who held that reason alone could not demonstrate the immortality of the human soul. In this monograph Eva Del Soldato examines his writings in detail, including works available only in manuscript, to demonstrate that Porzio was a richer and more complex thinker.

Born in Naples, Porzio studied with Agostino Nifo and obtained doctorates of arts and medicine in 1520 and theology in 1522 at the University of Pisa. He taught at the University of Pisa until 1525, then natural philosophy at the University of Naples from 1529 to 1545, natural philosophy at the University of Pisa from 1545 to 1553, after which returned to Naples and died in 1554. In his second Pisan period he enjoyed the favor of Duke Cosimo I and participated in the activities of the Accademia Fiorentina, where he associated with Giambattista Gelli, who translated some of his works into Italian.

It is true that Porzio was a strict Aristotelian who argued strongly that the soul was mortal. But in other works, including lectures available only in manuscript, he addressed different topics and offered a wider range of views. In treatises on love and Petrarch's poetry Porzio saw love in Aristotelian terms as unrestrained passion and a form of living death in which man loses reason. He concluded that the solution was faith in Christ, and the gift of faith depends on grace. In several short works based on Aristotle's zoological works Porzio demonstrated his philological skill and knowledge of the ancient Greek commentators on Aristotle. He argued that the pseudo-Aristotelian work *De coloribus* was written by the ancient Theophrastus. In a treatise on pain he argued that pain came from the dispositions of soul and body rather than sense experience.

Porzio exhibited a strong fideistic tendency in several short works that dealt with ethical-theological concerns. In a short treatise on celibacy, Porzio wrote that although marriage is the solution for concupiscence, it was differ-

ent for a priest, who was higher than a common man. Porzio showed the influence of Desiderius Erasmus and, possibly, evangelical views coming from Juan de Valdés, in treatises on prayer and the Our Father. In his Pisan lectures on Aristotle's *De anima* Porzio expressed doubt about purgatory, for which there was no scriptural support, and Lenten fasting. But ultimately he was an Aristotelian. In his major work, *De rerum naturalium principiis* (Naples, 1553), he rejected the superterrestrial and affirmed the importance of materiality, while protecting free will. Although theology had a role to play in ethics, it did not affect all-powerful nature.

Del Soldato shows Porzio to have been a versatile and original thinker. In addition to the analyses of Porzio's writings culled from a wealth of manuscript sources, she provides quotations from contemporaries and near contemporaries who saw him as an innovator. The book also provides more than 120 pages of Porzio's works drawn from manuscript sources. This is a carefully prepared study that adds to our knowledge of Renaissance philosophy.

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PAUL F. GRENDLER

*Philip Melanchthon, Speaker of the Reformation: Wittenberg's Other Reformer.* By Timothy J. Wengert. [Variorum Collected Studies Series; CS963.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2010. Pp. xvi, 304. \$139.95. ISBN 978-1-409-40662-4.)

The studies in this volume explore the life and work of Philipp Melanchthon, Martin Luther's colleague at the University of Wittenberg and one of the most influential Lutheran theologians and educators of the Reformation era. The author, Timothy Wengert, is professor of Reformation history at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia and was coeditor, with Robert Kolb, of *The Book of Concord* (Minneapolis, 2000). Wengert is one of the foremost Melanchthon scholars in North America and author of several books on the Reformer. This collection of thirteen previously published articles was printed in commemoration of the 450th anniversary of Melanchthon's death in 2010.

In his introduction to the collection, Wengert suggests that, "if Martin Luther was preacher and pastor of the Reformation, Melanchthon was its orator and logician" (p. vii). Initially engaged in the reform of the university's arts curriculum, Melanchthon soon became fully involved in the broader movement of evangelical reform, assuming to a large degree the role of spokesman for the Wittenbergers. Focusing on the rhetorical themes and structure of St. Paul's argument on justification in Romans, Melanchthon's *Loci communes* replaced Peter Lombard's *Sentences* as a theological textbook at the university and became the first evangelical dogmatics book. A master of grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric in the finest humanistic tradition, Melanchthon brought greater clarity and definition to the teachings of the

Lutheran Reformation, effectively dialoguing with his contemporaries across a spectrum of theological viewpoints. He was the chief drafter of the Augsburg Confession and author of its Apology, and continued to work toward concord in doctrine and practice, across the Reformation landscape, throughout his career. Melanchthon made significant contributions in a wide variety of academic fields, publishing works in history, biblical commentary, patristics, theology, and politics. His textbooks in theology, philosophy, grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, and natural science embraced the most advanced humanistic learning and pedagogical methods of the time. Melanchthon's work in promoting education and developing curricula for German schools earned him the title *Praeceptor Germaniae* and affected the course of the Reformation itself, helping to ensure the survival of the Lutheran movement.

Drawn from thirty years of research and writing on Melanchthon, Wengert's essays survey the Reformer's fascinating career and offer profound insights into his impact on the Reformation. The essays are arranged in two categories—the first nine examine Melanchthon's life and theological influence, whereas the remaining four analyze his relationships with Reformation figures such as Desiderius Erasmus, Martin Luther, and John Calvin.

An important contribution of Wengert's essays is his analysis of two leading aspects of Melanchthon's theological work: the relationship between Bible and ecclesiastical tradition, and the role of Christians in the church and world. Exploring topics such as Melanchthon's approaches to biblical interpretation, Wengert demonstrates how Melanchthon analyzed texts with humanist rhetorical techniques that brought new insights to bear on contemporary theological debates. This combination of humanist method and evangelical theology was a catalyst in the development of a Reformation hermeneutics. Wengert demonstrates how Melanchthon creatively appropriated humanist learning, both its linguistic tools and its method, in service of communicating and inculcating the message of evangelical reform. Taking the Reformation movement from an academic enterprise to one that impacted theology and church—as well as society and culture—Wengert reveals Melanchthon as a speaker of the practical exercise of the Christian faith and life that has much to offer hearers of our own time.

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GERHARD BODE

*Early French Reform: The Theology and Spirituality of Guillaume Farel.* By Jason Zuidema and Theodore Van Raalte. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. viii, 244. \$119.95. ISBN 978-1-409-41884-9.)

There is both considerably more and somewhat less to this volume than the title indicates. Most importantly, more than half of the book consists of new English translations of the following early works by Guillaume Farel: *Le Pater Noster et le Credo* (1524), *Le Sommaire et briefve declaration . . .*

(1534), *La maniere et façon*... (1533), and the appendix to the 1542 edition of the *Summaire*. These texts are vital for understanding the early development of French Reformed Protestantism. On the other hand, those understandably looking for a survey of the early Francophone Reformation in a book titled *Early French Reform* will be disappointed; the book is on Farel alone.

Title issues aside, *Early French Reform* is a welcome addition to the most important trend in Reformed studies in recent decades: the widening of investigations beyond John Calvin himself. Strangely enough, renewed research on Farel, arguably the most significant French reformer before Calvin, has been relatively late in developing. Authors Jason Zuidema and Theodore Van Raalte have teamed up to write essays on Farel's early theology (Zuidema) and spirituality (Van Raalte) and to translate his most important early works.

The overarching theme of the book is that there was much more to the "fiery Farel" than the popular image of the thundering preacher constantly threatening God's wrath. Zuidema argues that Farel was a competent theologian in his own right and did much to define the French Reformed faith in the days before and even after Calvin's arrival in Geneva in 1536. Zuidema finds the most significant recurring theme in Farel's theology in the clash between the human and divine wills. This dichotomy is reflected by his frequent pitting against one another of the true and the false churches.

Van Raalte argues that prayer and spirituality were central emphases of Farel, which have remained largely unexamined by modern scholars. Starting in 1524 with his *Le Pater Noster*, Farel sought to replace what he saw as the misguided prayers and spiritual practices of the late-medieval laity (for example, rosaries, chantries, prayers to saints) with unmediated prayer directly to God and an "upward" spirituality focused externally on glorifying God rather than on an "inner" ascetic or mystical spirituality.

On the whole, this is a successful book that makes several important texts more widely available and prompts further questions for investigation. For example, Zuidema wisely translates the 1534 edition of the *Summaire* rather than the later, expanded editions. Although he notes some of the changes in later editions, he does not examine the changes in detail. If he had emphasized those differences (on the sacraments and excommunication, for example), one would see more clearly how Farel's early theology differed from his later, Calvin-influenced thought. Van Raalte rightly shows the importance of prayer for Farel and thus highlights an important element too often ignored about the Reformer. He is less successful in demonstrating the uniqueness of Farel's contribution or why exactly his "piety warrants a place alongside studies of the spirituality of Gerson, Luther and Calvin" (p. 33). Also puzzling is the absence of a translation of Farel's *Oraison tresdevote* (1542) or *Forme d'oraison* (1545), both of which Van Raalte discusses at length in his essays. Hence, *Early French Reform* is a good introduction to Farel's early thought,



piety, and writings, but much work remains to be done on Farel and the early years of French Protestantism.

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MICHAEL BRUENING

*Masculinity and Marian Efficacy in Shakespeare's England.* By Ruben Espinosa. [Women and Gender in the Early Modern World.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. xii, 194. \$99.95. ISBN 978-1-409-40116-2.)

In this book's lengthy introduction, "Fracturing Mary: The Rise and Decline of the Cult of the Virgin Mary in England," Ruben Espinosa charts the birth in patristic times, growth through the Middle Ages, and lapse in the Protestant Reformation of theology and art associated with Mary, the mother of Jesus. He charts her history in thirty-five pages so as to explain why she mattered to William Shakespeare's culture "as a means of setting the stage to examine what her influence meant to Shakespeare's theater" (p. 2). But knowing the author's argument right away would have helped the reader evaluate the long history he recapitulates. Espinosa could have eliminated, or made more concise, his history of Mariology before the Reformation so as to emphasize his later, fine comments about Mariology's effect on early-modern masculinity.

Feminist commentators on Shakespeare's plays have explored Espinosa's subject, but they have done so to show how the patriarchal thrust of the Protestant Reformation devalued the many faces of the Virgin Mary as part of its assault on women, their imagined rights, and their purported nature. Espinosa examines Mary's effect on early-modern masculinity, as Shakespeare registers it in selected plays. This effect, the author argues, is double. On the one hand, "views of the Virgin Mary often destabilize the already unstable socially constructed view of masculinity" (p. 31). On the other, Mary is "[a positive] alternative to otherwise masculine-centered perceptions of both religious and gendered identity" (p. 32). Mary has this positive value because she never really lost her mystical, notably intercessory power, as a female counterpart to Christ in Protestant imagination. Espinosa shows Mary's double effect in French Joan la Pucelle (Joan of Arc) in Shakespeare's *1 Henry VI*, who is repeatedly linked with the Virgin Mary, communes with demons, emasculates English heroes, and yet bears the Dauphin's child while, saint-like, she is a triumphant warrior, energizing individual French warriors and generally forming a community. Likewise, Portia in *The Merchant of Venice* intercedes unsolicited to save Antonio from death in Venice, yet she does so by playing on the letter of the law after she fails to make the law, located in Shylock, merciful. Isabella plays the Marian intercessor in *Measure for Measure*, but she fails because her physical beauty seduces the men around her (thus parodying, according to Espinosa, the Reformation Protestant stereotype of a Mary promiscuous in granting all kinds of prayer for mediation while rejecting few or none).

The author's longest chapter is in two parts. The first concerns the Virgin Mary's relevance for understanding the purity of Ophelia's, Desdemona's, and Cordelia's virginity (or lack thereof) and its effects on Hamlet, Othello, and Lear, who in different ways destabilize virginity. (Hamlet, Othello, and King Lear are, after all, tragedies). The second part of the chapter focuses on Mary as nurturing (or not-so-nurturing) mother in Othello and Hamlet. Gertrude and Othello's nameless mother, associated with the exotic handkerchief, are featured here. The readings in this chapter are generally persuasive, except for those in the second part involving, first, Cordelia and the Virgin Mary; and, second, Gertrude, the *Mater Dolorosa*, and the nurturing Mary. Lear is in fact—as Espinosa recognizes—associated with Mary when he cradles in his arms the dead Cordelia who, in her sacrificial love for him, could be better likened to Christ than to Mary.

"In the spectacle and miraculous nuances that surround Cleopatra [in *Antony and Cleopatra*], Marina [in *Pericles*], and Hermione [in *The Winter's Tale*—and the theater's invitation for the audience both to witness and imagine the 'miracles'—" Espinosa in his last chapter "locates the reciprocal flow of potency between the heroine and her male counterparts, Shakespeare's theater and its audience, and the Virgin Mary and England itself" (p. 152).

Baylor University

MAURICE HUNT

*The Trials of Margaret Clitherow: Persecution, Martyrdom and the Politics of Sanctity in Elizabethan England.* By Peter Lake and Michael Questier. (New York: Continuum. 2011. Pp. xix, 244. \$120.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-1-441-15134-6; \$34.95 paperback, ISBN 978-1-441-10436-6.)

Margaret Clitherow was executed in York on the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1586, by the ancient, barbaric method of *peine fort et dure* because she had refused to plead to the indictment brought against her of harboring a seminary priest—an act that, under the statute of 1585, was deemed to be a felony. Such an outcome to her trial was entirely expected, and for the Protestant regime in the persons of the earl of Huntingdon and the Council of the North, it was highly embarrassing. The execution of a young, pregnant woman—the wife of a respected tradesman, mother of a young family, and stepdaughter of the mayor—by stripping her and then crushing her to death under a heavy door, weighed down by rocks, was an act, irrespective of its legality, which could never be construed in a favorable light. They were so embarrassed by this outcome that they had her executed early in the morning with only the minimum number of necessary witnesses and executioners present. Nor did the Catholics come out of it well; to have allowed the case to get so out of hand was utterly irresponsible. Their first reaction was to construct Clitherow as a martyr. Her spiritual adviser, the seminary priest John Mush, immediately began to write an account of her life, trial, and death in the form of her *Vita* for circulation within the community.

Titled "A True Report of the Life and Martyrdom of Mrs Margaret Clitherow," it is the only source (other than a brief, illustrated account by Richard Verstegan) that we have of the woman and the events that culminated in her execution. In it, she emerges as a symbolic figure; a shining example of Catholic womanhood whose virtuous life ended in a martyr's death at the hands of the antichrist of the Protestant Church. Margaret Clitherow, the flesh-and-blood woman, was thus transfigured into an iconic figure of Mush's making.

Peter Lake and Michael Questier take Mush's manuscript account and, drawing upon the analysis and commentaries of scholars, in particular the meticulous work of Katherine Longley, use it as the starting point of their investigation—hence the title of the book. They argue that, by reading Mush's narrative "against the grain," it is possible to uncover and identify in it the arguments about conformity that had, at the time of the trial, split the Catholic community into two bitterly opposing factions as they attempted to reconcile the demands of conscience with their sovereign's demand for obedience in the matter of church attendance. Such a reading, they maintain, in exposing how readily the Protestants exploited this rift, also reveals the ideological disputes that were challenging the English Protestant community in the second half of the sixteenth century.

To some extent they succeed in this, but not entirely. They demonstrate efficiently the intrinsic political radicalism of Catholic recusancy and its impact on contemporary political and social orders. Their examination of the respective strategies of the two Catholic factions, represented by the seminary priest Mush and the Jesuit Henry Garnet on the one hand and by the eventual defector to Protestantism Thomas Bell on the other, dominates the second part of the book and is particularly well researched and handled. They conclude that these same entrenched, diametrically opposed arguments lay at the heart of the later Archpriest Controversy.

This is not, however, a book about Margaret Clitherow; it is a study of the religious politics of the Elizabethan period. Her case was, and is still, well known, and it is therefore an attractive starting point. However, the enigmatic figure and case of Clitherow and Mush's manuscript account constitute too problematic and fragile a source on which to build such a detailed and complex analysis. It also is deeply ironic that in so emphatically dismissing the argument that the figure of Clitherow that emerges from Mush's manuscript account of her life and death is essentially Mush's own construction of the woman, Lake and Questier use her as the vehicle for their own arguments and in doing so, without a hint of self-awareness, reconstruct Margaret Clitherow, just as Mush did, for their own polemical ends.

There is much to admire in this book. In particular, the analysis and discussion in part II of the arguments of the two sides represented by the Mush-

Garnet cohort and those who favored Bell's stance are compelling, illuminating, and innovative and will hopefully stimulate further research.

A bibliography would have been useful, and the placing of endnotes with the relevant chapter would have made for an easier reading of a complex argument. The misspelling of Questier's surname on the spine of the book is most unfortunate.

*University of Exeter*

ANNE DILLON

*Defending Copernicus and Galileo: Critical Reasoning in the Two Affairs.*

By Maurice A. Finocchiaro. [Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, Vol. 280.] (New York: Springer. 2010. Pp. xlv, 350. \$99.95. ISBN 978-9-048-13200-3.)

Why yet another book on the so-called Galileo Affair in view of the extensive literature already available? This question is further exacerbated by the fact that this work provides no new historical data. However, the merit of this work is that it approaches the whole affair by attempting to offer a defense of Galileo by employing the same critical reasoning that Galileo himself used in defending Copernicus. Much of the book is, in fact, a study in the epistemology of critical reasoning in science, and it makes an important contribution to the very meaning of science by studying the origins of modern science in Galileo's research techniques. The author uses this overarching theme of critical reasoning to offer a synthesis of his numerous previous publications on the Galileo Affair. In so doing, however, the treatment becomes unduly repetitious, and this makes for difficult reading. In fact, the author reveals that this work is a collection of previously published papers. It would have been a much more readable book had there been more careful editing to weave the previous publications together into a more unified presentation.

Chapters 1 and 2 essentially cover material that is available in general astronomy textbooks, and it could have been presented here much more succinctly. By far, one of the best presentations in this book is section 4.5, where the author treats of Galileo's letter to the Grand Duchess Christina Medici on the interpretation of scripture. His analysis is thorough, concise, and convincing. He correctly identifies the central argument of Galileo in his letter that, although we may accept that scripture cannot err, one may clearly err in the interpretation of scripture. The author then provides an excellent discussion of Galileo's views on the various ways in which scripture may be interpreted. Galileo concludes, according to the author, that in no place does scripture teach scientific facts and, therefore, cannot contradict science. He persuasively concludes that, of the many reasons adduced for the condemnation of Copernicanism in 1616, the main one was that church authorities, inspired principally by the thinking of Jesuit saint and cardinal Robert Bellarmine, were convinced that Copernicanism contradicted scripture. These were the years of the Counter-Reformation. It had only been about seventy years since



the Catholic Church had solemnly declared at the Council of Trent that scripture could not be interpreted privately. The author correctly maintains that, in Galileo's letter to Medici, he had offered a correct interpretation of scripture, but he had done so privately. In fact, in very general terms Galileo's approach to scriptural interpretation was embraced officially by the Church about four centuries later.

In 1616, at the desire of Pope Paul V, Bellarmine admonished Galileo that he was not to pursue any defense of Copernicanism because it contradicted scripture. In reality, it did not. In 1633 Galileo was condemned for disobeying that admonition that was based on a false premise. The author correctly describes this as one of the greatest ironies in the history of the interaction between science and religion. On the one hand, we have the presentation by Galileo of some of the best arguments ever advanced as to why a particular scientific theory was compatible with scripture and why in general scripture is not a scientific authority. On the other hand, one of the world's great religions formally condemned a key scientific theory that played a crucial role in the rise of modern science. The struggle to maintain a healthy interaction between modern science and religious belief—in particular, beliefs based on scripture—has not ended, and we have much to learn from the critical reasoning with which this book studies anew the Galileo Affair.

One of most useful features of this book is the bibliography on pages 315–38, which, although titled “Selected Bibliography,” is, in fact, quite extensive. It will be very helpful to Galileo scholars.

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GEORGE V. COYNE, S.J.

*Creating Catholics: Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France.* By Karen E. Carter. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 314. \$40.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02304-1.)

In this book the author revisits thorny questions that historians of the Reformations have pondered ever since they occurred: What was the nature and depth of religious belief, and how effectively was religious knowledge disseminated over time? To answer these, at least regarding France, the author examines catechisms and rural primary schools (*petites écoles*), for her the fundamental vectors of this process of creating and transmitting Catholic practice and belief. Thus, they were the centerpieces of the Catholic Reform. For the author's period of scrutiny, 1650 to the Revolution, three large and diverse dioceses in northern France—Auxerre, Chalons-sur-Marne, and Reims—offer rich sources essential for this study. Beyond the hundreds of catechisms, she deeply and fruitfully mines the plentiful visitation records.

The first part of the book examines the many catechisms produced by various bishops of these dioceses, essentially as texts to prepare children for first

Communion. Their objective was not to inform young Catholics of the theological complexities of doctrine, but rather to have them memorize basic tenets as guides to moral behavior that the Church expected of the laity. In the second part, on primary education, the author moves from viewing the Reform from an episcopal (and thus top-down) perspective to one that explores the active role of the parish clergy; schoolteachers; and, above all, the laity in the Reforming process. Bishops may have had clear prescriptions in their catechisms, but visitation records reveal that Catholic parents were insisting that their children attend the curé's classes. Indeed, during the eighteenth century the laity hounded bishops to assign more priests and vicars to the parishes at the same time that the number of *petites écoles* increased dramatically. The lay community (parents and village authorities), the author points out, shouldered the increased financial burden of more priests and more schoolteachers, for "if they had not wanted schools that taught religion and morals, they would not have paid for them" (p. 139).

The fact that neither the king nor the Church contributed any financial support for these primary schools prompts the author to question the confessionalization thesis in its classic form, which grants the state a central role in the institutionalization of the various reforming confessions. Yet, by "1789 the vast majority of children from all social levels—girls as well as boys—had access to primary education" (p. 182). The author's central thesis that the Catholic Reform cannot simply be understood as primarily a seventeenth-century development and as a "top-down process of institutional reform" (p. 4) is a compelling corrective to quietly accepted historiographical assumptions. Still, one cannot help but feel that the author slightly overstates her case. The vast majority of children may have had *access* to primary schools, but how many actually attended? The author herself undercuts the sweep of her assertions when she shows that "as many as one-fourth to one-half [of eligible children] did not attend the *petites écoles* at all, or only for a short amount of time" (p. 194). The main reasons were "neglect and poverty" (p. 195) so that "in reality the village schools could not reach the poorest children in the parish" (p. 197). That primary education was mostly the preserve of "middle class children" (p. 197), then, suggests that the laity driving the Reform "from below" were from a more specific socioeconomic group than suggested in this book, a point certainly worth exploring in the future.

Purdue University

JAMES R. FARR

*Voicing Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Spain: Inquisition, Social Criticism and Theology in the Case of El Crítico.* By Patricia W. Manning. [Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, Vol. 37.] (Leiden; Boston: Brill. 2009. Pp. xvi, 323. \$203.00. ISBN 978-9-004-17851-9.)

Scholars of early-modern Spain have labored long and hard to dispel the notion of a monolithic, all-powerful Inquisition. Patricia Manning's *Voicing*

*Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Spain* is a valuable contribution to that project. The book focuses on the Spanish Inquisition's censorship of texts and describes how such efforts were hampered by various procedural loopholes, scarcity of personnel, porous borders, and resistance by intellectual elites. Contrary to José Antonio Maravall's notion of baroque Spain as a "guided culture" that successfully enforced ideological conformity, Manning argues that slack in the inquisitional system allowed certain Spanish authors to critique the status quo. Baltasar Gracián's *El Criticón* (1651–57) serves as a case in point and as the book's central case study. Manning has combined a nuanced reading of this text with solid archival research to produce an impressive piece of scholarship.

Before turning to *El Criticón* Manning devotes several chapters to the factors that made dissent possible in seventeenth-century Spain. She cites, for example, the divided jurisdiction between state and Inquisition, which created institutional inefficiencies and bureaucratic redundancies without providing sufficient manpower to effectively police ports or monitor book-sellers. She also notes that the Inquisition's approval process for printed works was remarkably slipshod. In some cases authors (especially well-connected clergy such as the Jesuit Gracián) could count on friends and allies to review their books. In other cases, books sailed through the process without even being read, based on the reputation of the author. Authors who did not enjoy such preferential treatment were by no means passive in the face of inquisitional authority; Manning presents numerous episodes in which authors mounted spirited defenses of their works. Even if a book ended up being banned there were ways to circumvent the Inquisition's edict: special licenses were issued to theologians who needed access to prohibited works so as to combat the ideas contained therein; licenses also were granted to monastic orders for their libraries and to well-connected aristocrats for their private collections. If the books covered by these licenses were sold or transferred, the Inquisition found it almost impossible to track them down.

Against this background of a surprisingly fractious Spanish republic of letters, Manning interprets Gracián's *El Criticón* as a book that refuses to fit neatly into the didactic canon to which it has traditionally been assigned. In her analysis, Gracián, instead of writing an advice manual for the edification of the Counter-Reformation faithful, used the literary devices of *El Criticón* as tools for social critique. Rather than proffering straightforward moral guidance, Gracián presented a world so out of joint that it could only result in a disillusionment (*desengaño*) that did not even hold out the possibility of turning readers' attention to the hereafter. Gracián's portrayal of the afterlife (the "Island of Immortality," p. 18) neither conformed to orthodox visions of heaven nor offered a secular version of moral redemption, and thus in the end readers were left with nothing more than "a continuous string of deceptions" (p. 185).

In this disenchanting fictional world Gracián juxtaposed standard tropes lauding the glories of Spanish culture with veiled criticisms of contemporary

Spanish society, criticisms that extended even to King Philip IV and his most trusted ministers. Manning argues that this structure offered readers a choice of interpretations, thereby implicating them in any subversive reading of the text and leaving the author "without blame" (p. 250). The degree to which such literary subtleties would have confounded the Holy Office is unclear, but the fact remains that *El Crítico* never appeared on the Inquisition's Index of Prohibited Books, and when Gracián eventually ran afoul of the leadership of his order it was, as Manning points out in her final chapter, a by-product of controversies between Jesuits and Jansenists concerning free will rather than evidence of efficient, centralized social control.

Although he was ultimately silenced, Gracián managed to completely avoid inquisitional censorship and evade the Jesuit pre-publication process for nearly two decades, during which time his works circulated freely. The case of Gracián was not unique; Manning points to other writers who exploited the system in similar ways. In the final analysis *Voicing Dissent* demonstrates that there was more latitude for well-connected authors to take up controversial positions in Counter-Reformation Spain than has been previously acknowledged.

Manning does her English-language readers a service by providing a glossary of Spanish terms at the beginning of the book. These same readers, however, may be less well served by her translations, which are many and are incorporated parenthetically into the text itself, often interrupting the flow of the analysis. This stylistic issue aside, *Voicing Dissent* is a fine book. It sheds considerable light on an understudied aspect of Spain's history and provides a fresh take on a classic work of literature. It will be equally valuable to Inquisition studies and literary criticism of the Spanish baroque.

*University of Alabama at Birmingham*

ANDREW KEITT

*Histoire littéraire des Bénédictins de Saint-Maur*, Vol. 3 (1683-1723). By Philippe Lenain. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Fascicule 93.] (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Érasme; Leuven: Universiteitsbibliotheek. 2010. Pp. 717. €80,00 paperback.)

Nearly fifteen years ago, Philippe Lenain conceived the monumental task of compiling a list of all literary contributions of the members of the Benedictine Congregation of Saint-Maur. The Maurists earned high praise from their contemporaries for their achievements in most academic realms, and Lenain's work emphasizes these contributions to the literature and scholarship of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The third volume of Lenain's compilation catalogues the monastic authors from 1683 to 1723. Volume 4 will cover Maurists from 1724 to 1787, and a fifth and final volume will include an index of all volumes.



Lenain's compilation builds on the work begun by the Maurist Don René Prosper Tassin in 1770. Tassin set out to create a complete list of Maurist scholarship, but the political and religious atmosphere of the late-eighteenth century rendered his work incomplete and extensively edited. Other historians such as Ulysse Robert in the nineteenth century and Dom Yves Chaussy in the twentieth have added their own editions. Lenain has attempted to tie all of these contributions together in one collection. Each entry has a short biography of the monastic author; a list of his publications, manuscripts, and correspondence; and bibliographic references. Unlike Tassin, who ranked his writers by seniority, Lenain has chosen to list his by date of profession—in other words, the moment that the author's written works would become contributions for the Congregation and not just those of an individual scholar. (Each monk receives a unique catalog number based on his date of profession.) In deference to the contributions of the previous historians, Lenain included some religious who did not seem to produce any scholarly product but who figured on the lists provided by Tassin, Robert, and others. For example, volume III begins with the entry of M. Pierre Denis, a *commis* of the Congregation of Saint-Maur, who was included in Dom Chaussy's compilation but seems to have left no literary contributions.

Lenain's index of Maurist authors and their works has tremendous importance for the history of the Congregation as well as for the history of the period in general. This work highlights the outstanding achievements made by members of this religious order to history, philosophy, science, and many other academic fields. The Maurists were lauded by their contemporaries for these accomplishments, but as noted above, the previous attempts to catalog these works have remained incomplete. Also significant are Lenain's entries that include some of the collaborative works between Maurists and secular scholars. The Congregation's members did not keep their academic findings to themselves; they believed that knowledge should be shared with the rest of the scholarly community for the good of all. Yet, although Maurists interacted with the academic world beyond their cloister walls, Lenain's volumes demonstrate that this did not weaken their devotion to their religious vocations. In his entry on Dom Martin Bouquet, the Maurist historian most notable for completing the *Collection des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* at the behest of royal government of France, Lenain reiterates Tassin's comments that Bouquet's involvement with secular society did not dampen his devotion to his religious life. Thus, whereas Lenain's collection provides an invaluable resource for researchers, it also demonstrates how the Maurists used scholarship not to escape the obligations of their religious vows but as a means of fulfilling the *labora* command of their Benedictine founder.

### Late Modern European

*Newman and His Contemporaries*. By Edward Short. (New York: T & T Clark International, an imprint of Continuum. 2011. Pp. xi, 530. \$110.00 cloth-bound, ISBN 978-0-567-02688-0; \$32.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-567-02689-7.)

Among the mini-flood of publications unleashed by the beatification of Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801–90) by Pope Benedict XVI on September 19, 2010, at Cofton Park, Birmingham, England, Edward Short's *Newman and His Contemporaries* stands out for several reasons. First of all is its sheer quantity: some 400 densely packed pages of narrative, augmented by another 100-plus pages of references and biographical information. Not only is this book a mega-volume; more important, it is a quality volume that is a pleasure to read—the author writes well, in spite of yielding occasionally to the temptation of literary *Wanderlust*. In addition, Short has both an in-depth knowledge of Newman's life and thought, as well as an enviable familiarity with the writings of many of Newman's contemporaries who, in some cases, have been treated only *en passant* by other Newman biographers. An additional enhancement to this volume is the center collection of black-and-white reproductions of people and places mentioned in the text.

The first four of this volume's thirteen chapters treat the well-known triumvirate of the Oxford Movement: John Keble (1792–1866), Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800–82), and Richard Hurrell Froude (1803–36). Froude's premature death during the early years of the movement left much of its leadership in Newman's hands; Keble and Pusey were thinkers, not organizers. The posthumous publication of Froude's *Remains* (London, 1838) suggests that had he lived longer, he might well have entered the Roman Catholic Church before Newman did, thereby posing the perennially intriguing question why Newman became a Roman Catholic, while Keble and Pusey did not.

This volume's middle five chapters are a smörgåsbord: Newman's view of public life, his "female faithful," his contacts with Americans such as Orestes Brownson (1803–76), as well as his relationship with William Ewart Gladstone (1809–98) and his admiration for William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–63). Although Newman's relationship with Gladstone has already received considerable attention, especially in regard to Newman's *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* (1875), Short's discussion of Newman's admiration for Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* (1847–48) draws attention to an often neglected aspect of Newman's life: his love of literature.

In the volume's last four chapters, Short makes a significant contribution to Newman studies by treating his ambivalent relationships with three contemporaries: Richard Holt Hutton (1826–97), an editor of the influential *Spectator*; Matthew Arnold (1822–88), professor of poetry at Oxford; and Arthur Hugh Clough (1819–61), once, like Newman, a fellow of Oriel College.

Although Newman intellectually challenged all three men, none of them were ever persuaded to follow his footsteps into the Roman Catholic Church. Last but not least, the book concludes with an intriguing portrait of “Newman on Newman.”

Although readers may disagree with some of the author’s opinions and question some of his comparisons, the wide-ranging—although sometimes meandering—discussions in this book are both fascinating and thought provoking. Unfortunately, in spite of the author’s encyclopedic knowledge of Victoriana, readers will be surprised to find a number of historical mistakes: Keble’s “Assize Sermon” was preached on July 14, 1833, not July 13 (p. 28); Newman’s reception into the Roman Catholic Church was on October 9, 1845, not October 29 (p. 217); Newman was created a cardinal in 1879, not 1877 (photo caption of Pope Leo XIII); and so forth.

Such flaws notwithstanding—*etiam Homerus dormitabat*—Newman aficionados will warmly welcome this volume. The paperback is certainly well worth the price, although the price of the hardback seems exorbitant. Readers can look forward to Short’s promised sequel on Newman and his family.

*The Catholic University of America*

JOHN T. FORD

*The European Culture Wars in Ireland: The Callan Schools Affair, 1868–81.*

By Colin Barr. (Dublin: University College Dublin Press; Chester Springs, PA: Dufour Editions. 2010. Pp. xiii, 306. \$89.95. ISBN 978-1-906-35953-9.)

Barr sets out to tell the story of Robert O’Keeffe, the parish priest of Callan, County Kilkenny, whose suspension in November 1871 by Cardinal Paul Cullen, archbishop of Dublin but acting in his capacity as papal legate, occasioned one of the great *causes célèbres* of nineteenth-century Ireland. Cullen was forced into this measure because O’Keeffe had initiated legal proceedings against his own bishop, Edward Walsh. O’Keeffe, in a misguided instance of pastoral zeal, had invited some French nuns to come to Callan to run a girls’ school. He and the sisters expended considerable sums on preparing a building. Walsh knew nothing of the venture, and when finally O’Keeffe asked for permission, the bishop refused. O’Keeffe then sued his bishop in a civil court. Walsh imposed a canonical penalty on O’Keeffe, who then appealed to Cullen.

The cardinal’s suspension of the turbulent priest meant O’Keeffe lost not only his livelihood as pastor but also was dismissed from quasi-state positions as chaplain to the local poorhouse and manager of several local schools under the control of the National Board of Education.

The decisions of the poor law and education authorities roused Protestant, judicial, and parliamentary opinion in Britain and Ireland, because, on the face

of it, a servant of the queen was dismissed at the bidding of a cardinal of the Roman Church. O'Keeffe described Cullen as one exercising the

absolute sway of a foreign despot, brought up in a foreign country [Cullen had lived in Rome as student, professor, and rector since he was seventeen until his return to Ireland as an archbishop and papal legate in 1850], and claiming to be above the law of his own. (p. 78)

O'Keeffe sued Cullen, in addition to bringing several other lawsuits against sundry clerics, and was awarded by the trial jury, under a less than impartial Protestant chief justice, one farthing in compensation, but with costs of the legal proceedings awarded against Cullen. This verdict was overturned on appeal. Still, O'Keeffe had the support of virtually every shade of anti-Catholic opinion in the United Kingdom, which to varying degrees beat the antipopery drum. This included the former and current prime ministers, Lord John Russell and William Gladstone; many of the leading newspapers of the day; and the Orange Order. Further, the matter was discussed at cabinet level on at least fifteen occasions, and gave rise to parliamentary motions and a parliamentary inquiry in which O'Keeffe was "made to look mendacious, vindictive and money-grabbing" (p. 232).

Barr is surely correct to see the case not simply in Irish and British terms, but to set it in the context of wider forces of tension between church and state in Europe as a whole at that stage of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the title is not accurate. The church-state tensions in Ireland were not the equivalent of the German *Kulturkampf*, as Barr would have it. The anticlerical and anti-Catholic sentiments in a number of contemporary European states did not equivalently give rise in the United Kingdom to restrictive legal penalties. Furthermore, the European struggle was not only a result of ultramontanistism but also formed part of a pattern laid down in the context of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, not least in the shape of Josephism in Austria-Hungary. Equally, this reviewer is not as convinced as Barr that no-popery had faded from the British popular imagination as early as the 1870s (p. 265). The very success of O'Keeffe's appeals for help in his legal challenges is proof-positive against such a view.

These are, however, minor points. The work is meticulously researched, very well written, and splendidly produced. Barr has not only combed archives in some twenty-eight deposits in six countries but also has scoured an extensive range of printed sources and a commendable array of secondary literature. He has given us an astonishingly rounded account of the intrigues of the Callan case and its implications for church-state relations in Ireland at this period. He does so in a way that yields genuine insight into the working of the Irish administration, and the Protestant government's attempt to come to terms with the workings of Catholicism, at a time when Catholic political power in Ireland was beginning to make a real impact on the country. The



book will become an essential read for all students of political and religious interchange in nineteenth-century Ireland.

As for O'Keeffe, he died in January 1881 reconciled to the Church. There were riots at his funeral.

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OLIVER P. RAFFERTY, S.J.

*Beyond the Contingent: Epistemological Authority, A Pascalian Revival, and the Religious Imagination in Third Republic France.* By Kathleen A. Mulhern. (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, an imprint of Wipf and Stock Publishers. 2011. Pp. xvii, 212. \$25.00 paperback. ISBN 978-1-608-99370-3.)

A lacuna in French Catholic modernism studies is filled. The subject of this study is the inspiration that several moderate Catholic modernists, especially Maurice Blondel, found in the writings of Blaise Pascal. Researchers in the field, at least in their English-language productions, have in fact paid next to no attention to this significant connection. An at least partial exception is Oliva Blanchette in his recent *Maurice Blondel: A Philosophical Life* (reviewed *ante*, XCVII [2011], 836-38), arriving too late for Kathleen A. Mulhern to note.

Blondel's philosophical undertaking to ground human knowledge in a rigorous, philosophically valid way displays certain parallels with Pascal's own reflections on his scientific and religious experience. Beyond that, as Mulhern shows with adequate documentation, Blondel delved into the thought of Pascal to come up with an alternative to the dominant theological as well as secular approaches to religious knowledge. In the process he was pitched into the modernist controversies as he came up against the fears of Catholic critics, who were not receptive to any such modernizing paradigm shift.

The author examines two other figures in addition to Blondel, namely the Oratorian Lucien Laberthonnière (1860-1932) and the physicist Pierre Duhem (1861-1916), both friends of Blondel (1861-1949). Duhem also makes his first appearance in Catholic modernist studies in these pages. Two centuries after Pascal (1623-62), but spurred by the reading of that religious scientist, Duhem concluded to the inevitable probability (not certainty) of all findings of experimental science. Hence Duhem, in a sort of physicist's commentary on Pascal's *Pensées*, challenged his scientific colleagues who in effect claimed a monopoly on knowledge, with no room left for religious belief.

Mulhern labors to make clear Laberthonnière's positions in religious epistemology and why they raised such opposition in church circles (chapters 6 and 7, regarding respectively the Scholastics' defective authoritarian epistemology and skeptics' rejection of tradition). His polemical style and clerical status made him a target for Rome. Oddly, Mulhern fails to mention (pp. 152,

180, 192) that two of his recent works were placed on the Index in 1906, more than a year before the broader Vatican condemnations of *Lamentabili* and *Pascendi* came out.

Instead of distinguishing “left, right, and center” modernists as Emile Poulat and others have done, Mulhern tends to wall her subjects off from the modernist camp proper. She situates them broadly in the progressive (“liberal”) wing of nineteenth-century French Catholic intellectual life and then highlights the distinctive methodology that sets them apart from “modernists.” A framework acknowledging a broader spectrum of modernists laid low by Pope Pius X’s 1907 encyclical, *Pascendi dominici gregis*, would be preferable. A bit of delving into the drafting of this encyclical also would be helpful to the nonspecialist reader.

For the specialist, the main profit of Mulhern’s work will in many cases be the light she casts on Pascal’s influence in a hostile laicist academic setting and the relevance of Pascalian thought for some champions of intellectual renewal within the Catholic Church.

*Marquette University (Emeritus)*

PAUL MISNER

«Lamentabili sane exitu» (1907). *Les documents préparatoires du Saint Office*. Edited by Claus Arnold and Giacomo Losito. [Fontes Archivi Sancti Officii Romani, Vol. 6.] (Rome: Liberia Editrice Vaticana. 2011. Pp. XVI, 546. €60,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-820-98587-5.)

This volume essentially picks up the story of Vatican resistance and censure of Roman Catholic modernism where the previous one edited by Claus Arnold and Giacomo Losito, *La censure d’Alfred Loisy* (1903, vol. 4 in the same series) left off. From discussions surrounding the censure of five of Loisy’s works in 1903 there emerged a decision to draw up a list of errors as a defense of Catholicism against a generalized rationalist menace. Over the course of the document’s development, the focus narrowed to Loisy and to the French exegetical “school” of which he was perceived to be head.

In a foreword Emile Poulat presents the major themes present in the final version of sixty-five propositions: critical exegesis and the ecclesial magisterium (1–9), inspiration and revelation (10–21), dogma (22–38), sacraments (52–57), and immutable truth (58–65). Those familiar with Loisy’s modernist writings will readily discern the connections of these areas with those publications. The net, however, was originally cast more widely and, as the editors show, more intransigently than in the final version.

In the first of the two introductory essays, Arnold provides the background for the sequencing and significance of the published documentation. From the discussions in 1903 Domenico Palmieri and Pie de Langogne were each charged with drafting a basis for discussion. The first document in the

series reflects Palmieri's efforts to broadly connect Loisy with Kant's errors and exhibit the dangers of the exegete's theological "evolutionism," followed by ninety-three propositions in Latin with a theological qualification attached to each. De Langogne's text (document 2) broadened its perspective beyond Loisy to encompass the "progressive" French exegetical school that included Albert Houtin and Monsignor Eudoxe Irénée Edouard Mignot. A programmatic introduction was followed by 119 propositions, without theological qualification.

Both Palmieri and de Langogne, with the addition of Willem Van Rossum, were then tasked with collaborating on a third version (document 3) that was closer to de Langogne's draft and contained ninety-six propositions, sixty-six of which were judged "heretical." This joint effort then became the basis of discussion among consulters (represented in document 4) that show a moderating influence on some propositions, while discarding others. De Langogne contributed an additional document (5) examining the French hermeneutic of dogma represented by Edouard Le Roy that would figure in one of *Lamentabili's* propositions.

Document 6 presents the results of further discussion of each proposition by the cardinals and the consulters, which was then given over to Andreas Steinhuber, who was entrusted with the redaction of the introduction to the syllabus and who eliminated a few more propositions to arrive at the final sixty-five (document 7). The editors then give the final version of each proposition, together with its sources in earlier versions, as well as the propositions that were rejected.

The second introductory essay by Losito examines antimodernist activity in France and its links to the Vatican before focusing on de Langogne, who made use of this criticism in his drafts. The final version of *Lamentabili* is closest to the latter's vision and versions that he singled out for particular consideration. In a third section *Lamentabili's* impact on French public opinion is surveyed, and in the final one, the hierarchical exchanges that formed the background to Loisy's excommunication in 1908 are displayed.

In *Simple réflexions* (Ceffonds, 1907) Loisy attempted to identify the probable source of each proposition (facilitated by the fact that most came from his own writings). The publication of the archival documentation enables scholars not only to verify the source of a proposition but also to appreciate what the framers had in mind when they deemed it censurable. Arnold and Losito also give access to the differences among those involved in the production of the syllabus, differences that show the difficulty of coming to clear appreciation of the relation between history and dogma. The background provided in the introductory essays also explains some omissions in the syllabus. Although the method of immanence receives mention in the antimodernist encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis* (1907), Maurice Blondel's work is not represented in *Lamentabili*.

The editors set a high standard with their previous volume in this series, matched in this one. It is to be hoped that they do a similar volume with documentation pertaining to *Pascendi*. This is an excellent resource for anyone seriously interested in modernism and the trajectory of Roman Catholic theology that leads into the Second Vatican Council.

*University of Saint Thomas, Houston*

C. J. T. TALAR

*Relazioni tra Santa Sede e Repubbliche baltiche (1918-1940): Monsignor Zecchini diplomatico.* By Valerio Perna. (Udine: Forum. 2010. Pp. 238. €14,50 paperback. ISBN 978-8-884-20620-6.)

Valerio Perna's well-crafted monograph examines the relations between the Holy See and the three Baltic republics during their two decades of independence between the world wars. Having emerged out of the wreckage of the defeated German and Russian empires in 1918 and generally lumped together in the eyes of the world, in fact this trio of tiny states along the Baltic littoral differed widely, not least in their diminishing degree of Catholicity from south to north: from solidly Catholic Lithuania through Latvia, where Catholics amounted to a significant minority; and up to Estonia, where they numbered a scant few thousands of souls.

The author is a historian at the University of Udine. His book confirms that it was the fate of the Baltic countries to be treated as little more than ciphers or matters of secondary interest in the diplomacy of the era, and this was true of the foreign policy of the Holy See, in its own distinctive fashion. Not without reason, the Vatican gave priority to Poland—returned to the map of Europe after more than a century of absence—as the natural focus of its attention in east central Europe and had to fit the Baltic republics into its calculations only on the margins. This complicated the Holy See's dealings with Lithuania, which lost out to Poland in a dispute over custody of the city of Wilno (Vilnius), and nursed a grudge against its larger Catholic neighbor throughout the interwar period.

The central figure in this account, as indicated in the subtitle, is Antonino Zecchini, a Jesuit of Friulian origin, who served as the Vatican's principal representative to the Baltic countries as archbishop and nuncio to Latvia. He served in this capacity for more than a decade until his death in Riga in 1935. In that country and Estonia, the Holy See's main concern was to protect the best interests of the Catholic minority, managing to do this with a minimum of friction. Perhaps paradoxically, the most Catholic of the Baltic states was the one that gave the papal diplomats the most headaches. A series of conflicts with the government of Lithuania led the nuncio to resign in 1931, and no successor was named until February 1940. Only four months later, the Soviet Union occupied all three Baltic countries, collecting part of its booty from the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of the year before, and began the half-cen-



ture of totalitarian rule over Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania that ended only with the collapse of the USSR and the accompanying return of independence.

The author has based his study primarily on the resources found in six state archives, notably the recently opened documents of the pontificate of Pius XI in the Vatican Archives and the papers of Luigi Faidutti, a priest-politician charged by the Vatican with the arduous task of trying to put its relations with Lithuania on even keel. The book lacks a bibliography, but is enhanced by photographs and a timeline. The very tight focus of Perna's monograph likely will limit its readership to specialists, but they will find it useful, informative, and reliable.

*University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

NEAL PEASE

*The Transformation of the Christian Churches in Western Europe, 1945-2000.* Edited by Leo Kenis, Jaak Billiet, and Patrick Pasture. [KADOC Studies on Religion, Culture and Society, Vol. 6.] (Leuven: Leuven University Press. Distrib. Cornell University Press. 2010. Pp. 352. \$42.50, €36.00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-058-67665-8.)

How are you supposed to respond when the soccer team you have been brought up to support but about which you have always had mixed feelings abruptly changes its manager and starts to play the open imaginative style of soccer you have always urged it to adopt but as a consequence begins to lose all of its matches and ends up being relegated from the league?

That, broadly speaking, is the problem confronted by many of the contributors to this volume. The product of a conference held at Leuven in 2002, it brings together a team of historians, sociologists, and political scientists predominantly sympathetic to the progressive Catholicism that appeared to have triumphed at the Second Vatican Council of the early 1960s, but that, little more than a generation later, had led to the profound marginalization of Catholicism in late-twentieth-century Europe. The reality of that decline is conveyed graphically in the statistical presentation by Karel Dobbelaere and Jaak Billiet (pp. 114-20), in which they trace the remorseless falls in levels of church attendance, baptisms, and marriages that have occurred every single year in Belgium since the 1960s. Why should that have been so? Of course, one might conclude somewhat heretically that the change of direction had been the wrong move. Some, notably Wilhelm Damberg and Patrick Pasture, flirt with this argument, suggesting (as has been proposed by Denis Pelletier) that Catholicism simply lost its appeal (one should perhaps say, in deference to contemporary market language, brand distinctiveness) when it diminished its "otherness" in favor of a soft-focus ethical set of values, thereby opening the way in recent years to the more militant Protestant sects or to the do-it-yourself religious syncretism well described here, with almost a straight face, by Liliane Voyé.

Most, of the contributors, however, are inclined, and not without good reason, to argue that matters were not that simple. For a start, the change of direction that occurred within Catholicism in the 1960s was neither as radical nor as abrupt as the architects of the Second Vatican Council, and their many retrospective defenders, have tended to suggest. The reassertion of a Catholic confessional culture in Europe after 1945 was indeed remarkable and probably owed less to hierarchical repression than is suggested here by Gerd-Rainer Horn in his eloquent evocation of the defeat of the Left Catholics of the immediate postwar years. But the dividing lines between innovation and tradition were never clear-cut. This is a point well made in a splendidly subversive essay by Étienne Fouilloux, in which he enjoys demonstrating that the ideas of a *nouvelle chrétienté* advocated by many *soi-disant* progressive Catholic intellectuals since the 1930s were always characterized by an "ambiguïté congénitale" (p. 48). For all of the rhetorical rejection engaged in by figures such as Jacques Maritain of a somewhat parodic ghetto Catholicism, their ideas always retained space for the dream of a rechristianization of society, which owed much to the militant Catholicism of the inter-war years. The formulations of intellectuals have, however, perhaps occupied too prominent a position in accounts of Catholic change. In an important article, Lodewijk Winkeler pays due attention to the dogmatic relativism that he identifies as having developed almost clandestinely among Dutch theologians long before the Second Vatican Council, but rightly places this change in the context of a much broader change in the mentality of the professionals of Dutch Catholicism: seminary teachers, medical and welfare bureaucrats, mental health and youth workers, and, indeed, priests. As Winkeler's contribution strongly conveys, a remorseless process of change gathered pace in a semi-visible form among these professionals from the 1940s onward, as they rejected a specifically Catholic worldview in favor of a more neutral definition of their responsibilities.

One might, if one wishes, describe this process as a secularization of Catholicism from within; and, as such, it probably has greater force than the more ritual references, almost inevitably present in this volume, to an external process of secularization of society, associated with the supposedly corrosive impact on the Catholic faith of pop music, television, and new forms of female-oriented consumerism. Secularization, however, is an awkward tool, which seeks to squeeze the impact of long-term processes of social change into the short time period of the 1960s and 1970s. As defined in a more sophisticated way in this volume by Dobbelaere and Billiet, it is stripped of its headline processes of social revolution and becomes a more intangible process of "functional differentiation" (p. 140), which eroded the holistic unity of Catholic institutions and faithful. Or, to put it more directly, Catholicism fell apart. The Catholic faith was not demolished (as Pasture seems on occasions inclined to suggest) by the eruption of television into Breton living rooms in the 1960s. More interestingly, the Church—or at least the personnel of its leading institutions (political parties, trade unions, welfare

organizations, and, ultimately, the clergy)—decided to disassemble itself and, in doing so, effectively removed the principal manifestation of formal religion from the fabric of European late-modernity.

Whether that has led, as Steve Bruce (incidentally, a homonym of a prominent English soccer manager) has argued, to the death of God (in Europe) or to what Danièle Hervieu-Léger terms more subtly a “société amnésique,” in which much of the population has lost the memory of its Christian past, is less certain. As soccer fans well know, teams that go down can also come back up, although whether that can happen when the players have themselves dissolved the team seems rather less certain.

*Balliol College, Oxford*

MARTIN CONWAY

### American

*Evangelicals at a Crossroads: Revivalism and Social Reform in Boston, 1860–1910.* By Benjamin L. Hartley. [Revisiting New England: The New Regionalism.] (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press; Hanover, NH: University of New England Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 288. \$85.00 cloth-bound, ISBN 978-1-584-65928-0; \$39.95 paperback, ISBN 978-1-584-65929-7.)

The history of religion in Boston seems simple, a play neatly divided into two acts. In the first, Puritan Congregationalism arrives with English settlement and remains predominant for two centuries. In act 2, Catholic immigrants show up, and, soon enough, they replace that story with their own. Cardinal William O’Connell summarized it neatly when he became the city’s archbishop at the beginning of the twentieth century: “The Puritan has passed; the Catholic remains” (p. 165). Minor characters appeared on stage briefly, entering and exiting, but they did not affect the course of the drama. One of the virtues of Benjamin Hartley’s revised dissertation is that he puts a variety of “upstart” evangelicals—Methodists, Baptists, members of the Salvation Army, and nondenominational groups generally from the holiness tradition—back into the account. By looking at these religious groups and at the social welfare institutions and agencies they established, he broadens our perspective on this intensely religious city.

The connection between religious mission and social mission is the focus here, the key to the not entirely successful crossroads metaphor of the title. Boston’s evangelicals were active at promoting both. The massive 1877 revival staged by Dwight Moody, attracting 6000 worshipers every night for three months, opens Hartley’s account, but even more useful is his recovery of the many enduring institutions produced and sustained by that energy. These included hospitals and foundling homes (the graphically, if sentimentally, named Home for Little Wanderers, for instance), as well as institutions

that are not thought of today as religious: Morgan Memorial/Goodwill Industries and even the New England Conservatory of Music. In all cases, the motive of “reclaiming” the city from Catholic newcomers was never very far beneath the surface. After successive waves of immigration, Boston might well have claimed to be the most Catholic place in America—eleven parishes in the city at the end of the Civil War; forty-four by the turn of the century—and evangelical leaders were eager to stem that tide. They resorted to familiar anti-Catholic rhetoric with gusto, although it seems tame in comparison with such rhetoric earlier and elsewhere. They had no doubt of the urgent need to counter the expanding influence of “Romanism,” and their efforts came to focus particularly on the city’s North End. That neighborhood was in the process of transitioning from predominantly Irish to predominantly Italian, but it remained Catholic throughout and thus in need of evangelical redemption. Hartley has scoured archival collections, newspapers and magazines (both common and ephemeral), and the broad secondary literature to present a rich account of these efforts. He is factually sure-footed, with only the occasional minor slip—the *Pilot* newspaper, for instance, was an independent Irish American journal at this time, not the official paper of the Catholic archdiocese that it would later become.

In the end, the Catholic tide proved irresistible. The triumph in politics of first- and second-generation immigrants was complete by the time of World War I, and evangelical energies turned in other directions. Foreign missions seemed a more pressing need than their domestic counterparts, and internal fragmentation dissipated evangelical energy as many former “upstarts” succumbed to the lure of respectability. In charting the long arc of religion and reform from these unexpected sources, however, Hartley has added usefully to what historians know of the religious life of the city.

*Boston College*

JAMES M. O'TOOLE

*Right in Michigan's Grassroots: From the KKK to the Michigan Militia.* By JoEllen McNergney Vinyard. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011. Pp. xii, 363. \$70.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-472-07159-3; \$27.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-472-05159-5.)

Michigan has long been regarded as an incubator of right-wing extremism. If its reputation in this respect is arguably exaggerated—the state was politically progressive for much of the twentieth century—JoEllen Vinyard faced no lack of material when it came to compiling her survey of right-wing movements in Michigan from the 1920s to the present. She devotes well-documented chapters to the Ku Klux Klan, the diffuse movement led and personified by Father Charles Coughlin, the John Birch Society, the antibusing movement of the 1970s, and the notorious Michigan Militia.

The breadth of Vinyard's coverage—the several movements she surveys, the wealth of detail she affords—is a principal strength of the book. But it is



also a weakness. The various movements she discusses were loosely united by a deep distrust of established authority and a predilection for conspiracy theories. All had authoritarian tendencies as well. In other important respects, however, these movements were very different. Catholics did not join the Ku Klux Klan, which pushed hard in Michigan to pass a law that would have closed most Catholic schools in the state. The movement led by Coughlin, although ecumenical in its rhetoric, appealed more strongly to Catholics than to any other group. Nor was Coughlin's odd fusion of populist monetary theory and Catholic social teaching remotely congruent with the small-business orientation of the local Klan. The John Birch Society in Michigan attracted mostly the affluent and functioned primarily as a radical caucus within the Michigan Republican Party. The Michigan Militia, by contrast, seems to have flourished largely in response to the state's late-century economic implosion. Unlike the highly organized Birchers, the Michigan Militia—for all its trafficking in military metaphors—appears to be remarkably inchoate in its structure and functioning.

Given the variety in the movements she studies, Vinyard finds it hard to talk systematically about causality. She frequently cites rapid economic and demographic change in Michigan as critical to the sense of unease obviously experienced by her various subjects. Characterized through the 1940s by rapid economic growth—interrupted for a time by the Depression—and a continuous influx of ethnically varied new residents, the state since the 1950s has suffered disproportionately from de-industrialization and slowed population growth. Both growth and decline, Vinyard argues, were potentially anxiety-producing, especially given the rapidity with which change occurred. Fair enough. But why do certain kinds of people gravitate to certain kinds of movements to assuage their unease? Did membership in a union or a particular church affect the likelihood that one would respond to change in a particular way? And why have African Americans, who as a group have suffered most from the state's economic decline, been so notably absent from right-wing activism in recent decades? As to the categories of "right" and "left," one wonders whether they are adequate for purposes of analyzing grassroots movements. How shall we characterize the anti-abortion movement, a genuinely popular phenomenon in Michigan that spurred an impressive amount of citizen-activism, especially among women? Rather like the initial stages of the Coughlin movement, the anti-abortion movement in Michigan was both conservative and progressive in its goals and ideology.

Vinyard's book does teach a great deal about Michigan. She analyzes her frequently unattractive subjects in nonjudgmental fashion, trying hard to see the world from their point of view. This is true even of the Michigan Militia, some of whose members she came to know in the course of her extensive research. Vinyard's book is both a model of scholarly balance and a tribute to her zeal as a researcher.

*A Catholic Brain Trust: The History of the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs, 1945-1965.* By Patrick J. Hayes. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 432. \$75.00. ISBN 978-0-268-03109-1.)

Founded in 1945 by (mostly American) Catholic intellectuals boldly to shape Catholic identity in the United States and beyond, and thus to influence the culture nationally and internationally, the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs (CCICA) met annually, formed committees, drafted policy statements, sent delegations, tried (unsuccessfully) to prepare a new Catholic encyclopedia, and recruited and vetted members who would "be representative of Catholic intellectual and cultural interests" (p. 40) until 2007, when it quietly dissolved itself. In *A Catholic Brain Trust: The History of the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs, 1945-65*, Patrick J. Hayes, assistant archivist for the Baltimore Province of the Redemptorists, tells the story of the CCICA's ambitious, uneven, and—in some cases—almost quaint activities during the first twenty years of its existence. This careful study of a little-known but stunningly ambitious effort on the part of American Catholic intellectuals to come of age is the history of American Catholicism in microcosm.

Although the CCICA's membership never exceeded 300 at any given time, its rolls have included Monsignor John Tracy Ellis, Jerome Kerwin, Yves Simon, Jacques Maritain, Vernon Burke, Clare Boothe Luce, Heinrich Rommen, Thomas Merton, Dorothy Day, Daniel Berrigan, Corita Kent, Bernard Lonergan, Margaret O'Brien Steinfels, Stephan Kuttner, John T. Noonan Jr., Monsignor Robert Trisco, Lindy Boggs, and many others of comparable distinction and intellectual influence in varied quarters. Supreme Court Justices William Brennan and Antonin Scalia have been members. During the Second Vatican Council, eleven current and future CCICA members served as *periti* to the Council fathers. No member of the Kennedy family has ever been a member.

In the years covered by Hayes, the CCICA dedicated its first efforts to post-war intellectual renewal, including through influence on UNESCO's drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Next came internal debates and public advocacy concerning church-state relations, with John Courtney Murray, one of the CCICA's founders, using the group in the late 1940s to hone the arguments that would embroil him in trouble in the 1950s. The chapter on mid-century debates on church-state relations in America will be a real help to those who study questions of religious liberty and the liberty of the Church today. The book's later chapters cover Ellis's bombshell 1955 lecture "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life" and its aftermath, as well as the CCICA's failed attempt to produce a new Catholic encyclopedia. When others produced the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, the CCICA "merited only a half-column entry in volume 3 by one of its own" (p. 223). The scholarship that lies behind this book will provide invaluable assistance and context to

discussions of the Catholic life, growth, decline, and teaching in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century.

What happened when the CCICA dissolved itself in 2007, following a period of quiescence, speaks volumes—it divided its remaining resources between *First Things* and *Commonweal*. Not with a bang, but a whimper. This reviewer, who was a member of the CCICA since 1997, never received word of the group's dissolution. At least one leading American Catholic intellectual still lists himself as an active member of the CCICA, and surely there are others.

Villanova University School of Law

PATRICK MCKINLEY BRENNAN

*From Bible Belt to Sun Belt: Plain-Folk Religion, Grassroots Politics and the Rise of Evangelical Conservatism.* By Darren Dochuk. (New York: Norton. 2011. Pp. xxiv, 520. \$29.95. ISBN 978-0-393-06682-1.)

*From Bible Belt to Sun Belt* by Darren Dochuk explores more than the intersection of religion and politics in contemporary America, as its receipt of the prestigious Nivens Prize from the Society of American Historians indicates. In it, he also details the economic and cultural transformation of Southern California from the 1930s to the 1980s that led to the nationwide dissemination of the conservative views that influenced the rise of the Christian Right in American politics. As such, it is as much a regional history as it is a volume on religion and politics. Consulting myriad primary-source materials from periodicals, twenty-six personal interviews, forty-seven manuscript collections, and contemporary secondary sources that compose twelve pages, Dochuk has assembled an impressive collection of information from which to synthesize his thesis.

Beginning with the Dust Bowl migrations to Southern California, Dochuk describes marginal economic and religious outsiders who made the transition to economic and social respectability over the next thirty years. By the 1960s, thirty years of background work in conservative economic education and anticommunist activism by a number of eccentric but powerful speakers had produced significant results. Dochuk singles out three for special attention in this story. George S. Benson (president of Harding University and instrumental in its National Education Program), John Brown (founder of several educational institutions in Arkansas and California as well as of a prominent evangelical radio station in Southern California), and George Pepperdine (founder of the Western Auto nationwide chain of automotive specialty stores and Pepperdine University) created a network of media outlets, educational institutions, and evangelical Christian organizations that proved to be the catalyst for the emergence of the Religious Right in national politics.

According to Dochuk, Southern California became the financial and educational center of the New Christian Right as the upwardly mobile evangeli-

cal Christians from the South and Southwest found work in the new defense industries that dominated the region's economy. As they prospered in the new environment, they refused to enter the more liberal economic and political mainstream that had dominated California politics. Instead, they used their newfound wealth to create bigger and more respectable church buildings while maintaining and even increasing their conservative religious philosophy against the onslaught of a religious community that was steadily moving toward a more liberal theology. Evangelical leaders in Southern California constantly battled against the National Council of Churches and its "social gospel and postmillennial doctrine that suggested that the world would get better over time" (p. 161). The vast majority of evangelical Christians in Southern California adopted the premillennial view that individual salvation required personal commitment and constant vigilance against the creeping socialism of the liberal establishment and the threat of a worldwide communist takeover that would stamp out conservative Christian institutions.

Several factors led to the sharp division in California politics that prompted evangelical Christians to forcefully enter state and national politics on the conservative bandwagon. Dochuk details the influence of various labor conflicts of the 1940s, including violent strikes against the movie industry led by communist sympathizers in organized labor and the arguments over "the eighty different old-age welfare schemes that had been proposed in California in the 1930s" (p. 88). It was at this point that Southern California evangelicals were introduced to Benson, Brown, and Pepperdine, who had launched a "bold political venture" with "conservative businessmen and intellectuals . . . to combat what they thought was an entrenchment of a permanent New Deal, social welfare state" (p. 113). With the help and support of Ronald Reagan, Billy Graham, Walter Knott, and Pat Boone popularizing their message and hundreds of conservative evangelical institutions providing the resources, Dochuk argues convincingly that these conservative political activists and their victories in Southern California led eventually to the presidency of Reagan and the prominence of the New Religious Right in American politics ever since.

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*Montgomery, AL*

L. EDWARD HICKS

*No Closure: Catholic Practice and Boston's Parish Shutdowns.* By John C. Seitz. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 314. \$39.95. ISBN 978-0-674-05302-1.)

The Occupy movements that seized Americans' hearts and minds during 2011 relied on some tactics already familiar to the angered Catholics who had staged parish occupations in the previous eight years to prevent the closure of their parishes by order of their bishops. John Seitz provides a fine, compact



ethnographic study of the recent and current struggle in the Archdiocese of Boston between lay Catholics and the hierarchy, which since 2004 has attempted to close as many as 137 parishes. There, resisters occupied their targeted parishes by holding vigil services; staying round-the-clock inside church buildings; and keeping the archbishop on notice that they would not abandon their beloved parishes, even against threat of police intervention and arrest.

Grassroots resistance to the hierarchy's decisions to close parishes began in Worcester, Massachusetts, and soon inspired parishes in Boston and elsewhere, often through direct sharing of personnel, tactical advice, and legal and spiritual support. The Archdiocese of Boston, whose leader, Cardinal Bernard Law, had been exposed as presiding over the cover-up of the clergy sexual abuse scandal that broke there in 2002, was still reeling from that shock when announcement of the parish closures followed less than two years later. By then, Law had resigned, but was seemingly rewarded by the Holy See with a promotion to a plush position in Rome, further aggravating the anger and grief in his wake. His successor in Boston, Cardinal Seán P. O'Malley, a Capuchin Franciscan, has been obliged to conduct the mandated parish closings, steering a cautious line between persuasion and force. Seitz documents how the faithful resisters now represent an unfamiliar third-party position in the Church—they are not desirous of leaving the Church, nor do they consent to attend the new parish assigned to them by the archdiocese.

Seitz, then a graduate student at Harvard Divinity School, began his study of local events in August 2004 at the Mass held on Boston Common organized by Voice of the Faithful and led by pastors who also disagreed with the parish closures. He conducted fieldwork in parishes for about three and a half years, including observation and interviews with more than fifty resisters, pastors, and other Catholics involved in the Boston area. From his examination of the emergence of faith-inspired grassroots organizations, Seitz discerned that Catholics tend to privilege the actual practice of their faith above the doctrinal issues that often concern the clergy, often creating tension between the Church's antidemocratic hierarchical structure, and the concerns of laity for the buildings, objects, and events that compose parish life. Clearly outlining his goals as neither trying to lionize the resistance nor "popular" religiosity, nor to define a "true" or "false" Catholicism, Seitz presents his evidence with sensitivity and clarity. (He opted to change the names of his informants to protect them from any possible retribution.)

Throughout the book he employs the dual themes of sacrifice and sacred presence to explore the rhetoric used by clergy and laity alike in their quests to achieve a certain actualization of "the Church." Is it the actual buildings, or the people who inhabit them? Has the logic of sacrifice on behalf of the Church lost its power of persuasion? The first two chapters treat the histories

of the parishes slated for closing, at least half of which are ethnic parishes, whereas the two subsequent chapters deal with how the ecclesial and liturgical changes of the Second Vatican Council prepared the way for the responses of the organizers at the closing parishes, who combine responses from past and modern traditions. Chapter 5 deals with the complex meanings of resistance and an epilogue catches up with the very recent dimensions of the conflict. Participants and observers alike are left to wonder what has happened to Pope John XXIII's famous plea for the Catholic Church to use the "medicine of mercy rather than that of severity" (p. 25) in its dealings with the modern world.

*University of Pittsburgh*

PAULA KANE

### Latin American

*Shrines and Miraculous Images: Religious Life in Mexico before the Reform.*

By William B. Taylor. [Religions of the Americas Series.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 288. \$37.95. ISBN 978-0-826-34853-1.)

*Marvels & Miracles in Late Colonial Mexico: Three Texts in Context.* By

William B. Taylor. [Religions of the Americas Series.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2011. Pp. x, 149. \$34.95. ISBN 978-0-826-34975-0.)

The two volumes under review here are companion volumes. The first is an historical study; the second is a case study of three devotions that illustrate the first.

*Shrines and Miraculous Images* is divided into three sections. The first deals with images and shrines in colonial Mexico, and their meaning and importance. It gives samples of two shrines to Cristo Renovado. Part II deals with Our Lady of Guadalupe, and part III goes beyond the colonial period to the national period.

Part 1, chapter 1, deals with images and immanence in colonial Mexico. He points out how vital religious images have been for individual and collective well-being in Mexico. "Clearly, the images . . . were more than objects or 'representations'" (p. 18). They invited the kind of devout response that could lead to direct apprehension of the divine (p. 19). The power of images passed to reproductions. "A copy could still be an 'original' in the religious sense—an image exercising power over believers by its actual presence" (p. 46). Under the Bourbons there was a tendency toward greater regulation, although not suppression, of the former baroque practices.

Part 1, chapter 2, illustrates this with the devotion to the shrines of Cristo Renovado. It is a complex story that involves native politics and the fact that

there were two shrines to the devotion, at Mapethé and Ixmiquilpan. It was also closely related to Otomí self-definition and identity, as the author notes:

On the Otomí side, devotees of the Cristo renovado understood themselves in various terms—as members or allies of competing extended families, as men and women with gendered duties and loyalties, as residents of a dispersed settlement within a township, as fellow devotees, and as Catholics and subjects of the Spanish king under the sign of the cross. (p. 93)

In part 2, chapter 3, he begins a close study of the supremely popular devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe. The author follows the convoluted story of the origins of the shrine and devotion, noting the many historical difficulties involved. He narrates the story of the “four evangelists,” the clerics who first formulated the Guadalupe tradition. Did they make memory, or mostly capture and codify it? One of the author’s most important contributions is a detailed study of the financial records of the shrine at Tepeyac. He shows how the devotion waxed and waned in the late-seventeenth century before coming to fruition in the eighteenth. He does not accept, at least without qualification, the theory that Guadalupe was a sign of creole protonationalism. He also sees the devotion as antecedent to, or at least growing, before the publication of Miguel Sánchez’s *Imagen de la Virgen* (1648), the first account of the apparition tradition. However, he does not mention the surprise caused by that book among the clergy and laity of Mexico City. Neither does he mention that the date of December 12 as a feast day first appeared in Mateo de la Cruz’s abridgement of Sánchez’s book, although he does refer to the fact that for a long period Spaniards and Indians celebrated the feast on different dates.

In chapter 4, he deals with Guadalupe in eighteenth-century Mexico. After a great epidemic, Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Eguiarreta, archbishop of Mexico, proclaimed Guadalupe patroness of Mexico City and New Spain in 1737. A great period of growth came after 1754 and papal approbation of the miracle and patronage. The Indian devotion became more prominent in the period from the 1740s to the 1800s (p. 127). He points out that although Guadalupe was a devotion to be found throughout Mexico, Tepeyac was not a place of pilgrimage—at least not from distant places (pp. 130, 141).

The author devotes chapter 5 to Guadalupe, Remedios, and cultural politics of the independence period. He believes that in that time the devotion to Guadalupe was actively promoted (pp. 140–41). His conclusion is that Guadalupe was a “shared symbol” (p. 145). He discounts the idea that Remedios was totally “the royalist, gachupín Virgin than might be supposed” (p. 154).

Part III carries the reader beyond the colonial period. Chapter 6 contains an illuminating explanation of the role of *ex voto* offerings and growth of new shrines after independence.

This is precisely the kind of book that one expects from William B. Taylor: meticulous research into original sources; challenging but not overstated conclusions; a readable, if at times dense, literary style. Still, there are some major flaws, not in the content but, apparently, in editorial decisions made by the press. The endnotes are excessively numerous and cause the reader to flip constantly from text to notes. Also, at the beginning of the notes there is no explanation of the abbreviations for the various repositories consulted. Some readers will be able to reconstruct them, but others may find themselves mystified. Most disturbing of all is that this book has no bibliography. If one wants data on a reference, it is necessary to scour the footnotes to find the first citation.

*Marvels & Miracles in Late Colonial Mexico*, the companion volume, reproduces in translation the documentation of three little-known colonial Mexican devotions: Our Lady of the Walnut Tree (*nogal*); Our Lady in the Kernel of Corn; and Our Lady of Intercession (*patrocinio*). The author concludes, "These records provide an opportunity to glimpse an apparition story taking shape in the late eighteenth century, one that was not altogether acceptable to higher church authorities" (p. 24). Some nonspecialists may find the documentation rather intimidating. All readers, however, can gain by some of his summaries. Again, there is an enlightening treatment of *ex-voto* offerings. There is an excellent brief treatment of the trajectory of Franciscan history over two centuries. He neatly summarizes a change of attitude toward the natives. The early friars viewed the Indians as children, meaning childlike and innocent; the potential to become Christian was great. Two centuries later, it was more that they were childish, disobedient, mischief-makers, if not devious idolaters (p. 82).

Unfortunately, the same editorial policies seem to have governed this second volume, the most serious being the lack of a bibliography.

Despite these flaws, these two books are a fascinating and original insight into the social and religious history of colonial Mexico.

Los Angeles, CA

STAFFORD POOLE, C.M.

*Allies at Odds: The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents, 1583-1671.*

By John Charles. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2010. Pp. xi, 283. \$27.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-826-34831-9.)

Here is an outstanding analysis of the process of the linguistic and religious transformation of early-colonial Andean society. Stress is on the Christian *doctrineros* and the indigenous elite, who acted as agents, allies, and at times antagonists in the formation of the new order. Well-constructed and elegantly written chapters broken into short subsections allow for a quick read. In the introduction John Charles examines the intractable question of how to measure "literacy" in the Andean context. The role of teachers and



their native Andean students, as well as the sources and their preparation that contributed to the “making of a literate Andean society” (p. 13), are probed.

In the chapter “Catechesis in Quechua,” the creation of a “standard Quechua,” almost entirely by the *doctrineros*, is examined. In their methodical efforts religious compiled dictionaries and grammars, then translated the critical religious texts into Andeans’ tongues. In this process they developed a Quechua with broad application to avoid confusion between multiple translations based on regional dialects. Charles moves in the next chapter to what he calls “mediating with cords” (p. 71)—the use of the precolumbian *quipu* well into the colonial period. Many specialists thought the knotted multicolored cords were used to record quantities, but there is increasing recognition that they had other uses as well. Although many clerics viewed them as idolatrous objects, they were employed in confession and in remembering elements of the doctrine, and were even presented as evidence in colonial courts.

Charles next shifts to clerical violence used to subject native parishioners to the *doctrina* so as to enforce the Crown’s *buena policia* to mold Andeans into good citizens. We have few true Andean responses to the actions of clergy other than in letters of complaint to the Audiencia and viceroy in Lima, and even the Crown in Spain. Charles effectively presents case studies to suggest a complex picture of colonial realities in the countryside. He finds that rivalries between Andean elite families contributed to machinations as they tried to improve status. The subsequent chapter centers on idolatry, largely through the eyes of the Andeans. Charles asks: Did they understand what the clergy considered idolatry, and how did they react? What led to Andean complicity in the investigations of religious inspectors, and what were the consequences? Who denounced idolatry, and what did they gain or lose by denunciations? Charles’s final chapter on “the polemics of practical literacy” covers a range of topics, from the role of the official “Indian Protector” to the native mastery of the legal genre and the clerical backlash.

Minor imperfections—some missing source citations, an incomplete index, the absence of a glossary—are perhaps more the result of the publisher’s decision to conserve space. But the emphasis on the area under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Lima and Quechua speakers comes at the cost of scant attention to the vast central-southern Andes where both Quechua and Aymara were spoken. But this would have required a book twice as long. Another issue deserving more scrutiny is the provenance of translations of the religious texts, dictionaries, and grammars. Many of these were distributed in manuscript often long before they were published. Because multiple reviewers from various religious orders and the secular clergy had access to the manuscripts, what impact did that have on later publications? As we know, “borrowing” without attribution was common during the period.

Charles's work is an important complement to a small but growing number of recent studies of the process of "conversion" of Amerindian peoples. Recently Alan Durston, Angel Ramos, and Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs have followed the lead of Pierre Duviols, Sabine MacCormack, Kenneth Mills, and Nicolas Griffiths in their studies of the religious and cultural interactions in the Andes. This is part of a new religious history—not the study of the successful implanting of Christianity in the New World, but rather a more nuanced analysis of the give-and-take between opposites that persisted for generations in the Andean countryside.

*Florida International University*

NOBLE DAVID COOK

*The Andean Hybrid Baroque: Convergent Cultures in the Churches of Colonial Peru.* By Gauvin Alexander Bailey. [History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds.] (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xxii, 642. \$75.00. ISBN 978-0-268-02222-8.)

This work constitutes a major contribution to the study of colonial Andean art and architecture through Bailey's documentation (photographic, visual description, and archival) of a corpus of churches located in the geographic area of Arequipa, Colca, Collao, and Potosí that were primarily constructed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, an era he labels *Andean Hybrid Baroque*. Although he includes color photographs that enhance his study, critically missing is a map to clarify the geographic positions of several hitherto undocumented churches. Bailey's most important contribution is the "Documentary Appendices"—175 pages of colonial inventories, including the arrangement of images within the church and the names of Andean architects and artisans.

Bailey's book begins with a survey of the late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century art historical literature on colonial Andean art, including Harold Wethey, George Kubler, and Pál Keleman, and acknowledging his use of Wethey as a model. He lauds the groundbreaking work of Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, and utilizes the comprehensive study of Ramón Gutiérrez et al., *Arquitectura del altiplano peruano* (Buenos Aires, 1986), whose interdisciplinary study also employed extensive archival resources.

Bailey's approach is purely descriptive, and although he frequently cites art historians Tom Cummins and Carolyn Dean in his discussions, he oddly excludes their contributions from his review of the art historical literature, suggesting their more comprehensive discussions of colonial art is outside the domain of art history. Quite the contrary; in the last three decades the standard art historical practice has been to analyze the work within the context of its social, political, and historical milieu, which is the only way a true understanding of the significance and cultural dimensions of the production of the art can be achieved. Not until the final chapters does he attempt to

place his corpus of images within a social/historical frame and to address the multiple meanings that these symbolic forms have to the congregations of indigenous and Spanish heritage.

In the final chapter he ascribes indigenous meaning to certain architectural motifs, but does so without sufficient explanation. For example, he suggests the flat, rectangular floral elements on several façades represent *tocapu*, but he never discusses what these floral designs have in common with abstract Inka *tocapu* other than the rectangular blocks on which they are carved. In a second example, he compares the dual social structures of Andean society (*banan/hurin*) that link highland/lowland, civilization/chaos, and heaven/hell oppositions with textile designs that contrast *pampa/pallai* (that is, savage/civilized or chaotic/orderly). He translates this concept to designs on the façades of churches, equating narrow bands (columns, friezes, scrolls, angels, birds, monkeys) with *pallai* (civilized) and more loosely decorated sections such as the tympanum and large decorative panels with *pampa* (uncivilized). These are interesting assertions, but they require greater elaboration and discussion.

Overall, Bailey has produced a major, but flawed, contribution to the study of Andean baroque art and architecture. Although the book provides a valuable resource for future scholars, the author bypassed the opportunity to enrich our understanding of cultural hybridity and the processes that produce it.

Arizona State University

MARIE TIMBERLAKE

## EGO European History Online

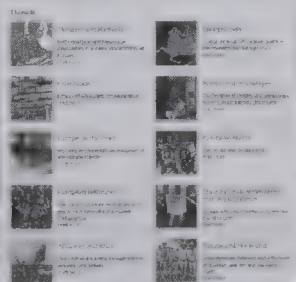
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## BRIEF NOTICES

Wills, Garry. *Augustine's Confessions: A Biography*. [Lives of Great Religious Books.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 166. \$19.95. ISBN 978-0-691-14357-6.)

Even though it is called “a biography,” this book is rather a book about a book: the *Confessions*. Biographical materials are found, but they do not appear to be the intended focus. Its rapid development of thorny issues suggest that it requires a reader who has read widely enough to recognize when sweeping statements or clever words hide a disputed issue. It does contribute a valuable reference to some aspects of present-day scholarship, but there also is an annoying repetition of some *idées reçues* that should have been seen as such.

Chapter 8 sees books 11–13 of the *Confessions* as culmination, not addendum. Searching into the meaning of the first verses of the book of Genesis, St. Augustine is already letting his faith seek understanding of the God in whose name he was baptized: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. What he describes elsewhere as “a theological profession of faith” (p. 27) applies well in this context.

To say that Augustine once saw St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, as a “demagogic miracle monger” (p. 22) is great prose and terrible history. No text is provided to check on the source of such an “insight.” The chapter on Ambrose has much to recommend its omission. It casts their relationship in negative terms—saying that Ambrose “had no time for Augustine” (p. 50). It overstates the importance of Augustine’s “Neoplatonist readings” (p. 55). It sets St. Monica’s question about fasting in a Donatist context—as if anyone can now say that her initial piety was not Catholic (p. 44). A more careful reading of the *Confessions* would narrate those experiences with less bias.

The book is one more addition to the vast number of publications on Augustine and his work, but it is not the place for an uninformed reader to begin to know Augustine’s *Confessions*. ALLAN FITZGERALD, O.S.A. (*The Augustinian Institute, Villanova University*)

Poole, Stafford. *Pedro Moya de Contreras: Catholic Reform and Royal Power in New Spain, 1571–1591*. Second edition. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 365. \$45.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-806-14171-8.)

Stafford Poole’s political and intellectual biography of Mexico’s first inquisitor general and later archbishop first appeared in 1987. Poole’s *Pedro Moya de Contreras* appeared as a deeply researched and nuanced study of a complex man, firmly situated in the historiography of institutional church history. As trends and fads have come and gone or come and become part of the



scholarly lexicon—cultural studies, post-structuralism, cultural history—Poole's biography has come to be one of those works that stand out as an exemplar for those seeking an understanding of the religious politics of sixteenth-century Mexico. It ranks among the best institutional histories we have for the subject and the period along with Robert Ricard's *Spiritual Conquest* (Berkeley, 1966), Richard Greenleaf's studies on Juan de Zumárraga and the Inquisition, and John Schwaller's studies of the clergy. It is driven principally by archival evidence and a desire to understand the man (Moya de Contreras) and the time (Mexico's Church as it emerged in its more formalized period in the broader context of the Council of Trent and Spanish imperial projects).

This second edition reflects two important qualities of the original work: (1) its commitment to provide a broad understanding of religious politics, and (2) its firm commitment to deep and perspicacious archival research. Anyone looking for an examination of this formative period of the Mexican Church would be hard pressed to find a better single book. This second edition also showcases Poole's formidable research skills. In particular, this second edition expands the original book's scope on three fronts. First, Poole has drawn on recent research by Julio Sánchez Rodríguez on the earlier career of Moya de Contreras in the Canaries. Second, recent efforts by the Colegio de Michoacán and Alberto Carrillo Cázares have sought to publish all available documentation on the Third Council of the Mexican Church (1585) over which Moya de Contreras presided, and this has sharpened Poole's analysis of Moya de Contreras's politics. Third, and perhaps most impressively, Poole has updated the later stage of Moya de Contreras's political biography by his own additional research in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid. In a time where fanciful theories are sometimes viewed as more impressive than solid research, Poole sets a high standard for scholars at any stage in their careers by updating an already an impressive book with more evidence and consideration, born of his enthusiasm for the craft. MARTIN NESVIG (*University of Miami*)

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

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### Meetings and Conferences

An international colloquium on the theme "Enseigner les nations: regards et apports de l'histoire" will be held at Laval University in Quebec City on May 23-25, 2012. It will study the place of history in research bearing on the modalities of the transmission of religious values, beliefs, and practices. The program and practical information can be found on the Web site <http://enseignerreligions.cieq.ca>.

The seventy-ninth annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association will be held on May 28-29, 2012, in conjunction with the annual congress of the Canadian Federation of the Humanities and Social Sciences at Wilfrid Laurier University and the University of Waterloo. The main theme of the congress is "Crossroads: Scholarship in an Uncertain World." The association invites proposals for scholarly papers, especially those that deal with the theme as it relates to Canadian Catholic history, but papers treating any aspect of the history of the Catholic Church or Catholicism in Canada also will be considered. Proposals for either individual papers or entire sessions or roundtables of two or three related papers are welcome. Proposals should be submitted to Jacqueline Gresko, president of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association and chair of the Program Committee, at [jgresko@telus.net](mailto:jgresko@telus.net). Information about the congress is available on its Web site, <http://www.congress2012.ca>.

The Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, will conduct its annual seminar for seminary and religious studies faculty on June 18-22, 2012, under the title "Understanding Complicity: The Churches' Role in Nazi Germany." It will explore the historical and theological dynamics of the alleged complicity of churches with the Nazi regime and will be led jointly by Robert Ericksen (Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, WA) and Victoria Barnett (staff director of the museum's Committee on Church Relations and the Holocaust). Further information is available from [crc@ushmm.org](mailto:crc@ushmm.org) or tel: 202/488-0469.

The Center for Medieval Culture Studies and the St. Petersburg Society for Studies of Cultural Heritage of Nicholas of Cusa have announced an international conference on "The Reformation of Martin Luther and European Philosophy and Culture," which will be held in St. Petersburg on June 28-30, 2012. Further information may be obtained from the society in care of the

Faculty of Philosophy in St. Petersburg State University, Mendeleevskaya, 5, St. Petersburg 199034, Russia; tel: 812-4224261; email: odushin@mail.ru; WWW: <http://philosophy.pu.ru>

The Catholic Historical Society of Ireland Centenary Conference will be held on November 2–3, 2012, and will be hosted by St. Patrick's College and the History Department of the National University of Ireland, Maynooth. It will mark the centenary of the society's journal *Archivium Hibernicum* and will be dedicated to the theme "Ireland, Empire and Christian Civilization." Proposals for papers exploring Irish involvement in any empire (Carolingian, Holy Roman, Ottoman, and so forth) and Christian civilization will be entertained; proposals and inquiries should be submitted by email to Marian Lyons at [marian.lyons@nuim.ie](mailto:marian.lyons@nuim.ie).

### Causes of Saints

Hildegard Burjan was beatified on January 29, 2012, in St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna. She was born into a liberal Jewish family named Freund on January 30, 1883, in the then-Prussian city of Gorlitz and studied literature, philosophy, and sociology in the Universities of Zurich and Berlin; she received a doctorate in 1908. In the preceding year she had married a Hungarian entrepreneur, Alexander Burjan, and moved with him to Vienna. She gave birth to a daughter, Elisabeth, against the advice of doctors who had recommended an abortion for reasons of health. After a period of illness, she was converted and baptized in 1909. She interested herself in the working conditions and spiritual welfare of poor women and children and in 1912 founded the Association of Christian Women Home Workers, offering help to the hungry, creating a support network for families, and combating child labor. In 1918 she founded the Society for Social Help and the next year the Congregation of Sisters of "Caritas Socialis" to care for women and children in difficult situations and also for elderly and terminally ill people; she was a pioneer of the hospice movement in Austria. In 1918 she became active in the Christian Social Party and in the following year was one of the first women to be elected to the Austrian Parliament, where she promoted causes such as equal wages for men and women and social security for the working class as well as the social and spiritual care of poor families in keeping with the teachings of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. She died on June 11, 1933, in Vienna. In 1963 Cardinal Franz König, then archbishop of Vienna, initiated her beatification process, and she was declared Venerable in 2007. In his homily delivered at a Mass of Thanksgiving for the beatification, Cardinal Christoph Schönborn, archbishop of Vienna, drew the lesson that sanctity is possible also in political life.

At the fourth ordinary public consistory of his pontificate, held in St. Peter's Basilica on February 18, 2012, Pope Benedict XVI decreed that the canonization ceremony for seven *beati* will take place on October 21, 2012.

Among them are Marianne Cope (1838-1918) of the Third Order of St. Francis in Syracuse and laywoman Catherine (Kateri) Tekakwitha (1656-80), the "Lily of the Mohawks." The pontiff had recognized the miracles attributed to the intercession of each of them on December 19, 2011. The former was beatified by Pope Benedict XVI in 2005 and the latter by Pope John Paul II in 1980. Blessed Catherine will be the first American Indian to be canonized.

On March 9, 2012, at Solemn Vespers in the Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, Michael F. Burbidge, bishop of Raleigh, formally opened the cause of beatification and canonization of Father Thomas Frederick Price, cofounder of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll) and the first native of North Carolina to be ordained a secular priest. Burbidge previously had appointed James F. Garneau (Diocese of Raleigh) episcopal delegate for the cause and Andrea Ambrosi (Rome) postulator for the cause. To the Historical Commission he also had appointed Thomas A. Lynch (Archdiocese of New York), Monsignor Robert Trisco (The Catholic University of America), and Michael Walsh, M.M. (curator, Fathers' and Brothers' Records, Maryknoll Mission Archives); in addition, he named Richard DeClue (St. Patrick's Cathedral, Charlotte, NC), Monsignor John J. Williams (St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Raleigh), and Paul Griffiths (Duke Divinity School) to the Theological Commission. The two commissions also held their first meetings on that day. JaVan Saxon is the promotor of justice, and Angela Godwin Page the notary. Price was born in Wilmington, NC, on August 19, 1860, and studied at St. Charles College in Catonsville, MD, and St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore before he was ordained a priest on June 20, 1886, for the Vicariate of North Carolina. He was appointed pastor in New Bern and for nine years carried on a horse-and-buggy apostolate throughout his vast parish. In 1897 he launched *The Truth*, a monthly magazine of Catholic apologetics addressed to Protestants that was considered successful. In 1904 at the first meeting of the Catholic Missionary Union in Washington, DC, he delivered an address on his missionary methods and met James Anthony Walsh, director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in the Archdiocese of Boston, but it was not until the International Eucharistic Congress held in Montreal in 1910 that they planned the founding of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society. The American hierarchy endorsed their plan, and on June 29, 1911, the new society was granted temporary approval by Pope Pius X. In the following years Price traveled extensively in the East and Middle West, extolling home and foreign missions, recruiting vocations, and collecting funds. When the first group of missionaries was sent abroad after World War I, Price as the mission superior led them to Yeungkong, South China, in 1918, but, weakened by the climate and the primitive conditions of the mission, he succumbed to an attack of acute appendicitis the following year, on September 12, 1919, in Hong Kong. In 1936 his remains were transferred to Maryknoll and entombed in the chapel crypt. His heart was buried in Nevers, France, near the tomb of St. Bernadette Soubirous, whose example had greatly inspired him.



### Archives and Manuscript Collections

The exhibition "*Lux in Arcana: The Vatican Secret Archives Unveiled*" was opened in the Capitoline Museums of Rome on March 1 and will remain open until September 9. It was organized to mark the fourth centenary of the founding of those archives and includes approximately 100 historical documents of great importance such as Pope Clement VII's letter to the English Parliament on the matrimonial case of King Henry VIII, the bull of excommunication of Martin Luther, documents from the trial of the Knights Templar in France, and a letter from St. Bernadette Soubirous to Pope Pius IX. The official Web site contains a description of the exhibition and photographs and explanations of some of the treasures: <http://www.luxinarcana.org/en/la-mostra>

The Pontifical Committee on Historical Sciences has undertaken to compile a catalogue of the papers of the *periti* at the Second Vatican Council. For the United States, Tricia Pyne (the Consolidated Archives at St. Mary's Seminary and University, Baltimore) has been appointed to collect the data.

### Publications

A detailed report on the joint meeting of the Canadian and American Catholic Historical Associations that was held at the University of St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto on April 15–16, 2011, has been published in the *Bulletin* of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association for fall 2011 (vol. XXV, no. 2). It is written by Terence J. Fay, S.J., of the University of St. Michael's College and is illustrated by four photographs.

On the fourth centenary of his birth an international conference on Cardinal Giovanni Bona was held at the Santuario di Vicoforte (near Mondovì in the Province of Cuneo, Piedmont) on June 15–16, 2010. The proceedings of the conference have now been published in the third issue for that year of the *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* (vol. XLVI) under the heading "Giovanni Bona (1609–1674). La mistica e la storia," as follows: Carlo Ossola, "Introduzione" (pp. 485–88); Danilo Zardin, "La 'biblioteca ideale' del cardinal Bona. Note e appunti intorno alle fonti degli scritti ascetici" (pp. 489–514); Paolo Cozzo, "Il cardinale Giovanni Bona e l'ordine dei foglianti" (pp. 517–30); Jean-Louis Quantin, "Protecteur et censeur: Giovanni Bona et la culture religieuse gallicane" (pp. 533–76); and Giancarlo Comino, "La figura del cardinale Bona da un centenario all'altro" (pp. 579–85). The fascicle concludes with "Il testamento del cardinale Giovanni Bona" edited by Valerio Gigliotti (pp. 593–98).

"Les musées du Protestantisme" is the theme of the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* for October–December, 2011 (vol. 157). The editors of this issue are Marianne Carbonnier-Burkard and Patrick Cabanel, who have written the introduction (pp. 469–70). There follow arti-

cles on spirituality and memory at the museum by Olivier Abel, Patrick Cabanel, and Daniel Travier; museums of Protestantism in France by Gabrielle Cadier-Rey, Alain Boyer, Marianne Carbonnier-Burkhard, and Benjamin Findinier; and those at Geneva and in other countries of refuge by Isabelle Graesslé, Susanne Lachenicht, and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke. Philippe Joutard writes the conclusion.

The Department for "Christkatholische Theologie" of the University of Bern sponsored an international and interdisciplinary symposium on Eduard Herzog (1841–1924) on April 2, 2011. The proceedings have now been published in the issue for September–December, 2011, of the *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (vol. 101, no. 3/4). Angela Berlis has written an "Editorial" (pp. 145–47), and the contributors with their articles are Antje Kirchhofer-Griasch, "Eduard Herzog: Katholik, Theologe, Bischof. Einführung in Person und Wirken" (pp. 148–55); Urs von Arx, "Die Berufung von Eduard Herzog nach Krefeld im Herbst 1872" (pp. 156–75); Angela Berlis, "Brüder im Bischofsamt, Freunde fürs Leben. Joseph Hubert Reinkens (1821–1896) und Eduard Herzog (1841–1924)" (pp. 176–200); André Holenstein, "Eduard Herzog und die Kirchenpolitik der Helvetik. Traditionsbildung in christkatholischer Perspektive" (pp. 201–14); Sarah Scholl, "Eduard Herzog, évêque de Genève? Les catholiques nationaux genevois et la formation d'un diocèse Suisse (1868–1907)" (pp. 215–26); Sarah Boehm-Aebersold, "Die Ekklesiologie Bischof Eduard Herzogs aufgrund der Auswertung seiner frühen Korrespondenz" (pp. 227–42); Mark D. Chapman, "Eduard Herzog and the 'Anglo-American' Church, c. 1870–1882" (pp. 243–83); Michael Bangert, "«Es gibt nichts Erhebenderes als eine solche Feier!» Zur Bedeutung liturgischer Frömmigkeit bei Bischof Eduard Herzog" (pp. 284–301); Isabelle Noth, "Praktisch-theologische Beobachtungen zu Bischof Eduard Herzogs Hirtenbriefen am Beispiel der sog. Ohrenbeichte" (pp. 302–09); Peter Feenstra, "Die Struktur der Predigt Eduard Herzogs. Typologie und Strukturanalyse" (pp. 310–23); and Urs von Arx, "Bischof Eduard Herzog—Vorarbeiten und Beiträge zur Forschung in den vergangenen 20 Jahren" (pp. 324–34).

### Personal Notices

Several scholars have been appointed correspondents of the Pontifical Committee on Historical Sciences. The Americans among them are Paul F. Grendler (emeritus, University of Toronto), Kenneth Pennington (The Catholic University of America), and Tricia Pyne (the Consolidated Archives at St. Mary's Seminary and University, Baltimore).

Mark McGowan has completed a nine-year term as principal and academic vice-president of the University of St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto and now has a year-long administrative sabbatical leave to research and write on the Church and the media.

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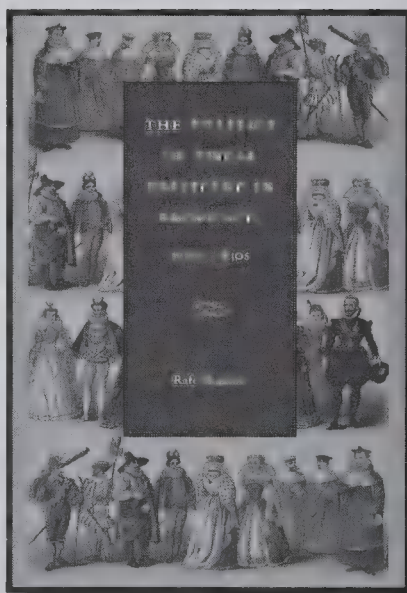
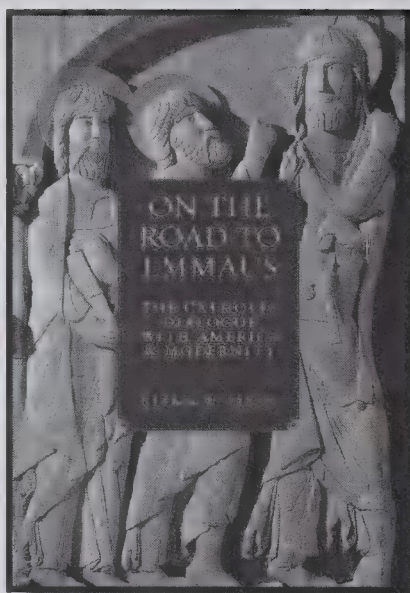
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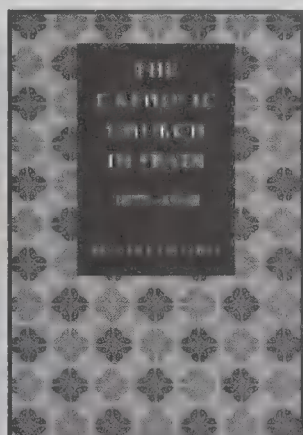
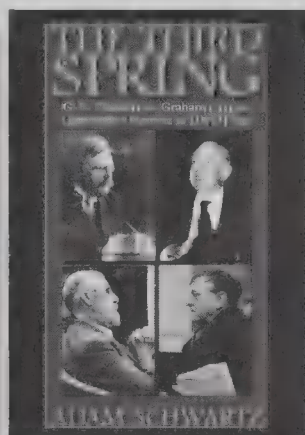
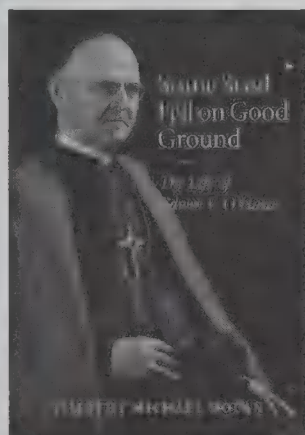
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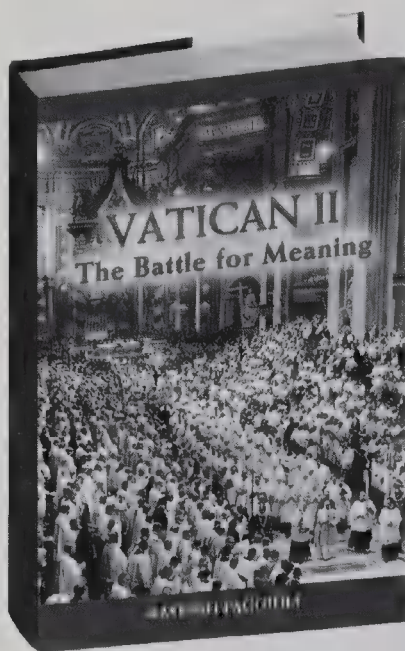
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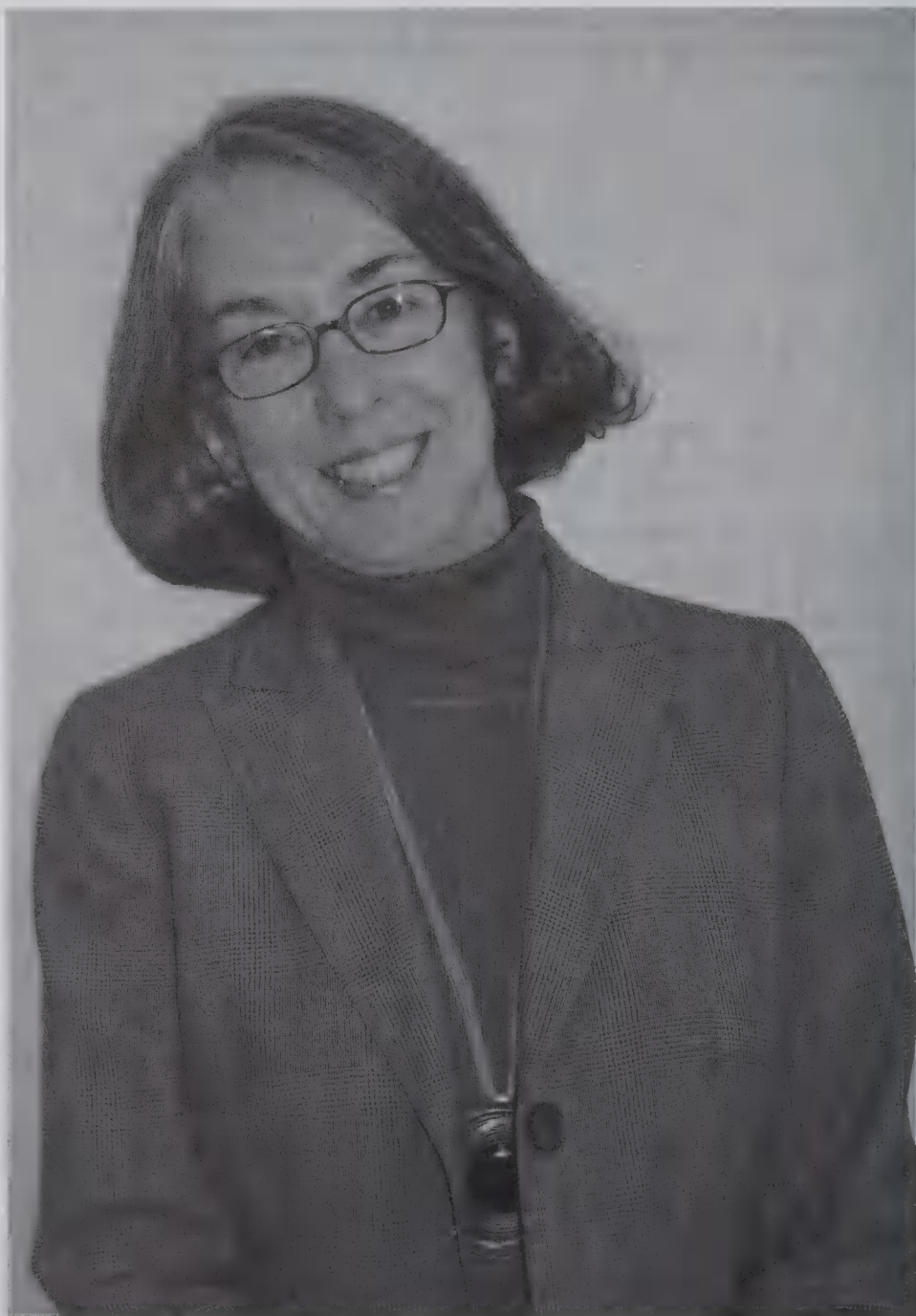
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## WHY PARADOX? THE CONTRADICTIONS OF MY LIFE AS A SCHOLAR

BY

CAROLINE WALKER BYNUM\*

*Distinguished historian Caroline Walker Bynum discusses influences on her work in medieval European history as teacher and scholar and draws conclusions about methods of writing history.*

**Keywords:** historical method; women's history; history of the body; materiality; identity; medieval Europe

When I entered the Harvard Graduate School in fall 1962 to study history, the department secretary asked me immediately what field I really intended to pursue. "You put on your application medieval or early-modern history," she said. "You must decide so we can assign you an adviser." Profoundly unsure, I thought for a few minutes and then chose the Middle Ages. I have not been sorry for the choice. But that choice is not the point of what I recount here. The point is rather that my confusion about where to locate my interests either chronologically or disciplinarily was nothing new. I had tried four different undergraduate majors before settling on history and had done so more because it gave a great deal of latitude than because I thought it—or any other major—was what I really wanted. Yet, had I been asked in 1962 what sort of history I wanted to write rather than what period I wanted to study, I could have replied without hesitation.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For an exploration of the forces from my childhood, especially the role of both religion and region, that shaped my need to situate events in their historical context, see

Perhaps I could have articulated only awkwardly the complexity of what I thought doing history was, and I am certain that I looked pretty much unsuccessfully for a model of this approach during my graduate student days. But I was never unsure of what sort of questions I wanted to explore. It was not just that I wanted to study religion in its historical context, although that might have served as a short answer had the department secretary asked me what sort of topics I wished to pursue. It was rather that I had a deep conviction that cultures have basic assumptions about issues I could think of only as ontological and cosmological; that these assumptions are in part conditioned by the structures of the society; and that studying religious practice as well as religious theorizing was a way of ferreting out these assumptions, which (even with my 1960s optimism and naïveté) I never assumed to be internally consistent. So I began graduate study with a profound uncertainty about how I fitted into the structure of the Harvard curriculum and indeed, given a rather ragged undergraduate preparation at the University of Michigan, an inadequate grounding to do any very sophisticated research. Yet I already possessed a tough sense of what I thought was really worth doing. In other words, a contradiction between disciplinary insecurity and self-confidence in my own curiosity.

It seems to me that this initial contradiction mirrored what came to be a fully acknowledged contradiction in my vision of history itself: the contradiction between an effort to find the basic structures of thought, the deep assumptions characteristic of the particular period of a culture, and yet a commitment to a variety of perspectives—that is, to the recognition that within any period there are radically different voices that cannot be reconciled or reduced to each other. And as I never, I think, managed to reconcile the oppositions of disciplinary and chronological diffuseness, on the one hand, and what one might call clarity of methodological commitment, on the other, so I did not reconcile the contradictory desiderata that underlay my scholarly approach. I did, however, come to reject profoundly the idea that the reconciliation of opposites, synthesis following upon dialectical oppo-

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"Curriculum Vitae: An Authorial Aside," *Common Knowledge*, 9, no. 1 (2003), 1–12; published in a slightly different version as "My Life and Works," in *Women Medievalists in the Academy*, ed. Jane Chance (Madison, WI, 2005), pp. 995–1006. The present essay is a complement to the earlier one. Remarks about my efforts to teach graduate students, which are also autobiographical, can be found in "Teaching Scholarship," *Perspectives on History*, December 2009, 14–16.

sition, mono-causal answers crafted after considering alternatives, was possible or desirable. This rejection came to be rooted not only in personal stance and in the historical method to which I was instinctively drawn but also in a sense of what life is like. What is the opposite of opposites, I have often asked myself during my growth as a scholar. And the opposite to opposition is not answer but paradox—that simultaneous (not serial) affirmation of the totally irreconcilable, incompatible, opposed. When Eamon Duffy reviewed my most recent book in the *New York Review of Books* last summer, he commented quite rightly that paradox had become a familiar theme of my work—almost a mantra.<sup>2</sup> It has. But that is so because I feel as if I can never get away from students, colleagues, and the general public asking: But what's the real reason? What does it all come down to? How could medieval people have held those funny, incompatible beliefs and done such silly, incompatible things? To which the only answer is: So do we. Because life is like that.

As I emphasized in my presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1997, quoting a wall slogan from the Paris student revolution of 1968 that had long been tacked on the bulletin board in my office: “Toute vue des choses qui n'est pas étrange est fausse.” (Every view of things that is not strange [i.e., bizarre or foreign] is false.)<sup>3</sup> Only when we really see the oddness of the past—and of our own present as well—do we begin to ferret out the anxieties, structures, and fundamentally incompatible needs that shape lives. And, as the slogan says, it is not “toute chose” that is “étrange” but “toute vue des choses.” It is not so much that the bits and pieces of the past we encounter are bizarre (although they are) as that the view we must take of them (for taking a view is not optional) must preserve their foreignness. We must stub our toes over bits of the past that strew our path where we least expect them and accept that these bits will be as incompatible yet simultaneous as life and death. Writing history is like performing ritual. As the Dutch anthropologist J. C. Heesterman says about sacrifice: “Sacrifice deals with the riddle of life

<sup>2</sup>Eamon Duffy, “Sacred Bones and Blood,” *New York Review of Books*, August 18, 2011, 66.

<sup>3</sup>Caroline Walker Bynum, “Wonder,” *American Historical Review*, 102 (1997), 1–26; rpt. in Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York, 2001), pp. 37–75. For the slogan, see Stephen Spender, *The Year of the Young Rebels* (New York, 1969), p. 42. For other methodological remarks, see Caroline Walker Bynum, “In Praise of Fragments: History in the Comic Mode,” in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, 1991), pp. 11–26.

and death, which are ultimately linked and at the same time each other's absolute denial. The riddle cannot be resolved, it can only be reenacted."<sup>4</sup> Writing about the culture of the past is a little like such reenactment: striving to contain in a single sentence or paragraph the simultaneous yet contradictory glory and horror of the world, without muting the incompatibility and utter strangeness of either.

With this as introduction, then, I tell the story of my journey toward becoming a historian, emphasizing contradictions as well as continuities. But my final point will be not contradiction but paradox—the opposite of opposites.

I did not find my voice in graduate school, and my dissertation was only marginally successful. History was mostly institutional history at Harvard in those days, at least when it was not flirting with the new fields of cliometrics and quantification. All of us were excited by those odd index cards with holes along the sides that were to be cut out so one could put a knitting needle through them and shake out one's data according to various themes one coded in—an early paper form of the search engine. We graduate students tried to count many uncountable things. But by and large, we were taught conventional philology by professors who were studying institutional developments. My mentors, Giles Constable and Charles Taylor, were doing research on monastic and secular taxes respectively. They taught me a care for the genre of documents and their immediate context, and a need to consider the historiography of every topic; for this I have always been grateful. If they had been asked (as professors were not in those days), "what is your methodology?," they might well have answered what David Stone, a Member at the Institute for Advanced Study, answered a few years ago to the same question: "My method is knowing what you're talking about." As I remember it, all my professors tended to begin their lectures, and their published articles, with a survey of the relevant literature in many languages going back well into the late-nineteenth century. And I have continued to impose such a sense of required expertise on my own students, who often think anything published before 1990 is out of date. Hence I am inclined to say, to the dismay of students: yes, this topic on the tactility of altar furnishings, for example, is a wonderful one, but you really need to read Joseph Braun on "der Altar" (1924), or Eduard Dumoutet on "le désir de

<sup>4</sup>J. C. Heesterman, *The Broken World of Sacrifice: An Essay in Ancient Indian Ritual* (Chicago, 1993), p. 2.



voir l'hostie" (1926), or Reiner Hausscherr on "der tote Christus" (1963) before you take another step.<sup>5</sup> My teachers had a sturdy integrity that cut no corners in research; there was never a sense that one should publish for careerist reasons, or that one should publish in haste at all. Extreme care to take the past in its own terms was the norm, perhaps buttressed by a confidence that came from security in a Harvard setting that knew what "we" assumed and therefore should avoid projecting back. Fortunately, several of the good habits of our mentors stuck with my scholarly generation—habits of caution, historiographical attentiveness, and scrupulous fairness to scholars who came before. It was from my teachers at Harvard that I learned that the footnote is neither a place to parade one's learning nor an exercise in one-upsmanship, but an opportunity to say "thank you" for what one has learned from the literature of the past, both primary and secondary.

Nonetheless, for all the support I found in my mentors' nuanced determination to put the past in its own context, buttressed by their keen historiographical habit, I did not find in graduate school the way of doing history that I was looking for. I had caught a glimpse of it as a sophomore in a history-of-science course I had taken with John Murdoch while at Radcliffe (before I transferred in my junior year to the University of Michigan); I caught another glimpse during my second year of graduate school when I studied briefly with Hannah Gray, who visited for a semester to replace Myron Gilmore who had taken a leave of absence to direct I Tatti. But the only place I encountered it fully was when I discovered M. D. Chenu's *La théologie au douzième siècle* (1957).<sup>6</sup> Father Chenu's sense of the Gospel at work in the world seems perhaps a bit naive today, and perhaps also a little sad, given what has happened to the vision of the Second Vatican Council he embodied. But I was not a Catholic and was relatively immune to the ideological currents in the Roman Catholic Church that led to some of his emphases. For me, to read Chenu's collection of essays was to encounter a historian doing in print what I had always known I wanted to do—ferret out the basic assumptions that

<sup>5</sup>Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1924); Edouard Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie: les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrement* (Paris, 1926); Reiner Hausscherr, *Der tote Christus am Kreuz: zur Ikonographie des Gerokreuzes* (Bonn, 1963).

<sup>6</sup>Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, [Études de philosophie médiévale 45], (Paris, 1957); partially translated into English by Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West* (Chicago, 1968).

drive religious thought and practice while understanding such assumptions to be almost infinitely complex, responsive to fundamental characteristics of social structure, and derived from other cultures (Chenu's attention to Arab influence has sometimes been forgotten) as well as indigenous.

I do not remember that I talked to anyone much about Chenu, although I was excited enough about the essays to translate some of them into English for my undergraduate tutees in History and Literature, developing a healthy respect for the liquid and elegant (almost untranslatable) style in which the arguments were presented. But then I had a chance to meet Chenu himself. In 1967, while a graduate student, I decided to attend the meeting of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Philosophy in Montreal. Most of the major figures in the field were there, and the place was awash in clerical collars. I hung out with a group of Francophone students from Quebec, and given the limitations of my spoken French, I mostly listened. On the last day of the conference, as we students took our accustomed place in the far corner of the cafeteria, we looked up to see Chenu bypassing the head table where the other worthies were sitting. "May I join you?" he asked. "I'm tired of sitting with the old folks. I want to find out what the young think about the world." Then he questioned us not only about how we perceived trends in medieval scholarship but also about *aggiornamento* and the Church, about sixties radicalism and war. And he listened. When we looked up, the cafeteria was empty. Everyone else had gone on to the afternoon sessions, while we, engrossed in our discussion, had not heard the room emptying.

Despite my best efforts, my dissertation did not turn out to be very Chenuian. And I lucked into an assistant professorship at Harvard more on the strength of my performance in the oral examinations, I suspect, than owing to any excellence of research. I submitted my thesis on the day students occupied University Hall to protest ROTC on campus, and my first teaching as a full-time faculty member was done in 1969-70, with the whiff of tear gas wafting in from Harvard Square and massive student strikes during Cambodia spring. I was young; thus I had in many ways more sympathy with the students than with the department faculty. Yet increasingly I felt at home in neither group. The student leadership was male, and indeed the crucial, close-to-the-bone issue was a male issue; women did not have to decide whether to give up their citizenship or their integrity if they opposed the war in Vietnam. The faculty was male, too. In spring 1970, there were approximately 670 members of the faculty of arts

and sciences; only ten of them were women, and all the women were in the assistant professor rank. (The Zemurray-Stone chair, endowed for a woman, was vacant at the time.)<sup>7</sup> I had barely noticed the gender imbalance when I was a graduate student; I was too busy exploring Widener Library and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, teaching bright and articulate Harvard and Radcliffe tutees, and debating anthropological theory and, yes, Marxism with graduate student peers (who were all men—something I barely noticed, so excited was I by the play of ideas I'd had little of at Michigan or in my large Atlanta high school). Once I became an assistant professor, I noticed that I had almost no female colleagues. So did my friend Janet Martin in Classics. After making a thorough study of the Harvard situation, using the statistical techniques 1960s students employed so enthusiastically, Janet and I spent the night in Boylston Hall cranking a mimeo machine, turning out the first, informal report on the status of women and requesting that the dean establish a committee to look into why the numbers were so skewed. In response, Michael Walzer and I were asked to cochair a committee that produced in spring 1971 the "Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences." It was a radical document, none of whose recommendations (for parental leave, a halt to the tenure clock for junior-faculty women who gave birth, better procedures for mentoring women graduate students and conducting searches, and so forth) were adopted by the Harvard faculty, but it became a model that circulated widely and influenced changes in procedures and atmosphere at several other major universities.

I encountered a good deal of personal animosity during these years. I received hate mail, some of it pornographic. Much of the hostility was quite overt. Such things were permissible in those days. Two examples will suffice. The wife of a faculty member in the English department accosted me in the little parking lot behind the faculty club, saying, "You have no right to a job here. You are taking the bread out of the mouth of some young man who has a wife and children to support. I was always content to be Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_; why can't you be content to be a wife?" A male member of my department sought me out while I was looking up a book in the Widener Library card catalog to tell me, "I suppose you think you are going to get tenure for yourself by this sort of activity; I warn you, you aren't." The second

<sup>7</sup>*Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences* (Cambridge, MA, April 1971), Table I, p. 73.

attack hurt more than the first because in my innocence, I had never assumed that my activity would do me anything other than harm. Nor had I ever assumed that tenure was a possibility. I had simply discovered that I had to act.

This is not the place to describe in any further detail the Harvard politics of those years. But they cannot be simply passed over without gloss. For that period in my life as a scholar was as deeply characterized by contradiction as the periods before or since. No matter how engaged I was in holding hearings for the Committee on the Status of Women or in counseling female graduate students, I was also teaching and writing medieval history and in doing so was resisting some of the academic feminism of the 1970s. It was not until the later 1970s, when I wrote the article “Jesus as Mother,” that I found something like a Chenuian voice and began to feel satisfied with my scholarly stance. But the lessons of my Harvard graduate school mentors—lessons of attention to context and genre, and avoidance of presentism—were never in the early 1970s forgotten. I could no more have undertaken to “update” Julian of Norwich, changing her tough-minded exegesis of the parable of the servant and her feminine language for the Trinity into the cozy new-age spirituality espoused by some activists, than I could have ignored the cruelty of some of the academic discrimination and condescension around me.<sup>8</sup> To do either would have seemed to violate the basic integrity of other human beings. In order to explain this, I need to examine the development of my scholarship from another direction.

There was a contradiction in the way my scholarly interests grew that characterizes the work of most scholars. At the moment topics are undertaken, their genesis often seems accidental, even arbitrary, impelled by the moment. Yet when one looks back, there are usually deep connections between what one studied last and what one takes up next. Certainly there have always been threads in my work that carried me forward from one subject to the next, yet timely and almost fortuitous impulses as well have led to my questions. Following both the fortuitous and the continuous will take me back to the deeper contradictions I felt in the 1970s and early 1980s as I

<sup>8</sup>Julian of Norwich, *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich*, ed. Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, [Studies and Texts 35], 2 parts (Toronto, 1978). For my own sense of Julian, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia, 2007), pp. 204–08.



moved from studying religious men ("religious" in the technical French sense of "those in orders") to studying religious women.

My dissertation, later published as *Docere Verbo et Exemplo* (1979), grew out of a desire to look at the ways in which a sense of obligation to community and neighbor shaped the vocations of men in the twelfth century who chose to join orders of monks or regular canons. It was shaped both by the presence in much literature of spiritual advice of the little tag "to teach by word and example" and by my intuition that responsibility for one's impact on one's companions and the broader community would be felt in different ways depending on the extent to which the order in question was withdrawn from the world or committed, at least in part, to clerical work within it. I had originally intended to include the polemical literature of the period—and it would have been a better study and one with more consequence if I had done so—but I was persuaded to take a narrower focus in order to deal more thoroughly with the material. That was probably sage advice to give an apprentice scholar, especially one who needed to work on paleography, codicology, and even Latin. In any case, the most valuable aspect of the dissertation for me was probably the pursuit of the manuscript work necessary to study Stephen of Paris's unedited and extremely long commentary and—a very different sort of challenge—my plunge into the works of St. Bernard of Clairvaux to situate within his spirituality the little treatise "The Steps of Humility," which I treated as a commentary on the Benedictine Rule. Perhaps the most valuable aspect for other scholars was the appendix in which I located and characterized all extant sources of two types written by the two religious groups in question: commentaries on the rules of the two orders and works of advice and instruction for novices. Nonetheless, I did not feel then—and do not feel today—that the study succeeded. I made the argument that the clerical vocation of the regular canons shaped their spirituality to include in more direct ways responsibility for neighbor, but I did not fully articulate the nuance of the rather different monastic commitment to some version of the same responsibility; and I vacillated in rather confused prose between the distinctiveness of each treatise I studied and an argument concerning the different sense of identity of the two vocations, which I probably overstated.<sup>9</sup> In other words, I

<sup>9</sup>Caroline Walker Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo* (Missoula, MT, 1979). Bynum, "Wonder," is much more successful at ferreting out the contradictory assumptions of different groups, or one might say "discourse communities."

failed to find a balance between two impulses: to recognize distinctive and incompatible voices and to dig out the basic, not fully conscious or articulate-able, assumptions of groups or religious milieux. Yet it was in reading the Cistercians St. Ælred of Rievaulx and the sometimes disparaged St. Bernard of Clairvaux that I came upon the language that led to the essay "Jesus as Mother," where I finally found a way—if not of reconciling then at least of simultaneously asserting—the distinctiveness of a voice and the assumptions of a group.

I wrote the article "Jesus as Mother" during the summer I was in transition between Harvard, where I had moved from the History Department to the Divinity School in 1972, and the University of Washington, where I began to teach in fall 1976. I would doubtless not have written it without the stimulus of the politics of the Divinity School, which were angry and presentist and which, in ways too complex to discuss here, I opposed as much as supported. But it was also a response to my sense, from reading the advice Cistercians gave to their novices and from being myself a teacher at a time of enormous challenge to the pedagogical role, that the responsibility to advise and instruct others is a weighty and even dangerous one. Nor—enjoined by my own teachers to begin always with a survey of existing scholarship—would I have written it without the guidance of the 1949 essay by André Cabassut, which should have been groundbreaking but had gone almost unnoticed at the time of publication.<sup>10</sup>

It was undoubtedly the title (later used, at the publisher's insistence, for the volume of essays I published with the University of California Press in 1982) that drew attention, but the article itself was not a contribution to the 1970s pressure to update and feminize liturgical language nor was it, to the surprise of some readers, about women. The argument of "Jesus as Mother," put simply, is that twelfth-century monks who occupied positions of authority used feminine, often maternal, imagery for both God and self to express newly complicated notions of what it means to lead, and that their roles were newly complicated exactly because of broad social and economic as well as religious changes that resulted in an increased sense of the importance of individual choice in religious vocation. The essay was actually an early example of what would later be called "men's history"—that is, the study of male attitudes, not as the norm but as spe-

<sup>10</sup>André Cabassut, "Une dévotion médiévale peu connue: la dévotion à Jesus Notre Mère," *Mélanges Marcel Viller, Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 25 (1949), 234–45.

cific to only half (at most) of the human race. It was also, I felt, my first successful attempt to ferret out unspoken assumptions and anxieties behind texts without violating individual voices. Some of the argument spilled over into my essay "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?," which maintained, against a good deal of 1960s scholarly debate about when "individuality" emerged, that increased awareness of individual choice and self-assertion is inevitably accompanied and even impelled by a greater self-awareness of group identity. In other words, to define self is to define not-self. Some of the argument of "Jesus as Mother" also led to the little essay on the nuns of Helfta, which was the final article in the 1982 collection; that essay led, after many years of further work, to *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*.

The study *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, my most influential book, arose almost seamlessly from "Jesus as Mother." Having explored the pressures and opportunities that led certain groups of religious men to use explicitly gendered images for themselves and for the divine, I was curious about whether religious women did so. And I discovered, again to put it a bit simply, that what seemed distinctive about woman-authored texts and male accounts of women was not awareness of gender or complex and self-conscious use of gendered language, but food images and food practices. Although misunderstood by some critics as "essentializing" (this was a nasty charge in the 1990s) or as a glorification of female masochism, it was in fact neither. The argument that women's texts were characterized by specific metaphors and their lives by specific behaviors was not the imposition of modern assumptions about "woman." It was empirical, based on a careful comparison of female-authored texts about the divine, female-authored texts about women, and male-authored texts about women, with texts about men by religious men, such as St. Francis of Assisi or Heinrich Suso, who appeared to be closest in their spirituality to that of women.<sup>11</sup> I could not, after all, explore all male-authored texts from three centuries, but I thought (and still think) that this was an ingenious solution to the question of how to choose material for comparison: that is, to choose the material that appears on the face of it most likely to prove your provisional conclusions wrong.

Moreover, the book was not an apology, or an excuse, for female self-punishing. As I stated explicitly in my epilogue, no one today

<sup>11</sup>Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 94–112.

would hold out the behavior and piety I described as a model for his or her own daughter. My point was rather to see what women at a particular moment in the past made of the cultural material they had at their disposal (and I argued that they made of it a kind of agency and a kind of truth), not to urge their choices or their sensibility on the present, or to use modern medicalized models to explain it.

In writing *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, I was not only responding to my own essay of the mid-1970s on male language; I was also inserting myself into number of traditions concerning women's history, some going back to the early years of the twentieth century, some considerably more recent. As far as the religious content of women's experience was concerned, there had long been a tendency to psychological reductionism, especially when treating the sort of visionary and ascetic phenomena about which historians had the largest amount of evidence, both through women's own writing and through accounts about them by confessors, hagiographers, and inquisitors. For example, William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), for all its phenomenological awareness and its antireductionism, became reductive when it treated women's religiosity. James took the visionary texts written by and about medieval women as cases of psychopathology:

A[n] . . . example . . . of theopathic saintliness is that of St. Gertrude, a Benedictine nun of the thirteenth century, whose "Revelations" . . . consist mainly of proofs of Christ's partiality for her undeserving person. Assurances of his love, intimacies, and caresses and compliments of the most absurd and puerile sort, addressed by Christ to Gertrude as an individual, form the tissue of this paltry-minded recital. In reading such a narrative, we realize the gap between the thirteenth and the twentieth century, and we feel that saintliness of character may yield almost . . . worthless fruits if it be associated with such inferior intellectual sympathies. . . . A God indifferent to everything but adulation, and full of partiality for his individual favorites, lacks an essential element of largeness; and even the best professional sainthood of former centuries, pent in as it is to such a conception, seems to us curiously shallow and unedifying.<sup>12</sup>

"Theopathic," "paltry-minded," "intellectually inferior," "shallow and unedifying"—not only is this a condescending dismissal not accorded to other forms of religiosity with which James disagrees, it is also a

<sup>12</sup>William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (1902; New York, 1961), p. 275.



fundamental misinterpretation of what he calls Gertrude's "Revelations," which is a multiauthored text whose basic message is the importance of community (not personal reassurance).<sup>13</sup>

But even where women's practices such as fasting or prayer to the baby Jesus were not taken as pathological and or potentially heterodox, scholars often reduced them to mechanisms of psychological compensation, as if celibate women prayed to a baby God because they did not have babies of their own or fasted because they hated their bodies. In the early years of the twentieth century, the only place where texts authored by women were regularly studied without reductionism and condescension was by philologists, who did notice that some of our earliest examples of European vernacular languages occurred in woman-authored texts. It seems that it was acceptable to study the adverb in the Flemish poet Hadewijch but not very interesting to consider seriously the ideas those adverbs expressed.

Where women's religiosity was taken seriously in early-twentieth-century scholarship was in the long tradition of treating it as compensatory in a socioeconomic sense. If we look, for example, at the discussion of the so-called *Frauenfrage* (the "woman problem") in German scholarship, we find that it was taken up enthusiastically by American medievalists, who were attracted to the notion that the increase of religious opportunities for women in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries was the result of changing dowry structures and the marriage market. According to such interpretation, the informal religious groupings known as *beguinages* that were in fact the first real women's movement in Western history were understood as places created to park unmarried or "surplus" women. Not only did this deny what we today call female agency, treating women's groups and structures as mere reactions to what men did, it also tended to interpret as economic arrangements the great outburst of female literary and religious creativity that was a major factor in changing the religious attitudes of both women and men. Herbert Grundmann, who resisted this and, in the 1930s, attributed to women both agency and creativity, was virtually unknown in the United States until the 1960s and not translated into English until 1995.<sup>14</sup> (Grundmann's reputation

<sup>13</sup>For this interpretation, see Anna Harrison, "I Am Wholly Your Own: Liturgical Piety and Community among the Nuns of Helfta," *Church History*, 78 (2009), 549–83.

<sup>14</sup>Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter; Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden*

has, quite rightly, suffered recently, especially in Germany, as his Nazi connections and postwar efforts to hide them have become known.) I was not the first American medievalist to discover Grundmann—whose impact on me was at least as great as Chenu's had been more than a decade earlier—but I discovered and used his paradigm at a time when another model of women's history, broadly speaking, was reigning in American historical scholarship. This was, of course, the exuberant and highly politicized feminist history of the 1970s. Although I was, as I have explained, a committed feminist in my efforts to open up the misogynist academy I had known at Harvard, the women's history popular in the 1970s and early 1980s was, for me, a complicated and in some ways problematic context.

It is hard, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, when work on women's texts and women's lives is so multifaceted and sophisticated, to remember how politicized—and in some ways, crude—it was in the 1970s. Much of it was engaged in counting women and in giving grades to historical periods. This sort of history was very preoccupied with the so-called "status of women," which was thought to go up and down in history, but to be always suppressed by what was called "the patriarchy." It was a curious approach—one that has been questioned by most later feminist historians. For how can half the human race have "a" status? It is true that we do today have indices of maternal health, women's literacy, women's wages relative to men's, and so forth, that can be used to construct a worldwide comparison of women's statuses across cultures in a socioeconomic sense. But there were—and are—problems with using this approach for the Middle Ages in general and for the topic of medieval religion in particular.

First, medievalists lack statistical evidence for many of these categories. For all the recent progress in medieval archaeology and demography, we still have only very fragmentary information about such basic matters as life expectancies, age at marriage, infant mortality, and so forth. And even what we thought we knew about the

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*und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik* (1935; rpt. Darmstadt, 1977); trans. Steven Rowan, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: The Historical Links between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism*, introd. Robert Lerner (Notre Dame, 1995).

changing structure of the medieval family from clan to lineage has recently been questioned by much good research. Second, as feminists such as Denise Riley have pointed out, “woman” is clearly an unnuanced category.<sup>15</sup> Not only does it ignore class; it also puts various sorts of incommensurate cultural phenomena on a spectrum as if they are parallel. For example, if there are more women troubadours than before, but peasant women *and men* are still starving, does “the status of women” go up or down? Is the opportunity to enter a convent, or the experience of being forced into one, oppression or liberation in a period when the dangers of arranged and abusive marriages and of death in childbirth were high? Third, much of the women’s history of the 1970s was so busy casting blame for the absence of women in certain categories that it did not notice where the women were. To point out this blind spot in 1970s and 1980s feminism is not to deny that it saw important beginnings of the search for hidden women and new efforts to find and read their texts. It did. But there was also much assuming that women’s voices were not there and much seeking of answers for the presumed absence that was driven more by theory than by research.<sup>16</sup>

Two further assumptions framed the model of women’s history that prevailed when I began to do the research for *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*. From the 1970s, indeed well into the 1990s, some interpreters suggested that women’s writing was not women’s writing at all. Under the influence of certain forms of French feminism, it was sometimes taken as a kind of false consciousness, a ventriloquism; women, not just when viewed by men but even when themselves writing, were interpreted to be merely conveying male stereotypes of the female. Second, a great deal of the feminist scholarship of the 1970s—and this was particularly true in the area of women and religion—assumed that women need female symbols. That is, that the goddess and the mother as religious figures appeal to women, whereas gods of war, for example, appeal to men. It was a kind of divine role-model argument, and it is difficult today to remember how prevalent it was and how inappropriate for the study of the Middle

<sup>15</sup>Denise Riley, “*Am I that name?*” *Feminism and the Category of “Women” in History* (Minneapolis, 1988).

<sup>16</sup>Two recent works that counter this trend and have discovered significant new information about women’s artistic and literary activity are Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, 1997) and Alison I. Beach, *Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria* (New York, 2004).

Ages. For example, Marina Warner's *Alone of All Her Sex*, a brilliant cultural study that has had a liberating influence on many contemporary Catholic women who feel burdened by their tradition with unrealistic and contradictory expectations of being simultaneously virgin and mother, has been less helpful as a guide to medieval Christianity.<sup>17</sup> I see little evidence that medieval women or men took the virgin so literally as a symbol. The linkage of gender and gendered symbol in a one-to-one relationship drew scholars in the 1970s and early 1980s toward judging medieval writers with contemporary standards—just the sort of thing William James did to such unfortunate effect, albeit with a very different agenda.

*Holy Feast and Holy Fast* went against the grain of such scholarship. Unconcerned with ascertaining or judging the status of women, unconvinced that people necessarily express gendered assumptions in language that is explicitly about gender, but far from denying the force of gendered values or of patriarchy in the medieval church, I saw texts by and about women not as ventriloquism but as creative, even courageous, self-expression. Such interpretation located places where the male scribe or confessor who did the recording resisted what he was being told and let the historian see his resistance, or where (to take another example) he wrote down the woman's vernacular utterances exactly because they were not in Latin and could not be rendered in it. It also located points where the women, in their own writing, explicitly or implicitly criticized and rejected norms or turned them in new directions.

There was another deep vein of twentieth-century scholarship against which *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* stood. This was the assumption, found in scholarship about religion emanating from Catholic, Protestant, and secular circles, that medieval Christianity was dualistic.<sup>18</sup> Valuing the soul and heavenly rewards, promoting virginity, celibacy, fasting, and asceticism, the religion of the Middle Ages was understood to purvey a message of body-hating that was especially damaging to women, who tended to be equated with Eve, uncleanness, and sexual temptation. Although rejecting the cosmological dualism of the Manichees and Albigensians, which supposedly

<sup>17</sup>Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York, 1976).

<sup>18</sup>For an example, see Jacques Le Goff, "Body and Ideology in the Medieval West" and "The Repudiation of Pleasure," in *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1988), pp. 83–85, 93–103.



assumed evil to be a force in the universe equal to good, Christianity, especially in its medieval version, was understood to theorize the human person as a soul trapped in a body, from which it sought release by often extreme forms of self-mortification such as flagellation and self-starvation. Hence the female behavior I studied in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* was to be interpreted either as the abnormal psychological response of women whose culture led them to extravagant gestures toward bodily control and self-denial or as a religious pathology induced by a fear of sex often laid at the door of St. Paul. In arguing that women's food practices (such as charitable distribution and food miracles) gave them control of what was often the only family resource they could control and that their self-discipline (even in some of its most extravagant forms) was a kind of change rung on the body to induce the pleasure of encounter with God, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* ran up against a deep secular distrust of religion and an equally deep distrust in modern religious thinking of any form of renunciation. Yet behind the bizarre behaviors I studied in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* (and I always had that wall slogan on my bulletin board reminding me of the need to keep my vision of things "strange"), I found a counter-intuitive and paradoxical affirmation of person as psychosomatic unity. It was that sense of person that some of the essays in *Fragmentation and Redemption* (1991) began to explore. And that is what *The Resurrection of the Body* (1995) is about. It is an argument against understanding the anthropology (that is, the theory of person) of medieval Christianity as body/soul dualism.<sup>19</sup>

*The Resurrection of the Body* did not, however, arise seamlessly from *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*. It was impelled, most specifically, by a suggestion from my old friend, the Renaissance historian Donald J. Wilcox, who was dying of AIDS in 1990. He had wanted to work on the topic himself. It was also facilitated by two almost simultaneous events. In July 1986, just before accepting a position at Columbia University, I was awarded a MacArthur fellowship—the grant, known in the press although not by the foundation, as the "genius award." Like many MacArthur fellows before me, I plunged into what can only

<sup>19</sup>This is not to deny that there are elements of practical dualism in medieval Christianity, or that a sense of spirit striving against flesh can be religiously useful. On this, see Peter Brown, "A Tale of Two Bishops and a Brilliant Saint," *New York Review of Books*, March 8, 2012, 29. Striving with and striving against the flesh are often, of course, indistinguishable in religious practice, and the importance of both in medieval Christianity is evidence of the fact that body was understood to be crucial to person.

be called MacArthur guilt. Why me? Since I didn't deserve it, what should I do to earn it retroactively? Shouldn't I retool? Become something more relevant? Go to Africa and cure dengue fever? Found a shelter for the homeless? Tackle a comparative topic and learn six Indian languages? As many scholars know, there is nothing like a deadline to put an end to narcissism, self-doubt, and unrealistic self-expectations. And, luckily, I was almost simultaneously invited to give the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) Lectures in Religion, an invitation that committed the recipient to a series of lectures to be given at a number of universities around the country and published subsequently by Columbia University Press. Once I accepted the ACLS invitation—and some sense of self-preservation must have led me to say “yes”—I could forget all those “why me?/what else should I do?” questions and get to work to have something ready in time.

The MacArthur fellowship enabled me to take two and a half years off from teaching, spread out over the next five years; thus I had time, while preparing the ACLS lectures, to tackle some of the conceptually very difficult theological reading I had always wanted to tackle (shades here again of the inspiration of Chenu). The time off from teaching was crucial in another sense, for when I was not in Butler Library immersing myself in abstruse scholastic discussions of which bodily particles would return to a perfected but identical body at the end of time, I was reaping the rather dubious rewards of my lingering disciplinary multi-location. Because the sort of material I had examined in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* and was now turning to in *The Resurrection* included poetry, natural philosophical discussion of what we would call scientific and medical issues, visual images of the Last Judgment and the General Resurrection, as well as women's mystical writing, I ended up, despite my determination to say “no” to such requests, directing or codirecting dissertations in comparative religion, English and comparative literature, and art history as well as history. It was a lot to juggle. The relentless deadlines of lectures to give at places as diverse as Harvard, the University of California at Berkeley, and Sarah Lawrence College kept me focused almost in spite of myself.

Much about writing *The Resurrection* was fun, as scholarship can be when one has both time to explore and a deadline to pull one up from endless wandering in the sources. I did a good deal of reading in philosophy of mind, arguing that there were parallels between scholastic inquiry and the questions that contemporary scholars such

as Bernard Williams, Derek Parfit, Richard Swinburne, and Robert Nozick were asking about personal identity and survival. The issues explored by university theologians in quodlibetal questions and commentaries on the resurrection of the body—questions about such bizarre matters as, for example, to which individual an eaten embryo would return when the last trumpet sounded—were, I argued, questions about ontology: What is essential to the nature of the body and hence of the person as psychosomatic entity? What must survive for an individual to have the same identity over time?<sup>20</sup> I also watched a number of episodes of *Star Trek* and other TV and film sci-fi productions, convinced by my daughter that the popular culture of the 1990s was obsessed with issues of identity in the sense of continuity through time as well as with the more polemically debated sense of identity as group self-identification—that is, identity as what might survive a brain transplant operation as well as identity as, for example, Hispanic or lesbian or middle-aged.

But it was not all fun. Not only was struggling with the philosophical texts hard work, there was always the loneliness attendant upon the determination to let individual voices be individual and to let the past be different. The philosophers I talked to insisted that I did not understand the medieval issues if I did not translate them into issues of modern epistemology or logic; the literary critics I talked to were, in the 1990s, not interested in religious texts; feminists were still dubious about whether one could ever hear a woman's voice. Despite the Apostles' Creed and the three core beliefs of rabbinic Judaism, Christians and Jews alike insisted that their traditions did not hold the resurrection of the body but only the immortality of the soul. The avoidance of the fact of death reflected in the euphemisms that afflict our language when we substitute "passed away" or "passed" for "died" made my readers and hearers uncomfortable with my subject matter. Audiences might giggle or be appalled at discussions of eaten embryos, but it was very much more difficult to share the soaring beauty of, for example, Mechtild of Magdeburg's description of the crystalline body in heaven or the deep seriousness of medieval exegesis of I Corinthians 15: "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet; for the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall rise

<sup>20</sup>For the relevance both of current philosophy of mind and of popular culture, see Bynum, "Material Continuity, Personal Survival and the Resurrection of the Body: A Scholastic Discussion in Its Medieval and Modern Contexts," in *Fragmentation and Redemption*, pp. 239–97.

again incorruptible; and we shall be changed.” Although “the body” and “identity” were popular topics in the 1990s, they very often did not mean what I meant in my study of the resurrection. For all my careful explanation that the asceticism of medieval religious practice was not based in a sense of body as trap so much as a sense of body as necessary component of person, and despite the almost innumerable passages I cited in which *identitas* meant “numerical identity” or enduring as the same entity, I had trouble making much headway against the textbooks and even specialized studies that still today impose modern sensibilities back onto medieval texts.<sup>21</sup>

It was twelve years after *The Resurrection of the Body* that my next big book, *Wonderful Blood* (2007), appeared. Of all my writings, it has the most ostensibly fortuitous genesis, originating as it did in a moment in 1999 when Paul Freedman of Yale called me up and said, “We’re going to have a conference on ‘Blood, Sweat, and Tears.’ We’ve got someone doing ‘sweat’ and someone doing ‘tears’; can you do ‘blood’?” Having done some work for *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* on the literalism of medieval Eucharistic devotion, I thought I might be able to put together something fairly quickly on “blood.” That conference invitation led to almost ten years of research on blood cult in northern Germany.

Centered on cult sites in the states of Brandenburg and Mecklenburg close to Berlin, *Wonderful Blood* entailed a sort of local history that I had never done before—something I would not have tackled had I not had the opportunity of two resident fellowships in Germany during the early years of the research—one in spring 2000 at the Warburg Haus in Hamburg and another in fall 2002 at the American Academy in Berlin at Wannsee. My interest in the German Middle Ages had been piqued earlier, however, during the many trips I took to Germany with my husband, Guenther Roth, whom I married in 1983. My passionate love of Berlin began in 1994–95 when I spent a year at the Wissenschaftskolleg in Berlin, but the affinity I felt for that guilty yet tortured city had roots, I think, in the guilt I felt in my own history as an American Southerner—something too complicated to write about here.<sup>22</sup> In any case, finding the little town of Wilsnack,

<sup>21</sup>For remarks on our recent impoverished understanding of “identity,” see Marilynne Robinson, *When I Was a Child I Read Books* (New York, 2012), pp. 26–27.

<sup>22</sup>See Bynum, “Curriculum Vitae,” pp. 7–8, and Caroline Walker Bynum, “The Presence of Objects: Medieval Anti-Judaism in Modern Germany,” *Common Knowledge*, 10, no. 1 (2004), 1–32.



site of an almost forgotten fifteenth-century pilgrimage, in my guidebook, I visited it on the last day of my stay in Germany in 1995, although I made that initial trip more because it was a railway stop en route to the lovely cathedral of Havelberg, see of the twelfth-century bishop Anselm whose treatises I had studied long before in *Docere Verbo et Exemplo*, than because of its intrinsic fascination. Ten years later, the cult at Wilsnack—which provided manna for the full range of my research interests, from abstruse scholastic debates and extravagant miracle claims to the details of local power politics—served as the opening chapter of my study of fifteenth-century blood piety.

*Wonderful Blood* is a far darker book than *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* or *Resurrection*. Whereas they are a sort of defense against the reduction of Christianity to politics or pathology, *Wonderful Blood* focused on the increasing centrality in late-medieval Christianity of an ideology of sacrifice in all its horrific consequences. Not only did the fifteenth-century cult of relics of Christ's blood and of what German historians call *Dauerwunder* (transformed Eucharistic hosts or chalices that endure as such) become excuses, and incentives, for antisemitic persecution and pogroms and for harsher definitions of heresy turned against flagellants, Hussites, and Waldensians, but the killing at the heart of the Eucharistic offering—the sacrifice of God to God by God in the Crucifixion—took its toll as well on the logic of Scholastic theologians and the hearts of pious laity.

At the center of *Wonderful Blood* was the conundrum that became the theme of *Christian Materiality* (2011), a set of lectures first given in Jerusalem in May 2007 that appeared from Zone Books last year after much reworking. Together, the books move beyond the topic of "the body" explored in *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* and *Resurrection* to explore the paradox of matter itself. Both books consider miraculous matter, albeit in different contexts—that is, graven or painted images that come to life, weeping or oozing; blood relics of Christ or the saints that liquefy; Eucharistic wafers that appear as bloody meat and chalices that fill with viscous red fluid. In part, the books make a specific argument about historical periodization and causation. They suggest that the increasing emphasis in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century theology on the power of God as explanation, like the new stress in spirituality on interior response cut free from any necessity to conform that response to outer gesture or speech, is one pole of a view of the world whose other pole is an increasing sense that the sacral is manifested and conveyed in matter. The fear and rejection of images

that culminated in Protestant iconoclasm were in part reactions to renewed instances of their animation. The increased emphasis on interiority was not merely a reformist response to an old-style religion of mechanical and “superstitious” spirituality but rather an uneasy complement and counter to a new enthusiasm for matter that disclosed the divine. The need to account for miracle led natural philosophers such as Nicole Oresme to an understanding of the rules imbedded in matter that limited as well as explained its anomalous behaviors. Nor did the voices of philosophers, pilgrims, and reformers, or of the Jews and heretics they persecuted, fall into a single pattern. Persecution of out groups and definition of ideas and practices as “other” increased as contradiction sharpened within Christian communities between inner and outer forms of devotion.

*Wonderful Blood* and *Christian Materiality* locate one of the causes of the reformations of the sixteenth century, both Protestant and Catholic, in the increasing pressure exerted by miracles of material transformation—miracles that bodied forth the paradox that matter is created by God to manifest his glory and yet utterly different from him in his eternity, omnipresence, intangibility, and utter incomprehensibility. In their suggestion about causation and periodization, the books argue not for a perduring paradox but for the pressure exerted in a particular historical period by an increasing awareness at every level of society of the contradiction between the material and the divine and yet the contradiction to that contradiction: the manifestation of the divine in matter, which is by definition totally “other” from it.

The basic argument of *Wonderful Blood*, as of *Christian Materiality*, is not, however, about periodization but about conceptions of matter in Western Christianity in the later Middle Ages and hence about paradox itself. What I try to explain—and here language almost fails me—is that fourteenth- and fifteenth-century devotion in the West not only assumed the opposition of an eternally unknowable God and an essentially animate and labile matter he created. It also assumed that miraculous matter itself asserted that God. Ever-living blood erupted on ever-decaying bread, painted wood, and bone. In so doing, it asserted the presence of life in death, eternity in change. Transformation miracles were moments when matter contradicted itself. But it could do so only in material ways. Hence, if matter transcended its own ordinary changeability by denying decay and death, it could do so only by another change. Such change could, however,

last only a moment before it itself decayed. Bleeding hosts, glowing relics, and weeping statues inevitably faded. Other miracles were then necessary. But the repeated eruption of miraculous stuff was threatening to ecclesiastical authorities who wished to control pilgrimage, to philosophers and theologians theorizing the natural world, and to the Christian devout who wished their cult objects to endure. The paradox of matter, which in Christian theology and practice must and cannot be divine, parallels the paradox of the body, which must and cannot be the locus of salvation.

I am not sure what comes next for me. At the moment, I am immersed in two kinds of comparative reading—both some theoretical reading about materiality as art historians understand it and an exploration of Hindu cults, stimulated by a five-week visit to India in autumn 2009, that suggests to me that the ostensible parallels of Western and Indian images fade once one knows more about specific practices. I expect that whatever does come next will be propelled both by fortuitous suggestion and by the continuities of my long-standing concerns. I also suspect that I shall be, as I usually am, tongue-tied in my first efforts to grasp and articulate radical contradictions as contradictions.

I am not sorry that I chose medieval history when I was asked to specify my field back in 1962, although I seem to have crept up recently at least to the brink of the early-modern period I also considered studying. But I am not confident that I have managed to find the Chenuian voice to which I aspired as a graduate student or a young professor. It would be arrogant to think so. I am convinced, however, that the balance I sought between recognizing incompatible perspectives and digging out the underlying assumptions of a religious tradition in a specific historical period is both impossible and necessary. We have to write serially, crafting one sentence after another, piling up note card after note card, reconciling opposing bits of evidence; yet that is not how life happens. Life is much more like the realization we have, just after we manage to shape a lovely interpretation in our prose, that if we look at things another way, we have gotten them quite hideously wrong. Nonetheless, there is comfort, I think, in realizing that, as historians and as human beings, we must live in paradox and that paradox—the simultaneous assertion of contradictions—is the opposite of opposites. For paradox is not a method; it is life.

“GOD REIGNING THROUGH YOU,  
REIGNS WITH YOU”:  
THE CHARENTON CONTROVERSY AND THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF  
ROYAL AUTHORITY IN EARLY BOURBON FRANCE

BY

JASON SAGER\*

*During the years of 1617–20, a little-known polemical debate raged between the Protestant ministers, led by Pierre du Moulin, in the town of Charenton, just outside of Paris, and the Jesuit Jean Arnoux, confessor to Louis XIII. Marked by the crisis of Henry IV’s assassination in 1610 and the revolt of the princes against the regency government of Marie de’ Medici, the first decades of the seventeenth century witnessed an intense debate over the nature of royal authority. The author argues that the Charenton Controversy, influenced by the ideological clashes that occurred during the Estates-General, demonstrates that the ambiguous notions of royal authority were beginning to take concrete form.*

**Keywords:** Arnoux, Jean; du Moulin, Pierre; Estates-General 1614; Huguenots; Louis XIII

With the assassination of Henri IV in 1610 at the hand of Jean-François Ravallac, the project of restoring the prestige of the monarchy and placating French society was thrown into doubt. There was no question that in the aftermath of 1610 France entered a period of political uncertainty.<sup>1</sup> However, the disputed succession that Henri had feared, with the attendant civil wars, never materialized.<sup>2</sup> Despite the very real constraints on the exercise of royal authority following Henri’s ascension in 1589, the smooth succession of his son as Louis

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<sup>1</sup>Mark Greengrass, *France in the Age of Henri IV*, 2nd ed. (London, 1995), p. 257.

<sup>2</sup>Vincent J. Pitts, *Henri IV of France: His Reign and Age* (Baltimore, 2009), p. 329.



XIII is indicative of the relative success of the crown's efforts to pacify French society.<sup>3</sup> The discourse of the new conception of royal authority that began with Henri's conversion at St. Denis in 1593 was still an ongoing concern at the Estates-General of 1614.<sup>4</sup>

Ostensibly called to pronounce Louis XIII's majority, the Estates-General of 1614 took place during a period of political crisis.<sup>5</sup> With Henri II de Bourbon, prince of Condé, out of the country, Marie de' Medici moved rapidly to take control of the regency. This move combined with the filling of regency offices with the queen mother's favorites led to a break between the government and much of the nobility, led by Condé.<sup>6</sup> The propaganda campaign that followed the princes' revolt against the queen mother's administration demonstrates how far the theory of royal absolutism had developed and permeated the political elites since Henri IV. Although the concepts of political authority and sovereignty were "ambiguous notions in early-seventeenth-century France," the rhetoric emanating from the pamphlet wars leading up to the Estates-General reveal that these ambiguous notions were beginning to take concrete form.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the discourse of royal authority became even more acute during the years 1614–17. The suppression of the First Article of the Third Estate notwithstanding, the Estates-General addressed the crisis of 1614 by affirming the sovereignty of the crown.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup>James B. Collins, *Fiscal Limits of Absolutism: Direct Taxation in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1988); Collins, *The State in Early Modern France* (New York, 1995); Pitts, *Henri IV*, p. xi.

<sup>4</sup>Michael Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politics, Power, and Religious Belief in Early-Modern France* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), p. 190.

<sup>5</sup>J. Michael Hayden, *France and the Estates General of 1614* (London, 1974), p. 2.

<sup>6</sup>Mack P Holt, *The French Wars of Religion* (New York, 1995), p. 176; Orest Ranum, "Money, Dignity, and Self-Esteem in the Relations between Judges and Great Nobles of the Parlement of Paris during the Fronde," in *Society and Institutions in Early Modern France*, ed. Mack P Holt (Athens, GA, 1991), pp. 117–31.

<sup>7</sup>Jeffrey Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1990), p. 108.

<sup>8</sup>The First Article of the Third Estate, or the so-called "Lost Article," was submitted on December 15, 1614, by the Third Estate. It presented in the strongest language possible a defense of the inviolate sovereignty of the king in his realm. Members of the First Estate, including Cardinal du Perron, along with the backing of Pope Paul V, sought to suppress this article, since it would in effect put the Church completely under the authority of the crown. By early spring 1615, the First Estate, with the support of Marie de' Medici's regency, had successfully suppressed the First Article. When the cahier was presented in March 1615, a blank sheet of parchment was included to indicate where the text of the First Article should have been as a gesture of protest. See Hayden, pp. 131–48.

The reluctance of the queen mother's government to embrace the claims of royal sovereignty proposed in the Third Estate and the First Estate's successful campaign to suppress the First Article was part of the continuing debate over the nature of monarchical authority in the aftermath of the religious wars. Even after Henri IV's efforts at centralizing the state, the boundaries of Bourbon royal authority were still fluid. The confessional polemics between Louis XIII's confessor and the Protestant ministers at Charenton were one aspect of the continuing debate over the defining the boundaries of royal authority in favor of increasing royal sovereignty.

By the first decades of the seventeenth century, religious polemics such as the ones in the opening months of the Estates-General of 1614 rejected framing religious opponents in a rhetoric of dehumanizing otherness.<sup>9</sup> We see during Louis XIII's minority an acceptance in Catholic preaching that the Protestant threat could not be exterminated by the sword but rather by the word through conversion. The Protestants for their part mirrored this rhetoric. Recognizing their precarious position in France, they took great pains to profess their loyalty to the crown and, in the face of Catholic proselytizing efforts, to remind the crown of its responsibility in maintaining the articles of the Edict of Nantes. The Charenton controversy represents a microcosm of the debate over the nature of French kingship and the changes in the religious controversies of the seventeenth century.

In 1617, the well-known Jesuit Jean Arnoux replaced the long-serving Pierre Coton as confessor to the young Louis XIII.<sup>10</sup> Shortly after his appointment, the king requested that Arnoux preach a sermon at Fontainebleau.<sup>11</sup> In it, Arnoux attacked the privileges granted to the Protestants by the Edict of Nantes. The centerpiece of the sermon was the Jesuit's appeal to Louis to curtail Protestant liberties. The sermon was well received, and Arnoux was advised to publish it as a part of polemical attack on the Protestant community at Charenton. His *Confession de la Foi* appeared later that year. Citing the zeal of Louis XIII for the spiritual well-being of his subjects and reunion of the Protestants again with the Catholic Church, Arnoux set for himself the

<sup>9</sup>Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1975), pp. 152–88.

<sup>10</sup>Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts and Confessors* (New York, 2003), p. 17.

<sup>11</sup>Bireley, *Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, p. 45.

task of proving in a systematic manner that the Protestant doctrine found no support within the biblical text:<sup>12</sup>

All their Church . . . is founded on a void that the pretended religion has neither resource, nor support on the words of God. In short that within the State of their religion, there is nothing at all to affirm it by the Holy Scripture.<sup>13</sup>

The Catholic controversialist Honnorat de Meynsier (1570–1638) continued this idea. Operating under the patronage of Cardinal Jean-François-Paul de Gondi de Retz, Meynsier authored several pamphlets against the Charenton ministers.<sup>14</sup> In his *Confession du Sieur du Moulin* (1618), dedicated to de Retz, Meynsier argued that the Protestant translation from the Greek to the French was highly inaccurate, thus invalidating the entire foundation of Protestant doctrine.<sup>15</sup> In response to these accusations, the Protestant ministers, led by Pierre du Moulin, published the *Défense de la Confession de la Foi* in Charenton in 1617. The more comprehensive *Bouclier de la Foi* followed (Geneva, 1625). The Protestant response elicited in turn a sharp reaction from the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy both within and without the court of Louis XIII; the ensuing controversy would include some of the best-placed ecclesiastical figures of the Gallican Church, including the young Armand-Jean du Plessis, bishop of Luçon and the future Cardinal Richelieu.

Much of what Arnoux wrote in his *Confession* was not particularly innovative. The *Confession* treads a well-worn path in equating Protestant heresy with political schism. But the importance of Arnoux's sermon lies in the way in which he engaged with the Protestant population in the Paris environs. Arnoux's sermon, although full of traditional anti-Huguenot sentiment, reflects a sensitivity to the changing religious and political realities of early-seven-

<sup>12</sup>Jean Arnoux, *Confession de la Foi* (Paris, 1617), p. 22.

<sup>13</sup>"Tout leur Église . . . est fondée sur le vuide: que la religion prétendu n'a aucune ressource, ni appui dans la paroles de Dieu: bref que dedans l'État de leur profession, il n'y a du tout rien d'affermi par l'Écriture sainte." Arnoux, *Confession*, p. 23.

<sup>14</sup>These titles include *La Confession du Sieur du Moulin, ministre de Charenton, contra la doctrine des ministres prétendus réformés* (Paris, 1618); *La Doctrine de l'Antichrist* (Paris, 1625); *Les Plaintes du Sieur du Moulin* (Paris, 1618); *Les Preuves demandées par le Sieur du Moulin, ministre de Charenton touchant le fondement, sainteté et fermeté de l'Église Catholique* (Paris, 1618); and *Les Reproches du Sieur du Moulin, ministre de Charenton, contre le P. Arnoux* (Paris, 1619).

<sup>15</sup>Meynsier, *Confession du Sieur du Moulin* (Paris, 1618), n.p.

teenth-century France.<sup>16</sup> Arnoux's sermon resembles a scholastic *disputatio* in which he, through a systematic point-by-point exposition, attempts to dismantle the Huguenot doctrinal framework. Du Moulin's response also falls into this category. The *disputatio* became more important in the seventeenth century as a way of resolving confessional strife without recourse to physical violence.<sup>17</sup> Encouraged by the king, these disputes became part of the larger campaign to re-Catholicize France's Huguenots.<sup>18</sup> They also form an important component within the discourse of royal authority in early Bourbon France. As in other confessional debates such as the one between Cardinal Jacques Davy du Perron and Philippe Duplessis-Mornay at the Conference at Fontainebleau in 1600, the Charenton Controversy placed the king squarely in the role of arbiter of religious disputes. But unlike the Conference at Fontainebleau, the Charenton Controversy did not take place in the physical presence of the king. Rather, by appealing to the wisdom of the monarch through their dedicatory epistles and prefaces, both sides of the confessional divide created a symbolic court presided over by the monarchical presence. Because the legitimacy of the symbolic presence of the monarch rested on a mutual understanding of the omnipresent judicial function of the king, he did not need to be present to adjudicate over issues of religion.

However, the Jesuit walked a fine line when participating in these confessional polemics—one that du Moulin was able to exploit. Even after the Jesuits' return to France under Henri IV, other factions at court viewed them (especially those who served as royal confessors) with considerable hostility, distrusting their influence over the king.<sup>19</sup> The reintroduction of the Jesuits did not mean that the king had entirely forgiven them, but seeing an opportunity to tame the Jesuits, he did not fail to take it. Especially after 1614, the Jesuits, as well as other orders, were acutely aware that their survival in France

<sup>16</sup>Susan Rosa, "Seventeenth-Century Catholic Polemic and the Rise of Cultural Rationalism: An Example from the Empire," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 57 (1996), 87–107, here 88–89.

<sup>17</sup>Michael Wolfe, "Exegesis as Public Performance: Controversialist Debate and Politics at the Conference of Fontainebleau (1600)," in *Politics and Religion in Early Bourbon France*, ed. Alison Forrestal and Eric Nelson (New York, 2009), pp. 65–85, here pp. 65–66.

<sup>18</sup>Eric Nelson, *Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590–1615)* (Burlington, VT, 2005), p. 116.

<sup>19</sup>Armstrong, *Politics of Piety*, p. 90.



depended on their absolute loyalty to the crown. The employment of Jesuits almost exclusively as confessors ensured the good behavior of the members of the Society of Jesus.<sup>20</sup> Thus, in his polemic with the Charenton leadership, Arnoux was keen to avoid “rabble rousing sermons against the Huguenots.”<sup>21</sup> The published attacks that emanated from both Catholic and Protestant controversialists lacked the incendiary language that had been the hallmark of religious polemics in the sixteenth century. Instead of destroying the body of heretics, seventeenth-century Catholic religious rhetoric attacked the confessional identity of the Protestants. This rhetoric focused on the conversion—not the physical destruction—of the heretics.

In response, the Charenton ministers published a remonstrance in 1617 titled *Défense de la Confession des Eglises Reformées*. Sold at Charenton, the *Défense* was initially submitted to Louis as a move to denounce the “injustice” of Arnoux’s accusations against Protestant doctrine. The ministers were keenly aware of the need to profess that their continual loyalty to the crown was not incompatible with non-Catholic beliefs.<sup>22</sup>

To combat the position taken by the Charenton ministers, Richelieu, while still bishop of Luçon, wrote *Principaux Points de la Foi* (Poitiers, 1617). However, the controversy would not end there. Du Moulin would expand on the initial arguments made in the *Défense* with the publication of the *Bouclier de la Foi* (Geneva, 1618–19). The *Bouclier* was one of the clearest expositions of Protestantism since John Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536). Jean-Jaubert Barrault, bishop of Arles, published his own *Bouclier de la Foi* in response to du Moulin’s *Bouclier*. Jacques Marcel, a member of the Congrégation de la Doctrine Chrétien, published *Triomphe de la Foi Catholique* (Lyon, 1621). The rapid appearance of these religious polemics, often running into several hundred pages and several editions, confirms that the distrust between the religious parties had not lessened, but it was now being diverted into more constructive channels, eschewing popular expressions of religious violence.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Joseph Bergin, *Church, State, and Religious Change in France, 1580–1730* (New Haven, 2009), p. 113.

<sup>21</sup>Bireley, *Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, p. 45.

<sup>22</sup>Du Moulin, *Défense*, p. 12.

<sup>23</sup>Du Moulin’s *Bouclier* still had a healthy publishing life into the 1630s, well after the initial controversy began.

Prior to his controversy with Arnoux, du Moulin had already spent much of his early career attacking the claims of papal authority. These early criticisms were dedicated to King James I. Two of the more important tracts, translated into English, were *A Defense of the Catholick Faith* (London, 1610), and *The Jesuites' Shifts and Evasions* (London, 1624). *Defense* was published first to counteract the accusations of the Dominican preacher Nicholas Coeffeteau (1574–1623), who had written many books favoring papal claims of authority over temporal princes.<sup>24</sup> Many of the arguments that appeared later in the *Défense de la Confession de la Foi* and the *Bouclier de la Foi* were developed and first issued in *A Defense of the Catholick Faith*.

Throughout his polemic du Moulin distanced himself from the monarchomachist theories of the Protestant writers of the 1570s and 1580s. Where kingship was elective, as in the case of the Holy Roman Empire, the electors had a responsibility to ensure the candidate was not “an Infidel or an Idolater.” But according to hereditary kingship, as was the case in France, the “King . . . is a lawful inheritor and to whom, over and above . . . his subjects have taken the Oath of Allegiance. . . .”<sup>25</sup> As du Moulin explains, no subject is permitted to break this oath of allegiance; rejecting the language of resistance and deposition of tyrants popularized by François Hotman, Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, and Theodore Beza, he echoes Calvin’s position as formulated in the *Institutes* that all subjects owe allegiance and obedience to the sovereign magistrate.<sup>26</sup>

Throughout the dedicatory epistle to the *Defense*, du Moulin acknowledges the precariousness of Protestant existence and lists a series of grievances to this effect. The Protestant faction is hated for its claim to possess the true means of salvation, the doctrine of grace, and the rejection of the real presence. Yet despite all this, du Moulin positions the Protestant faction as truly loyal to the crown.<sup>27</sup> Du Moulin continues to remind Louis XIII that it was the Protestants who had protected his father Henri IV “durant ses afflictions” (“during his afflictions”) and, by so doing, had demonstrated that it was they, not

<sup>24</sup>Most important, *Pro Sacra Monarchia Ecclesia Catholicae et Romae* (Paris, 1623).

<sup>25</sup>Du Moulin, *Defense of the Catholick Religion*, pp. 68–69.

<sup>26</sup>John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Peabody, MA, 2008), XX:24; see Pitts, *Henri IV*, p. 64.

<sup>27</sup>Pierre du Moulin, *Défense de la Confession des Eglises Reformées* (Charenton, 1617), pp. 3–4.

the Catholics who had the interests of the kingdom at heart. Furthermore, the Protestants had shown themselves to be loyal subjects in opposing Spanish involvement in the affairs of the kingdom.<sup>28</sup> It is within this context of protestations of loyalty to the crown that the Charenton ministers first attack the privileges of the papacy. In addressing the threat to France posed by Spain, du Moulin positions his criticism of papal claims of temporal power on "the question that has been asked, if the Pope can depose our Kings, and if it is within the power of the Pope to dispose of your crown."<sup>29</sup>

Furthermore, du Moulin argued that not only had the pope illegitimately claimed the power to depose of duly anointed monarchs but also the Catholic Church had become nothing more than a front for the temporal ambitions of the see of Rome:

Already he has in his power a third of your land and has removed from your obedience a fifth of your subjects, meaning the Ecclesiastics, who say they are not your subjects, and who are not accountable before your justice, and have even for their temporal lord and sovereign outside the Kingdom.<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, the French Protestants, along with a sizable portion of the Catholic population, had always maintained the dignity and rights of the crown, which du Moulin suggests are held by the monarch as God's lieutenant:

A thing that we as well as many of your Roman Catholic subjects would never suffer, knowing that we owe our lives and our means to the defense of the dignity of your crown: Above all to the defense of the right God gives you, and which is founded on his word.<sup>31</sup>

These ideas are developed to their full extent in du Moulin's *Bouclier de la Foi*, where du Moulin again picks up the theme of the

<sup>28</sup>Du Moulin, *Défense*, p. 6.

<sup>29</sup>"La question a été agité si le Pape peur déposer nos Rois, et s'il est en la puissance des Papes de disposer de vôtre Couronne." Du Moulin, *Défense*, p. 6.

<sup>30</sup>"Déjà il a en sa puissance le tier de vôtre terre, et à soustrait de vôtre obeïssance le quint de vos subjects, à savoir les Ecclésiastiques, qui se disent n'être point vos subjects, et qui ne sont pas justiciables devant vôtre justice, et ont, même pour leur temporel, un autre souveraine hors du Royaume." Du Moulin, *Défense*, p. 7.

<sup>31</sup>"Chose que nous comme aussi plusieurs Catholiques Romains de vos subjects, ne souffrirons jamais, sachans que nous devons nos vies et nos moyens, à la défense de la dignité de vôtre Couronne: Sur tout à la défense d'un droit que Dieu vous donne, et qui est fondé en sa parole." Du Moulin, *Défense*, p. 7.

abuses of papal authority and its encroachment on the privileges of the temporal estate. Three chapters are dedicated to the issue of papal and royal authority. The first chapter concerns itself with the power of the pope over the crown and lives of the kings. The second chapter discusses how these papal claims are contrary to the word of God, and the third chapter examines whether the power of the kings exists through divine right. Du Moulin first sets the context for his argument against papal claims to be temporal lords. Throughout the discourse, he displays a highly developed sensitivity to the historical record. Beginning with the papal claim to have the authority to depose emperors and kings, du Moulin lists all the various examples of when popes arrogated this power to themselves, beginning with the Investiture Contest between Pope Gregory VII and King Henry IV.<sup>32</sup> Under the pontificate of Innocent III, the Fourth Lateran Council "gave the Popes power to absolve subjects from the fidelity sworn to their Lord, and to give his lands to other Catholic lords."<sup>33</sup> Citing the Council of Lyons in 1245 when Pope Innocent IV deposed the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, du Moulin describes the full implications arising from such claims:

And since Gregory VII until Albert of Bavaria who was completely deprived of the dignity of the Empire, for the period of 260 years, they not only removed, excommunicated, and deposed Emperors, but maintained this by force, thus are brought about bloody wars, more than an hundred battles, and cities without number taken and sacked.<sup>34</sup>

Turning to more contemporary events, du Moulin includes Pius V's deposition of Elizabeth I and the subsequent Irish rebellion; Henri III's assassination by Jacques Clement was the direct result of Pope Sixtus V's excommunication of the king: "With equal injustice Henri III our King, being deposed and excommunicated by Sixtus V, was shortly thereafter killed by Jacques Clement."<sup>35</sup> Pope Gregory XIV had

<sup>32</sup>Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 774.

<sup>33</sup>"donne au Pape puissance d'absoudre les subjects de la fidelité jurée à leur Seigneur, et de donner ses terres à d'autres Seigneurs Catholiques." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 775.

<sup>34</sup>"Et depuis Gregoire VII jusques à Louis de Baviere auquel est entierement descheue la dignité de l'Empire, par l'espace de 260 ans, on ne void qu'Empereurs excommuniez et deposez, mais qui se maintiennent par force, dont sont advenues infinies guerres sanglantes, plus de cent batailles, et villes sans nombre prises et saccagees." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 775.

<sup>35</sup>"Avec pareille injustice Henri III nôtre Roi, ayant été déposé par Sixte Vet excommunié, fut peu après tué par Jacques Clement." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 776.



declared Henri of Navarre incapable of claiming the French throne in 1592, which had, in du Moulin's opinion, prolonged the violence of the religious wars. In his comprehensive historical review of papal claims of secular authority du Moulin did not limit himself to only Protestant magistrates who ran afoul of the vicar of Christ. Du Moulin brought to bear a laundry list of Catholic sovereigns who had been excommunicated for opposing papal policies.<sup>36</sup>

The pontiff also had challenged the authority of orthodox magistrates. This betrayed the moral and intellectual bankruptcy of papal claims of authority. The exercise of these claims betrayed the agenda of the papacy.<sup>37</sup> The naked pursuit of wealth and power was not the only resulting evil that arose from papal claims of authority. The excessive use of excommunication provided the necessary defense for the abominable crime of regicide:

From the excommunications and depredations of Kings are born enterprises against their lives. This fulmination thrown against Elizabeth, Queen of England was followed by many conspiracies against her life. From the deposition of Henri III by Sixtus V followed the parricide committed by Jacques Clement, for which the Pope is said to have rendered to God thanks.<sup>38</sup>

After all this, du Moulin cites numerous examples of where the papacy had been at the mercy of the magistrate. The purpose of cataloguing these events is to first demonstrate that the theory of papal authority within the space of the state was a novelty initiated by overweening pontiffs and second, to illustrate that ultimately the pontiffs—and by extension, any ecclesiastical authority—are subject to the magistrate.<sup>39</sup> By calling on the historical record of papal abuses, du Moulin continued to operate within the framework of a public *disputatio*. Du Moulin's historicism, influenced by Catholic Gallicanism, sought to put an objective face on the past.<sup>40</sup> In so doing, du Moulin

<sup>36</sup>Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, pp. 788–89.

<sup>37</sup>Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, pp. 776–77.

<sup>38</sup>"De ces excommunications et dégradations de Rois naissent les entreprises contre leur vie. La fulmination jettée contre la Reine d'Angleterre Elisabeth a été suivie de plusieurs conspirations contre sa vie. De la déposition de Henri III par Sixte V s'est ensuivis le parricide commis par Jaques Clement, pour lequel le susdit Pape rendit grâces . . ." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, pp. 778–79.

<sup>39</sup>Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 777.

<sup>40</sup>J. H. M. Salmon, "Clovis and Constantine: The Uses of History in Sixteenth-Century Gallicanism," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 41 (1990), 584–605, here 584.

emphasizes the loyalty of the Huguenot party, in contrast to the machinations of the Catholic leadership in France who were portrayed as agents of papal authority. After all, it had been du Perron who argued, as part of his efforts to suppress the Lost Article of the Third Estate, that the papacy had the right to absolve subjects from their oaths in the case of a heretical king.<sup>41</sup>

Throughout the *Bouclier* du Moulin reinforced the subject's obedience to his earthly lord. He noted that throughout Israelite history, many of the kings had been idolaters, and yet none of the prophets had pronounced that their subjects were free from their obligation, nor possessed the right to kill their duly appointed king. Even Nero could not be justly deposed by his subjects, despite the fact that he was a less than ideal emperor:

Nero was a monster in nature, the shame of the human race, and the first emperor who began to persecute the Church. Nevertheless, the Apostle Saint Paul, Romans 13, speaking of the Power which then was in state, said that it was ordained of God, and that whoever resisted him, resisted the ordinances of God.<sup>42</sup>

Indeed, "it is also beyond all absurdity to imagine that S. Peter and the Bishops of Rome after him had the power to depose the Emperor Nero, or Domitian."<sup>43</sup> Jesus Christ himself had commanded that people were to render unto Caesar those things that belonged to Caesar, who for the Jews represented a pagan emperor, and yet the popes claimed that they were authorized to incite rebellion among Christian princes. To further drive his point home, du Moulin cites early church history. After the persecutions, such a sizable number of Christians had populated much of the military and political structures of the Roman Empire under the reign of Julian the Apostate that if the Christian elements in the Empire had decided to revolt, there was a serious likeli-

<sup>41</sup>This, of course, ignored the fact that du Perron also carefully warned the deputies at the Estates-General that in no case were subjects to take up arms against their monarch.

<sup>42</sup>"Neron étoit un monstre en nature, l'opprobre du genre humain, et le premier Empereur qui a commencé à persecuter l'Église. Ce néanmoins l'Apostre Saint Paul, Rom 13 parlant de la puissance qui alors étoit en état, dit qu'elle estoit ordonnée de Dieu, et que quiconque lui resistoit, resistoit à l'ordonnance de Dieu." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 786.

<sup>43</sup>"Ceci aussi passe toute absurdité de s'imaginer que S. Pierre et les Évêques de Rome après lui ayent eu puissance de déposer l'Empereur Neron, ou Domitian." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 789.

hood that Julian would have been defeated. Yet "The Bishop of Rome did not advise deposing [the Emperor] of the Empire."<sup>44</sup> Du Moulin, referring back to the conversion of Clovis, argues that Clovis's crowning by the pope had not reduced the power of the king of the Franks:

It is less believable that if a pagan Prince converted to the Christian faith, as did Clovis King of France, he must become less King than he was as a Pagan, and that his conversion to the faith must mean the diminution of his power. That's nevertheless the opinion of the Pope and Jesuits.<sup>45</sup>

The Protestants, on the other hand, "had never spoken of deposing our Kings, and do not believe that any man in the world could depose the King, or release his subjects from their oaths of fealty."<sup>46</sup> Distancing himself from the arguments of the earlier monarchomachs, du Moulin again advanced an image of monarchy that was not beholden to papal interests.

Even more threatening to the authority of the crown was the Jesuit presence in France. According to du Moulin, the Jesuits were a threat because the superior general of the order was in the employ of the Spanish King, and the Jesuits had been condemned by the Parlements throughout France as "enemies of the State, and to the lives of kings."<sup>47</sup> Even more damning was the fact that the Jesuits taught that the pope had power over the monarch and, harkening back to the contention of Gregory VII and Innocent III that the pope could depose and install the monarch at will, used the confessional to incite rebellion against the crown.

The emphasis on the sovereignty of the crown reflected more than just a cynical effort to maintain the good will of the king, upon which Protestant survival depended. The polemical exchange also reflected the new political realities of early Bourbon France, and it is within its

<sup>44</sup>"L'Évêque de Rome ne s'advisa point de la déposer de l'Empire." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 790.

<sup>45</sup>"N'est non plus croyable que si un Prince Payen se converti à la foi Chrestien, comme fit Clovis Roi de France, il doive être moins Roi qu'il n'estoit lors qu'il étoit encore Payen, et que sa conversion à la foi doive tourner à la diminution de sa puissance. C'est la néanmoins l'opinion du Pape et des Jesuites." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, pp. 791-92.

<sup>46</sup>"jamais parlé de déposer nos Rois, et ne croyons point qu'aucun homme au monde puisse déposer le Roi, ou dispenser ses subjects du serment de fidelité." Du Moulin, *Bouclier de la Foi*, p. 793.

<sup>47</sup>"ennemies de l'Etat, et de la vie des Rois." Du Moulin, *Défense*, p. 7.

political context that the controversy worked in the favor of the crown. Each side took great pains to demonstrate their loyalty to royal authority as a mark of true devotion. On the surface, this is hardly surprising, especially coming from the Protestant camp, given that the Protestants needed the support of the king to maintain their limited privileges. However, further examination of what would seem to be perfunctory declarations of loyalty reveals that the French Protestant leadership, like the Jesuits, understood their survival depended on the good will of the king. The first aspect of this is seen in the description of the nature of kingship itself. In du Moulin's writing, the republican strains that were common in Protestant writings are replaced with a discourse that favored strong monarchical authority.

The second aspect of this evolution is seen as du Moulin pitted the claims of papal authority against the French crown. This encompassed more than just the rhetoric portraying the pope as the anti-Christ and responsible for the decayed state of Christianity in general, although this kind of language is not far from du Moulin's discussion. In this regard, du Moulin tapped into a long tradition of medieval political theorists opposing papal claims over the secular estate.<sup>48</sup>

Du Moulin's accusations also were influenced by the *parlementaire* tradition in French political thought, which maintained that the king was "a sovereign power in Church and State."<sup>49</sup> The question over the nature of the relationship between the monarch and the pope was not confined to Protestant diatribes against the abuses of papal authority. For example, the *parlementaire* Antoine Arnould was an ardent opponent of the Jesuit presence in France. He regarded them as a fifth column that, as agents of the papal see, was a threat to "French laws, the French Catholic Church and French institutions in general,"<sup>50</sup> claimed the right to depose kings at will. In a letter addressed to Henri IV, dated in 1603, Arnould warned the king that the Jesuits supported regicide; after all, according to Arnould, the Jesuit Jean Guignant had praised Clement's assassination of Henri III as heroically removing a modern-day Nero from the throne.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup>Marsilius of Padua, *The Defender of the Peace*, ed. and trans. Annabel Brett (New York, 2005), pp. 134–35; Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (New York, 1979), I:61–62.

<sup>49</sup>Salmon, "Clovis and Constantine," p. 587; Jotham Parsons, *The Church in the Republic* (Washington, DC, 2004), pp. 18–19.

<sup>50</sup>Nelson, *Jesuits and the Monarchy*, p. 36.

<sup>51</sup>Antoine Arnould, *Discours au Roi Henri IV sur l'Utilité ou les Inconvients de la Nouvelle Secte ou Espece d'ordre Religieux des Jesuits* (Laon, 1603), p. 9.



Although Arnould strongly opposed the Protestant party, he also was critical of the ultra-orthodoxy of the Sorbonne theologians who sided with the Jesuits on this issue. Arnould reminded Henri that it was the king's right to install bishops and other ecclesiastical offices, and that the papacy had no authority to free the king's subjects from the oath of loyalty.<sup>52</sup> These factors complicated the Catholic response to du Moulin, especially for Richelieu as he attempted to maintain the supremacy of the pope in spiritual matters while adhering to the view that within the temporal sphere, the king was sovereign.

For the Protestants, these protestations of loyalty were a practical concern. Nearly thirty years of Leaguer thought had effectively portrayed adherence to Protestantism as political schism.<sup>53</sup> However, as the Charenton ministers argued effectively, the Protestants were not alone in formulating the theory of just rebellion. The Protestants were the first to propose the right to resist "the monarchy in defense of true religion," and the Catholic League under Guisard leadership quickly developed its own monarchomach rhetoric toward the French crown if it refused to preserve the orthodoxy of the state.<sup>54</sup> By the end of the Wars of Religion, the theory of just rebellion had become highly developed. The resistance theory developed as the prestige of the crown deteriorated in the wake of the death of Henri II, under the minorities of François II and Charles IX, and the inept reign of Henri III. Catherine de' Medici, although acting as regent for her two sons and wielding a great deal of influence over Henri III, also proved to be a liability to the authority of the crown. As an Italian, she was distrusted as a foreigner. In addition, as the moving force behind the policy of reconciling the Protestant and Catholic factions in the interests of maintaining the stability of the kingdom, she had angered both the Catholic nobility and ecclesiastical estate.

The theories of resistance did not go unchallenged. The emergence of the *Politiques* under Michel de l'Hopital and Catherine de' Medici pursued a policy of religious toleration as the central pillar of a stable France. The *Politiques* supported Henri of Navarre's claim to the throne, notwithstanding his heterodoxy and apparent lack of com-

<sup>52</sup>Arnould, *Discours*, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup>Denis Crouzet, *Dieu en ses Royaumes: Une Histoire des Guerres de Religion* (Seyssel, 2009), p. 434.

<sup>54</sup>Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Radical Reactionaries: The Political Thought of the Catholic League* (Geneva, 1975), p. 15; Mario Turchetti, *Tyrannie et tyrannicide de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Paris, 2001), pp. 421-26.

mitment after his abjuration. Once on the throne, Henri continued to seek a pragmatic solution to the religious and political crises of the era. One such solution is evident in Henri's religious policies. Henri's first appointments to vacant sees came from those in *Politique* circles such as Jean Bertaut, who had supported Henri during his bid for the crown.<sup>55</sup> Although not directly nominated by Henri, the future Cardinal Richelieu benefited from the support given by his father to Henri after the assassination of Henri III at St. Cloud.<sup>56</sup>

This policy continued under Louis XIII. The Catholic agents also took great pains to demonstrate their loyalty to the crown. Appealing to Louis XIII's piety and sincere devotion to a conservative Catholicism, Arnoux, Richelieu, and others maintained the well-established position that any heterodoxy threatened the political body of France. Richelieu in particular cites the instances when the Protestants demonstrated their disloyalty to royal authority dating to the reign of Francois I. Granted, Richelieu maintained that religious heterodoxy was politically schismatic, yet he did not recommend concrete action to remove this perceived threat to the well-being of the kingdom. This is not to say that the Protestants did not face institutionalized repression from the state.<sup>57</sup> But this repression lacked the violent undercurrents that had accompanied previous attacks on the Huguenots. Based on a renewed confidence in converting France's Protestants, the lack of incendiary rhetoric suggests that the Catholic clergy had developed a new representation of the Protestant that required rejecting the dehumanizing language that had been the hallmark of the sixteenth century.

Richelieu's contribution to the controversy is fascinating. Written prior to his elevation to the rank of cardinal, his *Principaux Points de la Foi* (1617) reveals a complex image of the man who would one day become Louis XIII's most powerful minister. Although the *Principaux Points de la Foi* addresses the political implications of the Charenton ministers' Calvinism, it is not simply a political document. Rather, it reveals to a great extent how Richelieu perceived his

<sup>55</sup>Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Change and Continuity in the French Episcopate: The Bishops and the Wars of Religion, 1547-1610* (Durham, 1986), p. 189.

<sup>56</sup>Anthony Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu and the Making of France* (New York, 2000), p. 16.

<sup>57</sup>See, for example, Raymond Mentzer, *Blood & Belief: Family Survival and Confessional Identity among the Provincial Huguenot Nobility* (West Lafayette, IN, 1994); Mentzer, *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685* (New York, 2002).

role as a bishop within the context of seventeenth-century devotion and Catholic Reform, and the extent to which he had been influenced by the figures of the devotional currents in the early-seventeenth century.<sup>58</sup>

Not only had Richelieu been influenced by the Ultramontanism of Arnoux, he also had been highly influenced by du Perron, who was an ardent opponent of Gallican privileges.<sup>59</sup> In 1612, Richelieu preached a sermon (the text of which has been subsequently lost) while attending the Council of Sens, in which he denounced the “forthright Gallicanism of Edmond Richer . . . who was aggressively determined to extend the claims of the French church to autonomy from Rome.”<sup>60</sup> Although Richelieu in his early career respected the authority of the Pope in religious matters,<sup>61</sup> the *Principaux Points de la Foi* demonstrates that he recognized the need to negotiate carefully the political realities of Bourbon France. Despite his efforts to navigate this territory, the *Principaux Points de la Foi* demonstrates that Richelieu favored the Ultramontane position in which the laity—and, by extension, the king—was unqualified to judge in matters of religion.

Turning his attention to du Moulin’s claim that Henri II had promised the Protestants the right to worship, Richelieu sarcastically points out the uselessness of the Protestants in addressing their grievances to the late Henri II. They were now just as mistaken in addressing their complaints to Louis XIII, because it was a “pure fallacy to request a judgment on religious differences from the King.”<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, based on Beza’s *Confessions*, Protestants had rejected presenting their grievances to the king since he was not authorized to adjudicate in religious matters:

The Prince, says Beza, assists with Synods, not to rule, but to serve, not to make laws, but to propose those laws which according to the word of God will be explained by the mouth of the Ministers, to be kept by them and the people.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup>Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu*, p. 4.

<sup>59</sup>Joseph Bergin, *The Rise of Richelieu* (New Haven, 1991), p. 112.

<sup>60</sup>Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu*, p. 38.

<sup>61</sup>Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu*, p. 110.

<sup>62</sup>“Pure fallacie de convier le Roy à cognoistre des differents de la religion.” Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi* (Poitiers, 1617), p. 205.

<sup>63</sup>“Les Princes, dit Beze, assistent aux Synodes, non pour regner, mais pour servir, non pour faire des lois, mais pour proposer celles qui selon la parole de Dieu seront expliquées par la bouche des Ministres, afin d’être gardées par eux et par le peuple. Le

Even though this was a dangerous position to maintain, given the hostility to Rome's interference in France's affairs, Richelieu stakes the middle ground by claiming the early Christian kings had willingly given up their claims to judge on matters of religion.<sup>64</sup>

Thus when Richelieu wrote the *Principaux Points de la Foi* in response to the Charenton ministers' accusations, he began on safe ground. He reminded the Charenton ministers that the protested loyalty of the Protestants was not evident under the reigns of François I and Henri II, as they disobeyed the will of the early Valois kings by not returning to Catholicism. But even more seriously, Richelieu reminds the ministers, this disobedience under François I and Henri II became all-out rebellion under François II and Charles IX, citing the battles of Dreux, Saint-Denis, Jarnac, and Moncontour.<sup>65</sup> Regarding the claim of protecting Henri IV during "ses afflictions," Richelieu reminds his readership that at the time Henri himself was a heretic, and his Protestant followers had rebelled against Henri III. Now that Henri IV had adjured Protestantism and had returned to the Catholic fold, his Protestant subjects opposed him.<sup>66</sup>

Richelieu asserted, "You claim your predecessors served the great Henri, but unfortunately for you, it seems that all together they served him, not as King, but as a promoter of their sect, for their services anticipated his succession to the Crown."<sup>67</sup> Richelieu continued his attack on the Protestant claims of loyalty by maintaining that the praises sung by Protestants only serve "to hide under beautiful appearances the serpent which kills souls."<sup>68</sup>

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Prince dit Junius, ne cognoist, ni ne peut cognoistre en vertu de sa charge, du sens de la foi. Nous disons, dit Witakerus, que les differents Ecclésiastiques doivent être videz par le Ministre en vertu de la Loi. Et en un autre endroit, Je respons que Martin defere à l'Eglise le jugements touchant les points de doctrine, et qu'il ne l'attribue point à l'Empereur: et qui est-ce nie que ce jugements apparienne aux Évêques." Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, pp. 205-06.

<sup>64</sup>Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 211.

<sup>65</sup>Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>66</sup>Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 22.

<sup>67</sup>"Par là il paroît que vos predecesseurs ont servi la grand Henry, mais le mal est pour vous, qu'il paroist tout ensemble qu'ils l'ont servi non comme Roi, mais comme fauteur de leur secte, puis que leurs services previenient son advenement à la Couronne." Richelieu, *Points de la Foi*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>68</sup>"Coucher sous de belles apparances le serpent qui tue les âmes." Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 2.



Richelieu then sets out the tone that subtly belies the seemingly intolerant rhetoric that informs the entire *Principaux Points de la Foi*. Unlike Henry VIII who attempted to silence Martin Luther for his heresies, Louis XIII's policies toward the Protestants would be more moderated.<sup>69</sup> Richelieu's *Principaux Points* reflects this. First, he desired the conversion of the Protestants, not through violence, but rather "the passionate desire and hope which I have of your conversion obliges me to treat you gently."<sup>70</sup>

Although the subsequent arguments throughout the *Principaux Points de la Foi* seem anything but soft, the preceding statement speaks to Richelieu's view of the relationship between the Catholic and Protestant factions. Despite the harshness of the rhetoric, Richelieu is true to his word. Nowhere does he suggest violence against the Protestant faction, although his claims to a reasonable position are strained at times. Richelieu's passionate desire and hope for the peaceful conversion of the Calvinist party did not prevent the bishop of Luçon from uncompromisingly rejecting all of du Moulin's claims. Whereas the first fourteen chapters of the *Principaux Points* are dedicated to refuting, point by point, the doctrinal position described in the Charenton ministers' *Défense*, the last chapters (15–19) contain some of Richelieu's most hostile language employed against the Protestants. In chapters 15 and 16, Richelieu compares the Protestants of his day to the heretics who challenged the early Christian Church. In the fifteenth chapter, the Protestants are compared to the Donatist sect that also had separated from the Church. Throughout his discussion, Richelieu relies heavily on the Fathers to support his attack.<sup>71</sup> Richelieu buttresses his argument by claiming all the Fathers argued that the Catholic Church was the church established by Christ when he gave Peter the keys of the Kingdom.<sup>72</sup>

Chapter 16 continued this theme by arguing that the Protestants had renewed ancient heresies. The first of these heresies was the rejection of the salvatory nature of good works. According to Richelieu, this heresy first appeared under Simon Magus, who was condemned by Ss. Irene and Theodoret.<sup>73</sup> The second heresy renewed

<sup>69</sup>Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 3.

<sup>70</sup>"Le desir passionné et l'espérance que j'ai de vôtre conversion m'obligent à vous traicter plus doucement." Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup>Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 219.

<sup>72</sup>Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 223.

<sup>73</sup>Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 233.

by the Protestants was that infants without baptism could be saved—a view that was originally held by the Pelagians. This heresy had been successfully combated by St. Augustine.<sup>74</sup> The final heresy reintroduced was the position that the true Church was simply a community of believers. This doctrine first appeared with the Donatists, who were condemned by Augustine.<sup>75</sup> The problems with this were self-evident for Richelieu, as he goes to considerable lengths to prove the falseness of the Protestant claims and cites a number of Church Fathers in the process.

Richelieu concludes that the early Christian church had already condemned the ancient heresies reintroduced by the Protestants, showing them to be unsustainable based on the biblical text and patristic writers. As the violence of the civil wars receded after the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, the image of the Protestant as represented in Catholic sermon literature moved away from the rhetoric of violent attacks on the body of the Protestant to a more tolerant discourse, at least within the context of the seventeenth century, that reflected the emphasis placed by the crown on the pacification of French society.

This little-studied episode in the confessional polemics of the early-seventeenth century reveal a number of important insights to the political and religious realities of France after the Edict of Nantes. Occurring at the conclusion of the Estates-General in 1617, the Charenton Controversy took place within the larger context of the discourse of the shaping of royal authority that had developed throughout the crisis of Henri IV's assassination and prolonged conflict between the regency government and the prince of Condé. The Estates-General did not provide the foundation of an absolutist state, but there can be little question that the sovereignty of the crown was the victor of this debate.

The Charenton Controversy demonstrates the extent to which the prestige of the crown had been restored under the first Bourbons. Both sides in this confessional polemic regarded the crown as the natural arbiter in this dispute. Furthermore, Arnoux and du Moulin understood that their existence within France was dependant on the good will of the king. Accordingly, they appealed to monarchical

<sup>74</sup>Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, pp. 236–37.

<sup>75</sup>Richelieu, *Principaux Points de la Foi*, p. 240.

authority while portraying themselves as good subjects and their opponents as enemies within the kingdom.

The Charenton Controversy lacked the incendiary rhetoric that had underpinned earlier confessional conflicts. Instead, a more academic framework replaced the violent language. Taking on the form of a public *disputatio*, the proponents sought to cast a rational defense of their respective claims of truth. More important, by appealing to the symbolic presence of the king through their dedicatory epistles and prefaces, the authors constructed an image of royal authority that was becoming increasingly deanchored from its traditional moorings.

In the process, the protagonists in the Charenton controversy provided the basis for strengthened monarchical authority. However, as the literature of the Charenton controversy reveals, this was not imposed by the crown. Furthermore, in the venue of a public *disputatio*, both sides of the confessional divide willingly subsumed a part of their autonomy to the authority of the crown as a means of restraining the popular expressions of religious violence that had been endemic during the Wars of Religion. Coming on the heels of the Estates-General of 1614, these little-studied religious polemics from the first decades of Louis XIII's reign will continue to reveal important insights into the construction and meaning of kingship in France after the Edict of Nantes.

## REVIEW ARTICLE

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### STILL MORE LIGHT ON VATICAN COUNCIL II

BY

JARED WICKS, S.J.\*

*Dialogo e rinnovamento. Verball e testi del segretariato per l'unità dei cristiani nella preparazione del concilio Vaticano II (1960-1962).* Edited by Mauro Velati. [Istituto per le scienze religiose, Serie: Fonti e strumenti di ricerca, 5.] (Bologna: Il Mulino. 2011. Pp. 939. €60,00. ISBN 978-8-815-13188-1.)

*Konzilstagebuch Sebastian Tromp SJ, mit Erläuterungen und Akten aus der Arbeit der Kommission für Glauben und Sitten, II. Vatikanisches Konzil.* Edited and annotated by Alexandra von Teuffenbach. Vol. II, pts. 1 and 2 (1962-63). (Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz. 2011. Pp. 1279. €150,00. ISBN 978-3-883-09625-4.)

*The Council Notes of Edward Schillibeeckx 1962-1963. Critically Annotated Bilingual Edition.* Edited by Karim Schelkens. [Instrumenta Theologica, XXXIV.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2011. Pp. xxx, 77. €28,00. ISBN 978-9-042-92453-6.)

*Il Concilio Vaticano II. Una storia mai scritta.* By Roberto de Mattei (Turin: Lindau. 2011. Pp. 625. €38,00. ISBN 978-8-871-80894-9.)

This review article continues three earlier presentations of publications of source-documents and scholarly studies on the Second Vatican Council and its documents.<sup>1</sup> Presented here are (1) an ample documentary record of work in the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians during the Council's preparation; (2) the second volume (covering October 1962 to September 1963) of the office diary of Sebastian Tromp, secretary of the Council's Doctrinal Commission; (3) the diary of Edward Schillebeeckx for the Council's Period I of 1962, with added comments during Period II on the ori-

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<sup>1</sup>Jared Wicks, "New Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 92 (2006), 609-28; Jared Wicks, "More Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 94 (2008), 75-101; and Jared Wicks, "Further Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 95 (2009), 546-69.



entation votes of October 30, 1963; and (4) a one-volume traditionalist and highly critical account of the whole Council, which treats as well background during the pontificate of Pius XII and reports on the negative effects of the Council on the Catholic Church to 1978 under Pope Paul VI.<sup>2</sup>

### The 1960–62 Preparatory Work for the Second Vatican Council by the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians

Mauro Velati has given us a most welcome work of documentation on how the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians fulfilled its mandate of bringing the ecumenical cause into the 1960–62 preparation for the Second Vatican Council.<sup>3</sup> Pope John XXIII instituted the secretariat on Pentecost Sunday, June 5, 1960, by a paragraph of his *Motu Proprio*, *Superni Dei nutu*, in which he formally initiated the direct preparation of the Council.<sup>4</sup> Following upon the massive collection by the broad-based canvas of 1959–60 of topical proposals from the Council's future members, the curial congregations, and pontifical universities and faculties, in June 1960 the pope established the ten preparatory commissions of the Council. These were to submit schemas in areas such as theology, bishops and the governance of dioceses, religious life, the liturgy, studies and seminaries, the missions, and the lay apostolate. To the ten commissions, the pope added two "secretariats"—one to prepare a conciliar treatment of the modern means of communication and the other to help Christians not in communion with the Apostolic See to follow the work of the Council and more easily find the way "to attaining that unity for which Jesus Christ prayed earnestly to the Heavenly Father." As well,

<sup>2</sup>A recent wide-based and informative survey of historical and interpretative work on the Second Vatican Council is Gilles Routhier, Michael Quisinsky, Philippe J. Roy, and Ward De Pril, "Recherches et publications récents autour de Vatican II," *Laval théologique et philosophique*, 67 (2011), 321–73. Another such work is Massimo Faggioli, "Council Vatican II: Bibliographic Overview 2007–2010," *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 32 (2011), 755–91. Both literature reviews note the great interpretive potential of the work of Christoph Theobald, S.J., of Centre Sevrès, Paris, in the first part of his two-volume theological study, *La réception du concile Vatican II. I. Accéder à la source* (Paris, 2009). This 928-page analysis will be followed by a second part, still in preparation, with the subtitle *L'Église dans l'histoire et la société*. See, in Routhier et al., pp. 372–73, and in Faggioli, pp. 767–68, 771–73. Theobald also is treated by Faggioli in his compact work *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning* (Mahwah, NJ, 2012), pp. 127–28.

<sup>3</sup>Velati's monograph, *Una difficile transizione. Il cattolicesimo tra unionismo ed ecumenismo (1952–1964)* (Bologna, 1996), set forth in its first part the activities, begun in 1952, of the *Conférence catholique pour les questions oecuméniques* coordinated by Willebrands. The book then sketched the work of the secretariat from its founding to the completion and promulgation of the Second Vatican Council Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis redintegratio*, in November 1964 at the end of the Council's Period III.

<sup>4</sup>*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 52 (1960), 433–37, instituting the secretariat in no. 9 on p. 436.

the pope instituted a large Central Preparatory Commission of cardinals and bishops to review schemas produced by the particular commissions and secretariats to evaluate their adequacy for submission to the whole Council.

The new volume assembled by Velati documents a principal part of the Unity Secretariat's first two years of activity, giving (1) the initial draft texts produced by each of the secretariat's several subcommissions, (2) the minutes of meetings in which the secretariat's members and consultants evaluated each draft, and (3) the revised texts that the secretariat either circulated among the preparatory commissions or in certain cases submitted to the Central Preparatory Commission for eventual treatment by the whole Council. Velati's collection is unique, since we do not have publications documenting, with texts and minutes of meetings, the genesis of the schemas that the ten preparatory commissions or the other secretariat developed for submission to the Central Preparatory Commission.<sup>5</sup> Now we have just such a record of the Unity Secretariat, whereas for all the other preparatory bodies the initial and intermediate draft texts remain in archives, and we can only pick up the *iter* of the schemas when they came before the Central Commission to be evaluated in their suitability for distribution to the Council members.<sup>6</sup>

### 1. The Unity Secretariat's Personnel and Subcommissions

The dominant personages in the secretariat's preparatory work for the Second Vatican Council were, of course, Cardinal Augustin Bea, the secretariat's president from its founding until his death in 1968,<sup>7</sup> and Monsignor Johannes Willebrands, the omnipresent secretary who effectively oversaw the complex operations of this new Vatican institution.<sup>8</sup> The detailed minutes of

<sup>5</sup>For the Preparatory Theological Commission, the *Diarium Secretarii* of Sebastian Tromp, now in a volume edited by Alexandra von Teuffenbach (covered later in this article), gives the minutes of many subcommission and plenary meetings, but does not furnish the draft texts under discussion in the meetings.

<sup>6</sup>The texts submitted to the Central Preparatory Commission, the members' *animadversiones*, and the members' votes on the schemas are given in *Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II Apprando*, ser. II (Preparatoria), vol. II, *Acta Pontificiae Commissionis Centralis Praeparatoriae*, pts. I-IV (Vatican City, 1965-68). A narrative of the Central Commission's work through its seven, week-long working sessions, from June 1961 to June 1962, is given in Antonino Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo. Il dibattito nella Commissione centrale preparatoria del Vaticano II* (Genoa, 1962).

<sup>7</sup>On Bea, see *Atti de Simposio Card. Agostino Bea (Roma, 16-19 dicembre 1981)* (Rome, 1983); Stjepan Schmidt, *Augustin Bea, the Cardinal of Unity* (New Rochelle, NY, 1992); and Jerome-Michael Vereb, "Because He Was a German!" *Cardinal Bea and the Origins of Roman Catholic Engagement in the Ecumenical Movement* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2006).

<sup>8</sup>Newly published primary materials from Willebrands include "You Will Be Called Repairer of the Breach." *The Diary of J. G. M. Willebrands 1958-1961*, ed. Theo

plenary discussions were taken by the secretariat's first staff members (Thomas Stransky, C.S.P., and Jean-François Arrighi) and were composed in French by the latter for internal circulation. The sixteen voting members of the secretariat in 1960–62 included bishops such as Lorenz Jaeger (Paderborn), Joseph Martin (Rouen), John C. Heenan (Liverpool), François Charrière (Lausanne–Geneva–Fribourg), and Emiel-Jozef De Smedt (Bruges) and senior scholars such as Joseph R. Höfer (ecclesiastical counselor of the German embassy in Rome), Michele Maccarrone (church historian, Lateran University), Gustave Thils (professor of theology, Catholic University of Louvain), and Charles Boyer, S.J. (faculty member at the Gregorian University and director of the center *Unitas* in Rome). Among the twenty consultants serving the secretariat in 1960–62 were Hermann Volk (Münster); Eduard Stakemeier (Paderborn); Johannes Feiner (Seminary of Chur, Switzerland); Christophe-Jean Dumont, O.P. (the center “Istina,” Paris); Jérôme Hamer, O.P. (Le Saulchoir, Paris); Gregory Baum, O.S.A. (Toronto); Maurice Bévenot, S.J. (Heythrop College, England); Gustave Weigel, S.J. (Woodstock College, Woodstock, MD); George Tavard, A.A. (Mount Mercy College, Pittsburgh); and Edward Hanahoe, S.A. (Graymoor, Garrison, NY).<sup>9</sup>

Bea initiated the work of the secretariat by a letter of October 3, 1960, asking the members and consultants to submit proposals of questions and topics that the new body should consider. Fourteen responses came in, from which came a first programmatic outline for discussion in the opening plenary meeting of November 14–15.<sup>10</sup> The secretariat's program of work was quickly concretized by the formation of ten subcommissions for preparing

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Salemink, [Instrumenta Theologica, 32], (Leuven, 2009); and *Les agendas conciliaires de Mgr. J. Willebrands, Secrétaire du Secrétariat pour l'unité des chrétiens*, ed. Leo Declerck, [Instrumenta Theologica, 33], (Leuven, 2009). Peeters will soon publish, in the series *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*, the papers presented at the 2009 scholarly symposia in Utrecht and Rome on Willebrands during the centenary of his birth.

<sup>9</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 18–25 (initial appointments), pp. 103–10 (full roster of members and consultants), and especially pp. 55–76 (previous experiences of the individuals before the preparatory work and their main contributions as they interacted with each other). The distinction between members and consultants played little part in the assigning and drafting of texts, but came into play late in the process when only the members voted to approve texts for further circulation. For the secretariat, some desired appointments went unfilled because of appointments to other preparatory commissions, as seen in the cases of Bishop Léon-Joseph Suenens, who was appointed to both the Commission on Bishops and the Central Preparatory Commission, as well as Bishop James Griffiths (auxiliary of New York) and Yves Congar, who were appointed to the Theological Commission.

<sup>10</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, p. 121 (Bea's letter), pp. 124–51 (the members' suggestions, of which the most elaborate sketch came from Bishop Pieter Nierman of Groningen, pp. 144–51), and pp. 122–24 (outline in English, based on the members' suggestions, for the first plenary).



documents under the lead of a principal *relator*. The topics were (1) the ecclesial condition of baptized non-Catholic Christians (*relator* Bishop Pieter Nierman of Groningen); (2) the Church's hierarchical structure and the source of the powers of its ministers (Jaeger); (3) individual and community conversions to the Catholic Church (Höfer); (4) the priesthood of all believers, laypeople in the Church, and religious liberty or tolerance (Charrière); (5) the Word of God in the Church (Volk); (6) liturgical issues such as the vernacular languages in the Mass and sacraments and Communion under both forms (Martin); (7) mixed marriages (Jaeger); (8) the octave of prayer of unity (Dumont); (9) the central ecumenical problem, related to the World Council of Churches and its concept of unity (Hamer); and (10) questions regarding the Jews (Baum).<sup>11</sup>

A further topic was the question of non-Catholic observers attending the Council, for which Willebrands took responsibility and held a consultative meeting with members and consultors residing in Rome on December 15, 1960. After a report and further discussion at the February 1961 plenary, the secretariat submitted a *votum* favoring the invitation of observers and sketching their roles, which the Central Preparatory Commission approved by a large majority in November 1961.<sup>12</sup>

As the work of the subcommissions developed, Subcommittee 1 dropped the term *members* from its topic and reformulated this as "the *ordo* of non-Catholic Christians to the Church." The cumbersome topic of Subcommittee 4 was divided in August 1961 into two distinct parts—namely, that of the priesthood of believers and that of religious liberty—with the latter topic assigned to a new Subcommittee 5 (*relator*, De Smedt). The newly numbered Subcommittee 6 (formerly 5) reformulated its topic as "the power (*virtus*)

<sup>11</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 173–74 (giving members and consultors who volunteered for service on each topic). After the secretariat's institution in June 1960, John XXIII had quietly entrusted it on September 18, 1960, with questions regarding Jews and antisemitism in the Church. For this area, Abbot Leo Rudloff, O.S.B. (Dormition Abbey, Jerusalem), became a secretariat member, and John Oesterreicher (Institute of Judeo-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University) joined the group of consultors.

<sup>12</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 176–86 (Willebrands's exposition of December, with minutes of the ensuing discussion presided over by Bea) and pp. 301–14 (report and discussion in the secretariat's February 1961 plenary meeting). The *votum* on observers and the Central Preparatory Commission discussion of November 7, 1961, are given in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. I:449–95. See also Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo*, pp. 57–67. For a survey on this topic and the secretariat's further role in hosting the Council's non-Catholic observers, see Velati, *Una difficile transizione*, pp. 275–318. Thomas Stransky reviewed this dimension of the Second Vatican Council at the 1998 congress of the Istituto Paolo VI, published as "Paul VI and the Delegated Observer/Guests to Vatican Council II," in *Paolo VI e l'ecumenismo*, [Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Paolo VI, 23], (Brescia and Rome, 2001), pp. 118–58.



of the Word of God and its principal role in the Church.” A new Subcommission 12 (*relator* Jaeger) emerged out of the initial Subcommission 9 and began work in August 1961 on a proposal for making the secretariat a permanent body in the Church’s central government after the Second Vatican Council.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, the secretariat created Subcommission 13, on tradition and Sacred Scripture (*relator* Feiner), to prepare an ecumenically constructive alternative to directions taken in the Preparatory Theological Commission’s schema *De fontibus revelationis*. As Subcommission 3 refocused its original topics on that of Catholic ecumenism, questions arose about practical aspects of ecumenical activities and relations with separated churches, which led to the creation of a new Subcommission 14 (*relator* Thils) entrusted with outlining an Ecumenical Directory for later development and publication.<sup>14</sup> Clearly, the secretariat took on a very full agenda, including several topics that promised positive effects across the whole span of the Council’s future work of church renewal.

## 2. The Secretariat’s Proposals (*vota*) for the Preparatory Commissions

Several of the secretariat’s preparatory texts were recommendations that it sent to other commissions. The April 1961 plenary meeting approved the report of Subcommission 6, on liturgical reforms especially desirable to dissipate prejudices and objections to Catholic worship among the Orthodox and Protestants. The report, with *vota* and recommendations, went to the Preparatory Commission on Liturgy, with which some members and consultants of Subcommission 6 had already met to exchange views.<sup>15</sup> Subcommis-

<sup>13</sup>Velati gives the documentation of this subcommission’s work in *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 747–62 and 899–914. Shortly after a first draft was circulated and discussed at the November 1961 plenary, John XXIII told Bea that the topic would not be on the Council’s agenda but was reserved to the pope. A revised and expanded sketch came before the March 1962 plenary, at which Bea informed members and consultants that the pope did want the SPCU to continue after the Council and would gladly receive this part of the secretariat’s work as a memorandum for future consideration (p. 913).

<sup>14</sup>Documentation in Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 793–815. A first outline came before the November plenary along with annexes for other preparatory commissions on imbuing seminary studies and the preparation of missionaries with ecumenical sensibilities. Discussion during the November 1961 plenary showed a consensus on the need for a directory for bishops and others, but the work was then set aside until 1965 when it proved useful in composing part I of the secretariat’s *Ecumenical Directory* of 1967.

<sup>15</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 409–13 (editor’s survey of this subcommission’s activity), pp. 414–19 (initial draft, composed mainly by Tavard), pp. 420–27 (revised report for the plenary, with sections on an expanded lectionary; homilies on scripture; more active congregational participation; wider use of the vernacular; watchfulness over devotional practices; permitting lay Communion from the chalice; allowing concelebration; mitigating rules against shared prayer and worship with non-

sion 8 drew up in early 1961 an ample study in view of reforming the existing canonical legislation on mixed marriages. A text discussed at the April plenary was revised so as to conclude with nine proposals (*vota*) that the August plenary discussed in detail. Subsequent modifications yielded a text with a short introduction and ten *vota*, which the secretariat's members approved in November for submission to the Preparatory Commission on the Discipline of the Sacraments.<sup>16</sup>

In May 1961 three important products of the secretariat's work went to the Preparatory Theological Commission as contributions offered for its schema *De ecclesia*.<sup>17</sup> The first text came from Subcommission 4, which had presented to the February plenary several proposals (*vota*) on the priesthood of all members of the people of God, the active role that the laity should have in the Church, and the complementary relation of the former priesthood with the ministerial priesthood. To this was added a draft of a biblically based conciliar teaching on the royal priesthood of believers, which *relator* De Smedt had requested from Lucien Cerfaux of the Faculty of Theology at the Catholic University of Louvain.<sup>18</sup> The April plenary received a developed Latin text on the priesthood of believers, organized around eighteen principal and three complementary *vota* that were stated as what the Second Vatican Council should teach. The discussion led to the definitive form of the twenty-one proposals for the schema *De ecclesia* of the Theological Commission on the dignity and duties of the priestly people of all the baptized.<sup>19</sup>

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Catholics; and recognizing, where assured, the Christian baptism of converts), and pp. 431–37 (minutes of the April 18, 1961, discussion, which led to only minor modifications of the report, but in which Bea spoke with conviction on expanding use of vernacular languages and on concelebration as “absolutely desirable,” p. 433).

<sup>16</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 439–57 (April text and minutes of discussion), pp. 613–33 (*vota* for August, letter of World Council General Secretary Willem Visser 't Hooft, discussion), and pp. 695–700 (final text for the Commission on Sacraments).

<sup>17</sup>Tromp, the Theological Commission's secretary, noted in his office diary that on May 25, 1961, he received from Willebrands the documents of the secretariat “de Hierarchia, de laicis, de membris Ecclesiae.” *Konzilstagebuch Sebastian Tromp SJ, mit Erläuterungen und Akten aus der Arbeit der Theologischen Kommission für Glauben und Sitten II. Vatikanisches Konzil*, ed. and annot. Alexandra von Teuffenbach (Rome, 2006), I, pt. 1:223.

<sup>18</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 234–40 (French text of the report, with *vota* as well in Latin, including Cerfaux's doctrinal sketch in French) and pp. 240–47 (discussion during the February 1961 plenary in which most members and consultants gave the report their enthusiastic approval).

<sup>19</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 354–69 (revised text for the April plenary, with most of the *vota* beginning “Doceatur . . .” or “Doceantur fideles . . .”), pp. 373–78 (minutes of the April discussion on each *votum*), and pp. 369–72 (definitive text of the proposed teaching).

The second text for the constitution *De ecclesia*, a product of the secretariat's Subcommission 1, benefited from redactional work by Hamer, who prepared eight theses on the Church, the means of grace or elements constituting the Church, the efficacy of individual means even in separation from the complete ecclesial organism, the true but imperfect relation to the Church conferred by elements in separated bodies, and the need to ascertain the different levels at which the Orthodox and Protestants possess the ecclesial means or elements. The report intentionally avoided the term *member*. As a practical conclusion, the report urged respectful use of the terms *dissidents* or *separated brethren*, in place of *heretics* and *schismatics*. In discussion at the April 1961 plenary, an added ninth thesis noted the variety of biblical images applicable to the Church such as the kingdom of Christ or his vine, and to belonging as pertaining to his family or people or being a member of his body or stone of his house.<sup>20</sup>

In the text prepared by Subcommission 2, the secretariat took on topics central to the Catholic-Protestant controversy. The result was an ecumenically sensitive treatment, aimed at influencing of the schema *De ecclesia*, on the Church in its relation to Christ and its hierarchical structure, especially the episcopate. Although the contribution exerted no influence on the Preparatory Theological Commission, it did anticipate major positions of the future Constitution *Lumen gentium*. Here the Church is set forth as "mystery," as people of God on earthly pilgrimage, as united by the Holy Spirit given by Christ, and as living under the "royal dominium" of Christ over his Church. For ministerial service the bishops succeed the Apostles, forming a collegial body united with its head, the Roman pontiff, whose teaching draws on scripture and tradition under the rule of the consensus in faith of the whole teaching office.

Subcommission 2 had first offered the secretariat's February 1961 plenary meeting a treatment, drawn from research by Maccarrone, of the fourth- and fifth-century titles for the pope and of several positions on the pope and bishops advanced in the First Vatican Council's ecclesiological debate. But the February discussion turned the project in new directions, especially toward the Church's intimate connection with Christ, the collegial structure and role of the episcopate, and practical proposals regarding the Roman Curia in church governance. A quite different proposal came before the April plenary, with concise conclusions in the form of eleven ecclesiological proposals (*vota*), which the members and consultors

<sup>20</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 188–98 (a first-draft text, found unsatisfactory at the February 1961 plenary), pp. 318–28 (Hamer's French text, after a March meeting of the subcommission at Le Saulchoir, to which Latin theses were added), pp. 328–29 (addition of the ninth thesis and clarifying "member"), and pp. 329–35 (minutes of the April 17 discussion, making evident the wide approval of the text).

refined, restructured, and approved for transmission to the Theological Commission.<sup>21</sup>

During July 1961 the Preparatory Theological Commission completed its schema *De fontibus revelationis*, which the Central Preparatory Commission reviewed in early November.<sup>22</sup> Bea had offered a lengthy critique in the Central Commission, and he saw the urgency of putting into circulation an ecumenically more constructive account of the relation between tradition and scripture. Thus the secretariat's Subcommission 13 was created, under the lead of Feiner. For the plenary meeting of late November 1961, Feiner—aided by comments from his collaborators Boyer, Bévenot, Stakemeier, and Tavad—produced a Latin study of the relationship of tradition and scripture, which provided eight recommendations for conciliar teaching in its conclusion. For example, revelation given by Christ and formulated in the apostolic age should be called the *unicus fons revelationis*, whereas tradition, a dynamic process, and the written scriptures are to be seen as *media* or *viae* of transmission. The central *votum*, no. 5, urged that the question of the “material sufficiency” of scripture be left open for ongoing discussion among Catholic theologians. But the plenary also received the minority report of Boyer, who contended that the Council of Trent had expressed itself in a manner that excluded the fifth *votum*. The discussion on November 30, with fresh input from Boyer, showed that most all agreed with main request, but the constructive contribution of Bévenot led to a clarifying reformulation of the central point.<sup>23</sup> When this paper went to the Theological Commission, the

<sup>21</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 213–29 (initial text and February discussion, with influential suggestions of a more pronounced Christological grounding by the consultor, Don Alberto Bellini of Brescia, and Hamer's suggestion of treating episcopal collegiality), pp. 337–41 (new text for the April plenary), pp. 347–50 (discussion, on April 17, especially Thils's urging a new order to articulate a basic ecclesiology in *vota* 1–4), and pp. 342–46 (the final twelve proposals on the Church and the episcopate). The consultor, Stakemeier, demonstrated how the Council's *Lumen gentium* took up the twelve *vota* of the secretariat into the Council's ecclesiology. “Leitmotive der Kirchenkonstitution in einem votum des Einheitssekretarits vom 20. April 1961,” in *Martyria, Liturgia, Diakonia*, Festschrift Bp. Hermann Volk, ed. Otto Semmelroth (Mainz, 1968), pp. 386–98.

<sup>22</sup>Karim Schelkens treats *De fontibus* in his dissertation for the Catholic University of Leuven on the schema's genesis, published as *Catholic Theology of Revelation on the Eve of Vatican II. A Redaction History of the Schema De fontibus revelationis (1960–1962)*, [Brill's Series in Church History, 41], (Leiden, 2010), which informs that on July 29, 1961, the Vatican printing office returned printed copies of the schema to Tromp's commission office (p. 218). The Central Preparatory debate on *De fontibus* took place on November 9–10, 1961, as documented in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. I: 523–61, and set forth by Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'e-vangelo*, pp. 77–90.

<sup>23</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 764–80 (the study, with the eight-point concluding *votum* on p. 780), pp. 781–82 and pp. 788–89 (objections by Boyer), pp. 783–88



schema *De fontibus* could no longer be altered, since the Central Preparatory Commission had already reviewed it. But the content gained no little actuality in November 1962, since it expressed the secretariat's main contention in the work of the conciliar Mixed Commission (Doctrine/Secretariat), created by John XXIII to revise *De fontibus* after the vote in the *aula* on November 20 and the pope's removal of the schema from the immediate agenda of the Second Vatican Council.

### 3. The Secretariat's Schemas for the Council

Other texts prepared by the secretariat in 1960–62 were destined for the Central Preparatory Commission for its approval as schemas for presentation to the full Council.

Subcommission 4, beyond its work on the priesthood of all the faithful, worked out a text on religious liberty, for which John XXIII gave permission in early 1962 for its submission to the Central Commission.<sup>24</sup> The documentation given by Velati includes an original "note" by Louis Jannsens of the Faculty of Theology at the Catholic University of Louvain, presented by De Smedt in the February 1961 plenary, on tolerance of those who exercise their natural right to believe differently and on collaboration by Catholics with non-Catholics on secular projects. To this Weigel added a short Latin statement on the church-state relationship, and Boyer cited Pope Leo XIII to call in question the proposed denial that the civil state owes worship to God. De Smedt presented to the April plenary a revised text in Latin, structured around fifteen *vota* for conciliar teaching on religious liberty, secular collab-

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(minutes of the November 30, 1961, discussion of the report and proposed *votum*), and p. 790 (reformulated no. 5, from Bévenot's urging that the point be to avoid formulations that exclude views held by Catholics in the debate). Umberto Betti published an extract from the subcommission study, with the eight recommended positions, in *La dottrina del concilio Vaticano II sulla trasmissione della rivelazione* (Rome, 1985), pp. 292–98. In Betti's documentation, no. 5 was further modified beyond what Velati offers on p. 790 before this went to the Theological Commission. The Catholics who held a type of sufficiency of scripture and should not even appear to be censured were indicated as the Fathers, medieval theologians, Matthias Joseph Scheeben, and many contemporaries. Their view is that, "post depositum revelationis completum veritates revelatae omnes—excepta sane quaestione de Canone Scripturae utpote sui generis—in Sacra Scriptura aliquo saltem modo continentur vel insinuantur, quae quidem simul per Traditionem conservantur et explicantur" [once the deposit of revelation is complete, all revealed truths, except of course the Canon of Scripture (a question sui generis), are at least in some way contained or insinuated in Holy Scripture, while they are at the same time preserved and explained through Tradition] (Betti, p. 298).

<sup>24</sup>The long *iter* leading to the Council's *Dignitatis humanae* is set forth by Sylvia Scatena in *La fatica della libertà. L'elaborazione della dichiarazione «Dignitatis humanae» sulla libertà religiosa del Vaticano II* (Bologna, 2003), a work presented in Wicks, "New Light," pp. 621–28.

oration with others, and the relation of the Church to civil society. Bea opened the discussion of the *vota* with the momentous proposal that De Smedt should further develop the paper into "a constitution" on this topic, since it pertains to the competencies of the secretariat, because of its importance for Catholic-Protestant relations. Consequently, at the August 1961 plenary the text had the form of a concise three-chapter schema, which, after discussion and revisions, was approved by the secretariat's members, with the exception of the *placet iuxta modum* voted by Boyer.<sup>25</sup> After further stylistic revision, this text came in June 1962 before the Central Preparatory Commission and clashed with the Theological Commission's quite different treatment of tolerance, the church-state relation, and the Church's right to preach the Gospel, which made up chapters IX and X of its schema *De ecclesia*.<sup>26</sup> The Theological Commission's text on the Church was severely criticized by many Council members in December 1962. It was set aside and thus did not proceed to the step of a formal vote. The secretariat then added its text on religious liberty to its schema on ecumenism as chapter V, which began the often troubled *iter* leading to the Declaration *Dignitatis humanae*, promulgated on the Second Vatican Council's final day, December 7, 1965.<sup>27</sup>

A second secretariat text sent to the Central Preparatory Commission was a theological gem of a brief "pastoral decree" on the Word of God in the life and ministries of the Church. It began as a draft in German by Volk of a "theology of the Word," which the author had further developed in the light of comments by the other members of Subcommittee 5 (later 6). A French version stimulated a lively discussion at the April 1961 plenary.<sup>28</sup> Later in 1961 Bea realized there was no hope that the Theological Commission would welcome this creative account, and so work turned in the direction of a decree of pastoral applications. By March 1962 a schema was on hand in Latin, which

<sup>25</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 247–61 (the Jannssens-De Smedt "note"), pp. 272–76 (Weigel's contribution), pp. 379–94 (the April text with fifteen *vota* and the discussion begun by Bea's decision given on p. 391), and pp. 591–611 (the August *schema*, discussion of it, and Boyer's statement of his reservation).

<sup>26</sup>The two texts are in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. IV:657–72 (Theological Commission) and pp. 676–84 (secretariat). Scatena recounts the clash in the Central Preparatory Commission between the two options for treating religious freedom in *La fatica della libertà*, pp. 36–42, as does Indelicato in *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo*, pp. 298–307. An attempt to resolve the impasse posed by the clashing texts, by a type of mixed commission under Cardinal Pietro Ciriaci, did not succeed.

<sup>27</sup>The *De ecclesia* chapters are in *Acta Synodalia*, I, pt. 4:65–74, whereas the secretariat's chapter V, on religious liberty, distributed to the Council Fathers on November 18, 1963, is in *Acta Synodalia*, II, pt. 5:433–41.

<sup>28</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 395–409 (report and minutes). The text treated the word as both gift of God and ecclesial task, the relation of word and sacrament, the word in pastoral ministry, and consequences to be drawn by the Council regarding the Church being under the word such as renewing the first part of the Mass, making scripture more accessible, and urging its more frequent reading by the faithful.

the Central Preparatory Commission discussed on its final day of work, June 20, 1962, but the slightly revised version of July was not published for the Council Fathers and was not mentioned among the twenty texts officially listed at the end of the Council's Period I for future work.<sup>29</sup>

The secretariat prepared a text for the Council to issue as an exhortation to prayer for the unity of Christians. An initial focus was on the existing Octave of Prayer for Unity with its two competing forms—namely, the Atonement Friars' prayer for reunion of the separated with the Catholic Church and the approach of Paul Couturier in which Catholics, together with Orthodox and Protestants, prayed together for "unity as Christ wishes and by the means which he desires." Willebrands insisted at the November 1961 plenary that the issue was not to discuss differences, but to urge such prayer. The March 1962 plenary approved a short text giving the rationale and a draft text for conciliar adoption. This was approved at the final session of the Central Preparatory Commission, but in time was absorbed into the secretariat's draft decree on ecumenism.<sup>30</sup>

Subcommission 10, on relations with Jews, produced for the April 1961 plenary a substantial statement in French by Oesterreicher and Baum, which concluded with four *vota* for teaching on the Church's roots in ancient Israel; on the early church of Jewish and Gentile Christians; on the Jewish people not being under divine malediction; on reconciliation with the Jews as integral to Christian hope; and on all forms of racism, especially antisemitism; as sins against justice, charity, and human fraternity. To these were added three *vota* on having a liturgical commemoration of the just of the Old Testament, on seminary instruction on Israel in the economy of salvation, and on purging prayers and Christian art of calumnies against the people from which came Christ according to the flesh. This text—now in Latin, with an added *votum* favorable to the State of Israel and new documentary references—was the object of a lively discussion at the August plenary, at the end of which Bea urged concentration on doctrine and its consequences, while relegating liturgical and practical points to a later directory. In the November plenary, Bea called for the preparation for the Central Committee of a brief schema of a

<sup>29</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 676–91 (report, proposal by Bea, and the discussion showing full agreement on having a pastoral decree) and pp. 872–92 (a revised report not taken up, schema in ten paragraphs, modifications adding nos. 11–13, and discussion). The schema *De Verbo Dei* treated by the Central Commission in June 1962 is given in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. IV:816–19. In the Council's Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei Verbum*, echoes of the secretariat's pastoral schema resound in chapter VI, on scripture in the life of the Church.

<sup>30</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 462–78 (February 1961 report, remarks by Hanahoe, a Latin *votum*, minutes of discussion), pp. 718–28 (November revised report, minutes, with Willebrands's clarification of the aim on p. 727), and pp. 893–98 (text of March 1962, with brief discussion). The treatment by the Central Preparatory Commission is found in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. IV:813–16.



decree, while sending a *votum* on Israel and the Church to the Theological Commission for *De ecclesia* and a *votum* on human dignity to the secretariat's subcommission on religious liberty. The brief decree of four paragraphs was drawn up from the earlier text, but when Arab nations protested after a report that the Foreign Ministry of the State of Israel was sending an "observer" to the Council, Cardinal Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Vatican secretary of state and president of the Central Preparatory Commission, decided against any consideration of the decree *De Judaeis* in the Central Commission.<sup>31</sup>

Subcommission 3 suffered at first from an unclear mandate and the geographical dispersion of its members, but Willebrands intervened in July 1961 to steer the work in the direction of a statement on "Catholic ecumenism," adding Thils to the group and asking him to draw up texts for the August plenary.<sup>32</sup> A clear focus emerged from the August sessions that pointed toward what would become the secretariat's main contribution, contained in the Decree *Unitatis redintegratio*, at the Council. A central text of the November plenary was Thils's concise synthesis in Latin of the doctrinal and practical orientations inherent in a Catholic conception of ecumenism, which led to a substantial discussion and constructive additions. The March 1962 plenary treated approvingly a revised text on Catholic ecumenism, from which came the version for the Central Preparatory Commission.<sup>33</sup> This,

<sup>31</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 490–508 (especially pp. 495–504, for the April text), pp. 633–52 (Latin text of August 1961, with minutes of discussion on each *votum*), and pp. 731–37 (especially pp. 736–37, giving the proposed schema of a decree). On this part of the secretariat's work, see Thomas Stransky, "The Genesis of *Nostra Aetate*. An Insider's Story," in *Nostra Aetate. Origins, Promulgation, Impact on Jewish-Catholic Relations*, ed. Neville Lamdan and Alberto Melloni (Berlin, 2007), pp. 29–53.

<sup>32</sup>The original members were Höfer (*relator*), Hanahoe, Frans Thijssen (Utrecht), Francis Davis (Birmingham, England), and James Cunningham (American Paulist based in Rome). See Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 511–16 (slow beginnings of the work), pp. 521–22 (Willebrands's letter), pp. 523–49 (first texts by Thils, for the August plenary, with minutes of the discussion of his paper, "De oecumenismo catholico. Suggestiones practicae"), and pp. 555–58 (ten *vota* by Davis and Thils, already oriented to a new conciliar schema urging Catholics to enter constructively into ecumenical activities). Thils had recently published a short basic work, *La «théologie oecuménique»: notion—formes—démarches* (Louvain, 1960).

<sup>33</sup>Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 663–75 (November synthesis with minutes of discussion), pp. 826–33 (version for March 1962), pp. 863–69 (discussion of March 8, in which Willebrands noted the complexity arising from ecumenism also being a chapter in the Theological Commission's *De ecclesia* and the topic of a schema coming from the Eastern Churches Commission), and pp. 852–62 (definitive text of May 1962, with ample notes referring to papal encyclicals and the Holy Office Instruction of 1949). Werner Becker studied the May text in "Das erste Schema des Sekretariats für die Einheit der Christen: das Pastoraldekret 'Über den katholischen Oecumenismus' von 1962," in *Sapienter ordinare. Festgabe f. Erich Kleinaidam*, ed. Fritz Hoffmann, Leo Scheffczyk, and Konrad Feiereis (Leipzig, 1969), pp. 371–91.



then, articulated the secretariat's basic position in early 1963, in the work mandated by the Council of composing a single text, along with the Commission on Catholic Oriental Churches and the Doctrinal Commission, on the rationale and forms of the Catholic Church's embrace of ecumenical collaboration and dialogue with other Christians.<sup>34</sup>

### Sebastian Tromp's Record of a Year's Work by the Doctrinal Commission, 1962–63

A 2001 guidebook to unpublished Second Vatican Council sources extant in archives around the world refers to the informative mimeographed reports (*relationes*) by Tromp, secretary of both the Preparatory Theological Commission and the conciliar Doctrinal Commission. These texts recorded for the two commissions' members and *periti* the main events, discussion of topics, and decisions made as the commission prepared and revised schemas for the Council.<sup>35</sup> Beyond the *relationes*, the same guidebook lists for Tromp a more detailed handwritten diary preserved at the Gregorian University.<sup>36</sup> That diary, however, covers the work of the Preparatory Commission only from August 1, 1960, to July 16, 1961. But in autumn 2000, Alexandra von Teuffenbach discovered in the Vatican Archive Tromp's complete set of thirteen hardcover notebooks containing his record of the two commissions' work from mid-1960 into 1966. She is now editing the text of this diary, which preserves a much more ample record than do Tromp's circulated *relationes*.

The first volume of Tromp's complete *Diarium Secretarii* was published in 2006, covering the Preparatory Commission's work from mid-1960 to October 11, 1962.<sup>37</sup> The edition gave, in part 1 (576 pp.), Tromp's text in the original Latin with a facing German translation, accompanied by a detailed introduction and further annotations, whereas part 2 of the same volume offered another 400 pages of documentation in the form of minutes of meetings, the circulated *relationes*, letters, draft schemas, and a helpful overview, with outlines, of the genesis of the Preparatory Theological Commission's nine schemas.

After a pause and change of publisher, the second volume of the Tromp diary now covers the dramatic Period I (1962) of the Second Vatican Council, under John XXIII, and then moves through the eventful "intersession" from December 9, 1962, to September 28, 1963, when Period II was about to open

<sup>34</sup>See note 48 for an account of the work of this three-part conciliar commission in preparing the Council's 1963 schema *De oecumenismo*.

<sup>35</sup>*Il concilio inedito. Fonti del Vaticano II*, ed. Massimo Faggioli and Giovanni Turbanti (Bologna, 2001), pp. 23–24.

<sup>36</sup>Faggioli and Turbanti, *Il concilio inedito*, p. 147.

<sup>37</sup>Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, I, pts. 1 and 2.

under Paul VI.<sup>38</sup> The new volume retains the structure of its two-part predecessor, but surpasses it in size with its 1279 pages.

The conciliar commission on doctrine consisted of twenty-five Council members, with the first being its appointed president, Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani. Fifteen members were elected on October 16, 1962, and nine were appointed shortly after by John XXIII.<sup>39</sup> Significantly, Tromp's first membership list adds asterisks to only seven names to designate those of the twenty-four members, both elected and appointed, who had served on the preparatory commission of 1960–62.<sup>40</sup> Among the new members were Cardinals Franz König and Paul-Émile Léger; Archbishops Gabriel Garrone, John Dearden, and Franjo Seper; Bishops André-Marie Charue and Georges Pelletier; and Marcos McGrath, C.S.C., auxiliary bishop of Panama. Ottaviani, who was continuing from the preparatory commission, designated Cardinal Michael Browne, O.P., an appointed member, as vice-president.<sup>41</sup> The commission did not select a fixed group of consultants or *periti*, as the preparatory commission had done, but left the selection of theological advisers to the

<sup>38</sup>The 1962 period is well known from many accounts of the Council, but for the developments and problems of the first intersession there is only one ample survey—that of Jan Grootaers, “The Drama Continues between the Acts: The ‘Second Preparation’ and Its Opponents,” in *History of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY, and Leuven, 1997), 2:356–514.

<sup>39</sup>The elections were first scheduled for Saturday, October 13, at the Council's first working session, but were postponed at the request of Cardinal Presidents Achille Liénart and Josef Frings to the next Tuesday so as to allow wide consultation among the members—especially through the national and regional episcopal conferences. See Mathijs Lamberigts and Alois Greiler, “‘Concilium episcoporum est’. The Interventions of Liénart and Frings Revisited. October 13, 1962,” *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 73 (1997), 54–71; and Leo Declerck and Mathijs Lamberigts, “Le rôle de l'épiscopat belge dans l'élection des commissions conciliaires en octobre 1962,” in *La raison par quatre chemins: en hommage à Claude Troisfontaines*, ed. Jean Leclercq, [Bibliothèque philosophique de Louvain, 73], (Dudley, MA, 2007), pp. 279–305.

<sup>40</sup>Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:19, 21–23. Thus, less than one-third of the conciliar commission's members could be counted on to identify loyally with the texts produced by the predecessor commission of 1960–62. A majority of the members might well look upon the prepared theological schemas with detachment or even a critical eye.

<sup>41</sup>Late in Period II five new members joined the commission (four elected, one appointed by Paul VI). At the same time the commission elected Charue as second vice-president and Monsignor Gérard Philips, professor at Louvain, as adjunct secretary to serve along with Tromp. This confirmed the moderately progressive influence of the Belgians on major documents from the Second Vatican Council. Charue's diary, which is especially informative on the Doctrinal Commission, was published as *Carnets conciliaires de l'évêque de Namur A.-M. Charue*, ed. Leo Declerck and Claude Soetens, [Cahiers de la Revue théologique de Louvain, 32], (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2000).

members, especially at moments of their forming subcommissions for work on particular schemas or chapters of schemas.<sup>42</sup>

The record preserved in Tromp's *Diarium* is not a personal work recording impressions and judgments like the Second Vatican Council diaries of Yves Congar, O.P., and Henri de Lubac, S.J., as well as the almost daily letters on the Council by Dom Helder Pessoa Camara.<sup>43</sup> Instead, Tromp kept a precise and complete "office diary," with daily entries that chronicled the doctrinal commission's work. This included meetings of the commission's leadership, with the decisions they made, the directives given "from above" for the commission to follow, the drafting work entrusted to subcommissions and individuals, the rhythm of production of texts, the comments and amendments offered orally or in writing by commission members before texts moved toward discussion in the Council *aula*, and the material that Tromp found relevant for the commission in discourses of the Fathers and texts circulating around the Council.

The present volume records, with documentary appendices, moments in the Council's treatment of the schema *De fontibus revelationis* amid the high tension of the *aula* discussion of November 14–21, 1962. Then follows an ample record of the meetings and texts of the Mixed Commission on revelation, in which Ottaviani and Tromp faced the growing influence of Bea and his Secretariat for the Promotion of the Unity of Christians. Despite the Mixed Commission's moments of internal conflict, which were emblematic confrontations of the early phase of the Council, these did not prevent production of a schema *De revelatione divina*, which went out to all the Council Fathers in May 1963, but was in time judged not sufficiently mature for discussion in the Council *aula*.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup>On March 3, 1963, Tromp recorded his personal judgment that bad fruit was coming from the commission's failure to designate *periti*, since this had allowed Bishop Joseph Schröffer to select Thils as *peritus* for the seven-member subcommission preparing the 1963 revised schema *De ecclesia*. This move upset Tromp, because Thils was a member of the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians and held extreme ecumenical views. See von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, vol. II, pt. 1:263. Philips, coordinator of the *periti* who were then working to revise *De ecclesia*, confirms that in the work of revision Thils argued forcefully for texts expressing "open theses." However, this was welcome, since Philips could then defend moderate formulations acceptable to the majority. See *Carnets conciliaires de Mgr Gérard Philips*, ed. Karim Schelkens (Leuven, 2006), pp. 93–94.

<sup>43</sup>On Congar's *Journal* of the Council, see Jared Wicks, "Yves Congar's Doctrinal Service of the People of God," *Gregorianum*, 84 (2003), 499–550. On de Lubac's *Carnets*, see Wicks, "Further Light." On Helder's letters, see Wicks, "More Light," pp. 81–86. An English translation of Congar's diary has been published by Liturgical Press.

<sup>44</sup>Among the many appended documents are the minutes of the Mixed Commission's meetings. The edition gives in two drafts a *prooemium* prepared and presented by Garrone, revising a text of Jean Daniélou, which offered on November 27, 1962, an attractive biblical and kerygmatic account of divine revelation itself. See von

The diary relates a decisive moment of the Council—namely, the selection on February 26, 1963, as replacement of the Preparatory Commission's *De ecclesia*, of a draft written by Gérard Philips at the request of Cardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens.<sup>45</sup> Then one can follow Tromp's record of the initial discussion and production, coordinated by Philips, of the 1963 revised schema *De ecclesia*. For *Lumen gentium* another key moment was the insertion, late in the 1963 process, of chapter 2, *De populo Dei*, before chapter 3 on the hierarchy and episcopate.<sup>46</sup> Also chapter 4, on the universal call to holiness, was added to *De ecclesia* in 1963, appearing before a treatment of the ecclesial role of persons specially dedicated to following the evangelical counsels.<sup>47</sup>

The newly published portion of the diary tells as well of the difficult genesis, in a three-part Mixed Commission (the Doctrinal and Eastern Catholic Churches commissions with the Unity Secretariat), of the first full draft of the

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Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:1013–19. Although the text contained several themes eventually found in chapter I of *Dei Verbum* of 1965, Tromp and several others were severe critics of its style and content in 1963; see von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:139, 259 and II, pt. 2:938–41, 1038–39. Pietro Pizzuto studied the Daniélou-Garrone draft in *La teologia della rivelazione di Jean Daniélou. Influsso su Dei Verbum e valore attuale*, [Tesi Gregoriana, Serie Teologia, 96], (Rome, 2002).

<sup>45</sup>Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:257. Because Tromp was ill that day and absent from the meeting of the seven-member *De ecclesia* subcommission, he gives only a brief account, but the minutes taken by the recorder, Carlo Molari, are offered in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:888–93. The meeting began with Ottaviani stating that he had commissioned a draft by Archbishop Pietro Parente, but Ottaviani then exited the room, leaving the chair's duties to Browne. Of the seven members, five voted for the Philips schema—namely, König, Charue, Schröffer, Léger, and Garrone, with Parente abstaining and Browne favoring a text prepared by Parente.

<sup>46</sup>Suenens recommended that a new chapter II of *De ecclesia* treat the people of God, at the July 4, 1963, meeting of the Council's Coordinating Commission; see von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:485, 513. This had been suggested earlier by Thijssen of the Unity Secretariat and taken over by Bea in a letter of January 23, 1963, to Döpfner. But immediately before the July meeting, it was Monsignor Albert Prignon, rector of the Belgian College, who convinced Suenens to put his authority behind this restructuring. Mathijs Lamberigts and Leo Declerck, "The Role of Cardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens at Vatican II," in *The Belgian Contribution to the Second Vatican Council*, ed. Doris Donnelly, Joseph Famerée, Mathijs Lamberigts, and Karim Schelkens, [Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, CCXVI], (Leuven, 2008), pp. 61–217, here pp. 94, 103 (with note 210).

<sup>47</sup>Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:333 (Suenens's proposal, presented on March 28, 1963, to the Coordinating Commission), pp. 373 and 449 (Tromp relates this to the Doctrinal Commission, May 16 and 27, as coming from Döpfner), p. 457 (the *periti* Charles Moeller and Bernard Häring give backing on May 27 for the new chapter), and p. 463 (Charue relates on May 28 that Suenens's proposal has the backing of many Dutch, Belgian, German, and French bishops).



schema *De oecumenismo*.<sup>48</sup> Later, Bea added to the schema a brief chapter, *De Judaeis*, without any consultation of the Doctrinal Commission.<sup>49</sup>

This diary also relates the work of early 1963 to assemble texts on the Church and its outlook on and action in the modern world, in a Mixed Commission from the doctrinal and lay-apostolate commissions.<sup>50</sup> Suenens's programmatic speech, the *aula* on December 4, 1962, had exhorted the Council to direct its concerns *ad extra* to the world to contribute solutions to pressing global problems.<sup>51</sup> In January 1963 the Coordinating Commission mandated the formation of a Mixed Commission from the conciliar Doctrinal and Lay Apostolate commissions to undertake drafting of "Schema XVII" (later "Schema XIII") on the principles and action of the Church to promote the good of society. By mid-February, a general plan of work was in place, and *periti* began to be coopted and assigned to do initial drafting. Tromp's diary for the ensuing weeks refers often to the subcommissions of this developing project, up to his full record of this Mixed Commission's plenary session May 20-25, at which the lengthy schema was reviewed and largely approved.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup>Grootaers surveys this development concisely in "The Drama Continues," 2:429-35. Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:235, with note 408, tells of the initial text presented February 22, 1963, by the *periti*, among whom the lead redactors were John Witte and Thils for the chapters, respectively, on the nature and principles of ecumenism in Catholic perspective and on the Church's ecumenical action. In time, chapter III's section on relations with the Orthodox churches digested the 1962 schema from the Eastern Churches Commission, to which the Unity Secretariat added in April 1963 a further section on relations with Protestant bodies; see von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:367. The Unity Secretariat's chronicle of the genesis of the schema is provided in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:793-99.

<sup>49</sup>Tromp's laconic note of July 27, 1963, on Bea's chapter on the Jews is provided in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:495. The secretariat had drafted a short text in spring 1962. After political considerations led to it being set aside, the pope approved resuming this work, leading to a statement that the secretariat's members approved in February 1963. See Claude Soetens, "The Ecumenical Commitment of the Catholic Church," in *History of Vatican II*, 3:257-346, here pp. 275-76.

<sup>50</sup>Grootaers relates this concisely in "The Drama Continues," 2:412-22. Giovanni Turbanti treats more fully the late 1962 and early 1963 developments; see *Un concilio per il mondo moderno. La redazione della costituzione pastorale «Gaudium et spes» del Vaticano II* (Bologna, 2000), pp. 179-262. Turbanti's comprehensive study is covered in Wicks, "More Light," pp. 94-101.

<sup>51</sup>*Acta Synodalia*, vol. I, pt. 4:222-25, mentioning the inviolability of the human person and the population explosion, social justice and aid to the third world, evangelization of poor people, and international peace. Suenens's earlier "plan" for the Council, given to John XXIII in May 1962, had listed as well the *ad extra* topics of marriage and the family, the condition of culture, and the life of the political community. Lamberigts and Declerck, "The Role of Léon-Joseph Suenens," pp. 67-75, 138-39.

<sup>52</sup>Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:191-93 (Suenens's January recommendations of members and experts for chapters on the human person, family and population, the economic and social order, human culture, and the international order),

However, the schema was soon judged by Tromp, Döpfner, and Suenens and to lack essential qualities needed in a document to be formally presented and discussed in the Council *aula*.<sup>53</sup>

Amid the mass of reported information in this volume of Tromp's diary, one unfolding dynamic is the loss of control over "their" documents by the leadership of the Doctrinal Commission. In the preparatory period from mid-1960 to mid-1962, Cardinals Ottaviani and Browne, along with Archbishop Pietro Parente, Tromp, and the leading *periti* of that phase, had acted with considerable autonomy in producing schemas. But the elections of October 1962 gave to critical individuals both voice and vote on the conciliar doctrinal commission, and soon the mandated Mixed Commissions forced the doctrinal leaders to collaborate with task forces from the Unity Secretariat and the Commission on the Lay Apostolate. The able and tenacious presidents of these two entities, Bea and Fernando Centro, along with their commission secretaries Willebrands and Achille Glorieux, began exercising influence on the doctrinal texts on revelation and the Church/world relationship. Most seriously, in early 1963 the Doctrinal Commission came under authoritative direction emanating from the seven cardinals of new Commission for Coordinating the Work of the Council.<sup>54</sup> This Council "directorate," created

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pp. 213–15 (six chapters foreseen; initial drafts presented on the person in society by Pietro Pavan, the economic order by Agostino Ferrari Toniolo, and "the community of peoples" and peace by the Dominican Raymundus Sigmond), pp. 279–81 (two-hour review on March 8 by the Mixed Commission's bishops of the chapters developed by the *periti* such as by Daniélou and Ermenegildo Lio on the human person and by Johannes Hirschmann and Lio on marriage and family), and pp. 385–443 (the plenary of May 20–25, giving Tromp's minutes of the afternoon sessions on each chapter and paragraph, with reports on the morning meetings of the different subcommissions and *periti* working to incorporate desires voiced by the members).

<sup>53</sup>Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:1142 (Tromp's June 25, 1963, memo after the election of Paul VI on the state of his commission's schemas includes his doubts that the schema on the Church in today's world is ready to go to the Fathers. It contains matters not pertaining to the Council and is questionable in deducing everything from human dignity. It presents a baptized humanism, without theocentric and Christological themes), p. 483 (Döpfner says on July 3 that he and Suenens believe the schema is not yet mature), and p. 487 (Suenens reports to the Coordinating Commission on July 4 that the text lacks unity and synthetic power, is short on revealed doctrine [e.g., the regal dominion of Christ], mixes certain doctrine with secondary assertions, and does not develop sufficiently the topics of marital fruitfulness and the value of human work.).

<sup>54</sup>Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:173, where Tromp listed the newly appointed cardinal-members: Ameleto Cicognani (president of the new Coordinating Commission), Achille Liénart, Francis Spellman, Giovanni Urbani (patriarch of Venice), Carlo Confalonieri (secretary of the Concistorial Congregation), Julius Döpfner, and Léon-Joseph Suenens. Tromp added his foreboding over Liénart's selection for such a role, since in the Central Preparatory Commission and in his *aula* discourse of

by John XXIII at the end of Period I, took charge of coordinating, overseeing, and regularly evaluating—according to criteria from John—the schemas produced by the Second Vatican Council's commissions, including the doctrinal, with Cardinal Achille Liénart having responsibility for *De revelatione* and Suenens becoming especially active as the Coordinating Commission's supervisor of work on *De ecclesia* and the schema on the Church in the modern world.

Much more could be related about the trove of information given in von Teuffenbach's edition of volume II of the office diary of Tromp and many related documents. But it is clear that the new volumes have made widely available the records of a quite important period in the unfolding of the Second Vatican Council.

### **The Diary of Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P., at the Second Vatican Council's Early Sessions (1962–63)**

The newly published diary of Schillebeeckx offers an English translation (pp. 1–45) and the original Dutch text (pp. 46–74). This may seem to be a minor record of only a small part of the Council, especially when one compares it with the ample diaries that Congar, de Lubac, and Philips kept for the whole or much longer phases of the Council. But one should not underestimate the record offered in these *Council Notes* of the Flemish Dominican. His engagement with the approaching council began with journal articles in February 1959, just weeks after John XXIII's announcement of his intended convocation of a council. Schillebeeckx then became an opinion-shaper, especially on broad collegial participation at the Second Vatican Council, by his ghostwriting in late 1960 of the Dutch bishops' booklet *The Coming Ecumenical Council*, which circulated rapidly and widely in several languages.<sup>55</sup> During the opening weeks of the Council, our diarist was well positioned for observing directions taken in the initial discussions, since he had examined the nine initially distributed schemas in a detailed manner and prepared, in mimeographed form, two "Commentaries" widely distributed in Rome on these first official draft texts of the Council.<sup>56</sup>

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December 1, 1962 (*Acta Synodalia*, I, pt. 4:126–27), the cardinal of Lille had advanced the view, contrary to Pius XII in *Humani generis* (and to the Preparatory Commission's schema *De ecclesia*), that the Mystical Body of Christ in fact extends more widely than the boundaries of the Catholic Church. On the institution of the Coordinating Commission and its wide-ranging direction of work during the first intersession, see Grootaers, "The Drama Continues," 2:365–70, 376–83.

<sup>55</sup>In addition to translations into German, French, Spanish, and Polish, English versions appeared in *The Furrow*, 12 (1961), 365–81; and in *Catholic Mind*, 59 (1961), 364–80.

<sup>56</sup>First came Schillebeeckx's 56-page "Commentary on the 'prima series' of the 'Schemata constitutionum et decretorum de quibus disceptabitur in Concilii session-

The present publication gives the author's notes (pp. 44–46 in English and pp. 73–74 in Dutch) on the nearly three-hour meeting on October 19, 1962, of nine French and German bishops and fifteen theologians, who agreed on the need of alternatives to the four initial doctrinal schemas.<sup>57</sup> At the meeting, Archbishop Alfred Bengsch of Berlin spoke out for a *non placet* on the four texts from the Preparatory Theological Commission, whereas Jean Daniélou held that good points could be lifted from them and fused into an acceptable text. But Schillebeeckx joined Karl Rahner in arguing that this was not possible, because the schemas were permeated by intentions discordant from the pastoral goal given to the Council by John XXIII. He held that one needs, instead, a new kind of kerygmatic address to the Church and to the world.<sup>58</sup>

Schillebeeckx's diary offers accounts of developments and the author's reactions in a continuous manner only for Period I, which ran from October 11 to December 8, 1962. This includes accounts of the author's service as theological *peritus* of the Dutch bishops during the opening discussion of

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ibus," treating the seven schemas sent to Council members in late summer 1962. The commentary is now published in its English version in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:948–91. When the drafts of dogmatic constitutions on the Church and on the Blessed Virgin Mary were distributed to the Council Fathers in late November 1962, Schillebeeckx hastily prepared an 8-page set of Latin "Animadversiones" on these, which saw rapid distribution in 1500 copies before the ecclesiology debate opened on December 1, 1962 (text in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:1066–81, with Tromp's critical remarks in German, dated March 20, 1963, on pp. 1119–30). This activity, which many bishops welcomed, began before the Council opened, when the author addressed a group of Dutch missionary bishops on the schemas they had received. See Jan A. Browsers, "Vatican II, derniers préparatifs et première session: Activités conciliaires en coulisses," in *Vatican II commence . . . : Approches francophones*, ed. Étienne Fouilloux (Leuven, 1993), pp. 353–68.

<sup>57</sup>In his preface to the Schillebeeckx diary, "The Importance of Diaries for the Study of Vatican II," Mathijs Lamberigts discusses the slight differences in the accounts about those attending the October 19 meeting that appear in Schillebeeckx, de Lubac (*Carnets du concile*, ed. Loïc Figoureux, 2 vols. [Paris, 2007], I:132–33), and Congar (*Mon Journal du Concile*, ed. Éric Mahieu, 2 vols. [Paris, 2002], I:122–24).

<sup>58</sup>Schelkens, ed., *Council Notes*, p. 45. The four dogmatic schemas treated (1) tradition and scripture as sources of revelation; (2) correction of errors on ten doctrines that are undermining the pure communication to Catholics of the deposit of faith; (3) the basic principles of the Christian moral order; and (4) chastity, matrimony, the family, and virginity. Congar wanted to avoid a blanket rejection of the work of the Preparatory Theological Commission, in part because he knew there would be valuable portions in the commission's further schema *De ecclesia*, soon to be distributed. Still, the four published schemas give masses of juxtaposed particulars "ce qui manque . . . c'est la synthèse, la vision; c'est le sens du mystère chrétien" ("what is missing . . . is the synthesis, the vision, the meaning of the Christian mystery"). Congar, *Mon Journal*, I:124.



liturgical renewal. On October 17, 1962, it was known that liturgy would come up first for formal discussion. That evening Schillebeeckx spoke to the Dutch bishops on the schema, which he was on record as having commended as “in its main lines and details, an admirable piece of work.”<sup>59</sup> The bishops commissioned him to write a short Latin text on points favorable to the draft that would serve as the basis of an eventual speech in their name in St. Peter’s. Once debate opened on October 20, some backers of the liturgical status quo took positions that called for rebuttal, and so Schillebeeckx reworked the text of the speech. On October 25, one of the Dutch bishops learned about arguments against the schema that Cardinal Guiseppe Siri was to make the next day. So, Schillebeeckx did another revision with the result that on October 26 in St. Peter’s Siri’s main points met with counterpointed responses in the address immediately following by Bishop Willem Bekkers speaking for the Dutch episcopal conference.<sup>60</sup>

A further section (pp. 33–43) of the diary was written during Period II, treating more analytically the theological clash over episcopal collegiality, especially on the “trend votes” of October 30, 1963. On the latter, the diary includes the pertinent remark that the past weeks’ discussion in St. Peter’s gave the impression that the bishops were split into opposing groups of roughly equal size over basic aspects of the episcopate and its collegial nature. The votes then showed that those who opposed the innovative directions of the schema were in fact a small minority.<sup>61</sup>

In the total reality of the Second Vatican Council, Schillebeeckx had a limited role; although he was a resource for the Dutch bishops, he never became an official Council *peritus*. Nonetheless, he did work in 1964–65 on the subcommission on the family in preparing the Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et spes*.<sup>62</sup> Of greater import were his 1964 lectures in Rome on the Church/world relationship, which drew attention and occasioned sharply critical reactions by de Lubac.<sup>63</sup> But our global view of the Council has to include the contributions of many individuals who acted at key moments, and one of these is revealed in Schillebeeckx’s *Council Notes*, which are a small but fine addition to the great mosaic of the record of the Second Vatican Council.

<sup>59</sup>“Commentary on the ‘prima series,’” in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2: 986.

<sup>60</sup>See *Acta Synodalia*, I, pt. 1:440–41 (Siri) and pp. 441–45 (Bekkers).

<sup>61</sup>The Council’s opening discussion in 1962 of liturgical renewal had left the same “masking” impression, but the vote of November 14, to accept and develop the schema, showed, as Schillebeeckx noted, “on liturgy *in genere* 95% pro.” Schelkens, ed., *Council Notes*, p. 19.

<sup>62</sup>See Turbanti, *Un concilio*, pp. 524–27, 633, 641.

<sup>63</sup>See Wicks, “Further Light,” p. 560.

## Reading the Second Vatican Council as Modernist Rupture with the Catholic Tradition

Some readers will be aware of a conservative Catholic agitation, centered in Rome, which recently called for a high-level critical review of the Second Vatican Council and its documents, to verify their continuities and more significant discontinuities with the normative Catholic tradition of teaching and practice. Monsignor Brunero Gherardini, emeritus professor of ecclesiology at the Pontifical Lateran University, is the leading theological spokesman for this appeal.<sup>64</sup> Another component originated in a large work of 1985, lamenting the Council's error of principle coming from modernism, by the Italian-Swiss philosopher of esthetics Romano Amerio.<sup>65</sup> In late 2010, the main exponents of this reading of the Council and of the urgently needed remedies for the Council's deviations held a congress in Rome under the sponsorship of the Franciscans of the Immaculate, at which the historian Roberto de Mattei was a principal speaker.<sup>66</sup>

For readers of this journal, de Mattei's published contribution will be of most interest, for he has brought out a one-volume history of the Council composed of 629 pages. The "hermeneutics of rupture" rule de Mattei's reconstruction. Far from promoting the ongoing celebration of the Council, he claims that many Council texts and directives have roots in neo-modernist currents treated too benignly by Pope Pius XII despite the opposition of vigilant critics to their subversions.<sup>67</sup> De Mattei does not cite or reference Pius

<sup>64</sup>Brunero Gherardini, *The Ecumenical Vatican Council II. A Much Needed Discussion* (Frigento, 2009), in which, after nine chapters raising critical questions, the author concludes his epilogue with a four-page "Appeal to the Holy Father," namely that "You offer some clarity by responding in an authoritative manner to the questions about the Council's continuity with the other Councils . . . and about its fidelity to the ever vigorous Tradition of the church" (p. 297). Gherardini's recent works on the Council's interpretation include *Ecumene tradita: il dialogo ecumenico tra equivoci e prassi falsi* (Verona, 2009); *Quale accord tra Cristo e Beliar? Osservazioni teologiche sui i problem, gli equivoci e i compromessi del dialogo interreligioso* (Verona, 2009); "Quod et traditi vobis". *La tradizione vita et giovanezza della chiesa* (*Divinitas*, 53 [2010], 1–399; Frigento, 2010); *Quaecumque dixerit vobis: parola di Dio e tradizione a confronto con la storia e la teologia* (Turin, 2011); and *Concilio Vaticano II: il discorso mancato* (Turin, 2011).

<sup>65</sup>Romano Amerio, *Iota unum. A Study of Changes in the Catholic Church in the XXth Century*, translation from the second Italian edition (Kansas City, 1996). The Italian original was republished with a *postfazione* by Enrico Maria Radaelli (Turin and Verona, 2009). See Faggioli's account of Amerio's position in *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning*, pp. 26–29.

<sup>66</sup>The news service *Corrispondenza Romana* offers an account of the congress at <http://corrispondenzaromana.it/il-concilio-vaticano-ii-e-la-sua-giusta-ermeneutica-alla-luce-della-tradizione-della-chiesa>, accessed March 2, 2012.

<sup>67</sup>De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 31–77 (in the era of Pius XII, creeping theological novelties, especially in France, were noted but not suppressed in 1950 by

XII's encouragement, in *Humani generis*, that theology always return to the inexhaustible sources of our knowledge of divine revelation: "Hence it is that the theological disciplines, through the study of the sacred sources, remain ever fresh (*semper iuvenescunt*)."<sup>68</sup> Without this *ressourcement*, which was characteristic of the preconconciliar renewal currents, Pius XII says that theology turns into sterile speculation.<sup>68</sup>

In its aftermath, de Mattei finds the Council leading to the deleterious consequences of a many-sided Catholic crisis during 1965 to 1978 under Paul VI. This later "epoch of the Council" included developments such as a destructive reform of the Curia, the Dutch Catechism (1966), dissent from Paul VI's *Humanae vitae* on contraception (1968), infiltration of the Church by elements of the social revolutions of 1968, and the spread of the theology of liberation.<sup>69</sup> Because the Council did not condemn communism, the Vatican *Ostpolitik* discomfited loyal, long-time Catholic opponents of Marxist ideology and religious suppression. Paul VI implemented the Council's liturgy constitution with the revolutionary *Novus Ordo Missae*, in which critics found an "immanentist" and secularizing ecclesiological vision.<sup>70</sup>

Chapters II–VI of de Mattei's history set forth the Council preparations of 1959–62 and the events of each of the four working periods, along with information on developments during the three intersessions of 1963, 1964, and 1965. John XXIII had no coherent program, but was given to improvisations arising from his optimistic and benign outlook on life. This crystallized

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*Humani generis*, the Catholic biblical movement surrendered to reductive historical exegesis, the liturgical movement called for innovations infected by rationalism and archeologism, and the ecumenical pioneers adopted the World Council of Churches ideal of the people of God moving through history toward eschatological unity). Then pages 83–98 introduce far-seeing opponents to these threats such as the Brazilian law professor and Catholic activist Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira (1908–95); Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P.; Joseph C. Fenton; José de Aldema, S.J.; and Antonio Messineo, S.J. (of *La Civiltà cattolica*). De Mattei presented the first-named of these Catholic watchmen in *The Crusader of the 20th Century: Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira* (Leominster, UK, 1998).

<sup>68</sup>See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 42 (1950), 568–69.

<sup>69</sup>De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 527–54, followed by pp. 554–59 on perceptions of the situation by Paul VI ("the smoke of Satan" in God's temple), by Hubert Jedin, and by de Lubac (conference of 1969 at St. Louis University, denouncing abusive interpretations of the Council's documents). Pages 559–61 tell how Siri denounced errors and promoted a salutary emphasis on the Second Vatican Council's continuity with the tradition, especially in editorials from 1966 to 1986 that appeared first in the journal *Renovatio* and later in *Il dovere dell'ortodossia* (Pisa, 1987).

<sup>70</sup>De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 563–74. The author catalogs works critical of the Missal of Paul VI (p. 569n180) and recalls the multiauthored *Breve esame critica* presented to the pope in 1969 by Cardinals Alfredo Ottaviani and Antonio Bacci, who lament the new Missal's departures from Trent's teaching on Eucharistic sacrifice (p. 570).

in the theme of *aggiornamento*, which, for de Mattei, rests on a naive belief that one can change inherited forms without losing doctrinal substance. But this was, in embryo, “the spirit of Vatican II.”<sup>71</sup> De Mattei’s account of Period I ends with his theory about the dynamic at work in the Council’s approval of liturgical renewal followed by its critical handling of the doctrinal schemas on the sources of revelation and on the Church’s nature, structure, and mission. After relating Siri’s late 1962 catalog of disturbing developments, de Mattei takes over the view of Victor-Alain Berto, the *peritus* of Spiritan Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre. Accordingly, the Council’s members were not divided into a majority and minority, but instead into a tripartite division between the often undecided majority and two minorities seeking to give direction to the Council. One minority held Roman and Thomist principles, but was initially timid, whereas the anti-Roman and anti-Thomist minority showed determination and efficacy from the beginning in gaining broad backing for its critical positions.<sup>72</sup>

De Mattei relates, but does not reflect on, two aspects of the early part of the Council. First, well before the efforts of organized promotion fused together, an orientation vote on the liturgy schema on November 14, 1962, showed a huge majority approving the renewal set forth in what was the model-schema coming out of the Council’s preparation.<sup>73</sup> Second, in an interview given to Roberto Tucci, director of *Civiltà cattolica*, on February 9, 1963, John XXIII very plausibly read developments in Period I as the gradual appropriation by many Council members and by whole episcopates of the reforming hopes he had expressed in the opening discourse of October 11, 1962. In coherent, not improvised, directives given in the last days of Period I, John made the central paragraphs of that discourse normative for the revision of schemas and created the supervisory Coordinating Commission to ensure that revisions cohered with the pope’s aims.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup>De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, p. 118.

<sup>72</sup>De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 278–83, in which, after texts by Siri, the author cites the sociological analysis of Melissa Wilde, which is presented in Wicks, “Further Light.” But he is more convinced by Victor-Alain Berto, cited on p. 281, and by André Joussain’s theory of modern revolutions that appears in *La loi des révolutions* (Paris, 1950).

<sup>73</sup>De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 254 (the vote: *placet*, 2162; *non placet*, 46; invalid ballots, 7).

<sup>74</sup>De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 286–88 (the interview, from Tucci’s unpublished diary). The guidelines of December 6, 1962, for revision of schemas are given in *Acta Synodalia*, I, pt. 1:96–97. They cite John XXIII’s opening discourse, including the distinction between the truths of the deposit of faith and the *modus quo enuntiantur*, which should correspond to the magisterium being especially pastoral in character. John’s intentions were taken up and deepened in Paul VI’s opening discourse of Period II on September 29, 1963, in a profound confession of Christ as light of the world and a succinct presentation of the four areas in which the Second Vatican Council would issue updated teaching and orient the Catholic Church to dialogical interaction with others.



De Mattei's history is especially informative on the members, eventual organization, and interventions during the Council of the *Coetus internationalis Patrum*.<sup>75</sup> As on other topics that it treats, on and from the *Coetus* this history offers numerous and sometimes sizable texts in Italian. A small committee came together during Period I, through efforts of the Brazilian bishops Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, S.V.D., and Antônio de Castro Mayer, who met with Lefebvre and some French priests dedicated to saving the Church from modernist subversion.<sup>76</sup> They sponsored conferences in November 1962 that involved Monsignor Salvatore Garofalo, coordinator of the drafting of *De fontibus revelationis* in the Preparatory Theological Commission, and Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini who insisted, against the "modernists," on tradition for knowing divine revelation. Period II in 1963 saw the *Coetus* formally organized and holding regular strategy sessions, especially against episcopal collegiality, under the leadership of Lefebvre, Proença Sigaud, and Bishop Luigi Carli of Segni. In Period III, the schemas on ecumenism and religious liberty became targets of circulars of the *Coetus* and appeals to Paul VI. They publicized as well their demand that the revised *De revelatione divina* be modified to give tradition its due along with the inerrancy of scripture and the historical character of the Gospels.<sup>77</sup> Before Period IV, the *Coetus* asked for, but was refused, an official role in the *aula* for voicing their critical views on religious liberty, revelation in scripture and tradition, the Church in the modern world, and relations with non-Christian religions. During the fourth period, a resolute Paul VI rebuffed attacks by the *Coetus* and its sympathizers on *De libertate religiosa*. But a long amendment prepared by the *Coetus*

<sup>75</sup>On this group, see Luc Perrin, "Il Coetus internationalis Patrum e la minoranza conciliare," in *L'evento e le decisioni: Studi sulle dinamiche del Concilio Vaticano II*, ed. Alberto Melloni and Maria Teresa Fattori (Bologna, 1997), pp. 173–87; and Philippe J. Roy, "Le Coetus Internationalis Patrum, un groupe d'opposants au sein du concilie Vatican II" (PhD dissertation, University of Laval, 2011).

<sup>76</sup>De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 227–35, where one genealogical line goes back to the French Seminary in Rome in the mid-1920s, when Marcel Lefebvre, Victor-Alain Berto, and Raymond Dulac came under the formative influence of the long-time rector, Henri Le Floch, C.S.Sp., whom Pius XI ordered to leave Rome in 1927 following the condemnation of *Action Française*. At the Council, this group, formed into the *Coetus*, had the practical help of a fourteen-person secretariat set up and financed by Corrêa de Oliveira (p. 228).

<sup>77</sup>De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 330–35 (Siri reluctant to take part in group action, because of progressive directions taken by Paul VI; on October 22, 1963, the first of the weekly *Coetus* meetings; Berto orients the group to coordinated submission of *modi* in numbers that those making the final revisions will be unable to disregard), pp. 374–78 ("reserved note" of September 1964 to Paul VI against collegiality, from Cardinal Arcadio Larraona and thirty-seven others, to which the pope responded forcefully with an eight-page, handwritten letter), pp. 389–90 (appeal to Paul VI by nine of the *Coetus* disturbed by imminent departures from the ordinary magisterium on ecumenism and religious liberty), and p. 407 (ten-page circular on insertions to demand in *De revelatione*).

gained more than 400 adherents to the demand, which was partially and indirectly granted, of a condemnation of communism in the passage on atheism in *Gaudium et spes*.<sup>78</sup>

De Mattei has given an account of the Second Vatican Council that is noteworthy in its coverage. But it is seriously flawed by neglect and even denigration of the leadership of John XXIII and Paul VI as well as of the leading Council members whose intentions—*aggiornamento*, reform, and pastoral renewal—cohered closely with those of the two presiding popes of the Council.

<sup>78</sup>De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 422–26 (1964 interventions for condemning communism, with ample citation of Carli), pp. 454–56 (request for an *aula* role), pp. 458–70 (dramatic clash with Paul VI over religious liberty), and pp. 492–502 (final offensive and the long *modus* against communism, which suffered an improper delay in transfer to the commission for final revisions, but in the end led to the addition to *Gaudium et spes*, no. 21, of note 16 documenting condemnations of communism by Popes Pius XI, Pius XII, John XXIII, and Paul VI, with whom the Council joins in their *reprobatio* of atheism).

## FORUM ESSAY

BY

NELSON H. MINNICH, JOSHUA BENSON, HANS J. HILLERBRAND, SIMON DITCHFIELD,  
PAUL F. GRENDLER, AND BRAD S. GREGORY

*The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society.* By Brad S. Gregory. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 574. \$39.95. ISBN 978-0-674-04563-7.)

### **Introduction by Nelson H. Minnich (The Catholic University of America)**

In an effort to understand how contemporary American society came to be with its hyperpluralism of religious beliefs, emphasis on individual human rights, and dedication to consumerism, Brad S. Gregory looks for answers not to the Enlightenment, but to earlier eras, especially that of the Protestant Reformation. He approaches his topic from six intertwined perspectives: excluding God, relativizing doctrines, controlling the churches, subjectivizing morality, manufacturing the goods life, and secularizing knowledge. His investigation crosses national boundaries; sweeps across the centuries; and engages the disciplines of theology, philosophy, political science, sociology, economics, and even popular culture. An introduction explains his genealogical method and his conception of change over time, a conclusion summarizes his findings, and 145 pages of notes provide references to primary and up-to-date secondary literature in multiple languages. His writing style is lucid and even witty at times: "Whatever!"

In the chapter "Excluding God," Gregory shows how the late-medieval *via moderna* and its precursor John Duns Scotus departed from the traditional view of God as transcendent and incomprehensible, the God who revealed himself as "I am Who am" (Ex. 3:14) and whom St. Thomas Aquinas identified as the act of "to be" (*esse*). Scotus and his followers claimed that God shares being with creation, is conceptually part of the same framework as the created world in a "univocal metaphysics," and in nominalism is construed as the highest being (*ens*). Protestants insisted on the distinction between God and his creation, initially rejecting Aristotelianism and sacramentality as understood in the Roman Church. The Reformed and Radicals insisted that God is not physically present in the material world and that transubstantiation is a false teaching. After the early Church, they argued, God no longer manifested his power in miracles, and claims of apparitions and miracles wrought

through saints were to be rejected as superstitious beliefs. But Protestantism per se did not disenchant the world. Instead, the doctrinal disagreements of the Reformation era sidelined disputed Christian truth claims and opened the door for the intellectual exclusion of God via univocal metaphysics and Occam's razor through modern philosophy and science. In the seventeenth century (natural) philosophers tried to understand the world by using reason alone, identifying efficient causes, using mathematics, and seeing the world as governed by immutable natural laws. Natural theology using reason alone sought to understand the relationship between God and the world based on metaphysical assumptions of the *via moderna* in which God and nature belong to the same conceptual and ontological framework. Occam's razor and an either/or conception of natural and supernatural causality increasingly restricted God's role in the world. Once all events were defined as natural, miracles were explained away and there was no need for a God except as a remote first cause. Some philosophers turned God into Nature and Jesus Christ into an ethical sage. Nineteenth-century thinkers such as Friedrich Schleiermacher saw religion as the subjective realm of intuition and feelings. The intellectual elimination of God came not through the findings of science but through their conflation with assumptions of univocal metaphysics and the application of Occam's razor to the relationship between God's presence and natural regularities.

In the chapter "Relativizing Doctrines," Gregory traces the changes from the late-medieval world of shared beliefs, practices, and institutions to the current, highly personalized hyperpluralism of beliefs, values, and priorities. The Protestant reformers rejected what they considered the false truth claims of the Roman Church in favor of truths found only in scripture. They accepted the principle of noncontradiction and looked for divine inspiration when reading scripture. Despite their frequent claims that scripture interprets itself or needs no interpreter, no consensus could be found on such teachings as the Real Presence, infant baptism, oaths, free will, and predestination. Interpreters could be deceived, and Satan could present himself as an angel of light. Claims of revelations and illuminations by the Holy Spirit only added to the confusion. Human reason, whether tethered to scripture or alone and dispassionate in modern philosophy, was unable to resolve conflicting doctrines. Philosophers since Descartes have added a long chapter to a story they sought to move beyond. The great philosophical thinkers from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries contradicted each other, rejected the assumptions and alleged insights of other philosophers, and failed to agree on what reason discloses and dictates. Modern foundationalist philosophy sought through "reason alone" to transcend the unintended pluralism of "scripture alone," but replicated it in a different way.

In the chapter "Controlling the Churches," Gregory notes that, by the late-medieval period, rulers were controlling the Church but not its doctrines in their lands through the Statutes of Provisors and *Praemunire* (1351-93) in



England, the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) in France, the Acceptance of Mainz (1439) in the Empire, and a series of concordats. While Martin Luther urged rulers to reform the Church, he saw society as dominated by Satan and the public sphere as the proper domain of non-ecclesiastical rulers. He looked to Christian rulers to approve, support, and protect the Gospel. Magisterial reformers made an alliance with secular rulers against the antichrist of Rome and the Radical Reformers whose involvement in the Peasants' Revolt (1524–26) and New Jerusalem of Münster (1534–35) threatened church and state. In their respective political contexts, Catholic and Protestant churches became “entirely subordinate and dependent institutions” (p. 154). In the wars of religion (1520s–1648) everyone lost, and religion became associated with coercion, oppression, and violence. Novel political thinkers claimed that the job of rulers was not to protect and promote a particular religion, but to dominate it and punish lawbreakers. Holland, where Reformed Protestantism was the “public” but not the state church and where de facto toleration in private spaces of other confessions led to peace and prosperity, pioneered what would eventually become the modern Western model for the separation and coexistence of religion and politics. Religion was a private matter of personal preference as long as the citizen obeyed the state. The United States institutionalized the Dutch model by adopting the principle of religious freedom and privatizing religious belief and practice. Today, American courts decide what constitutes religion and which expressions of religion are permissible. The state achieves unity by exercising power and promoting an ethos of individualist consumerism.

The chapter on “Subjectivizing Morality” describes the gap between ideals and reality in late-medieval society, conceiving it as a moral community of shared rules and virtues. The Church did not seek to eliminate inherited social inequalities coming from the Roman Empire or feudalism in its appeals to charity, or since the twelfth century through its canonists' teachings on natural human rights based on human beings' creation in the image of God. Scholastics and humanists alike admired Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, with its teachings about virtues. Niccolò Machiavelli, however, separated the exercise of power from morality. Luther wanted political power exercised according to the Gospel, but he saw human nature as completely corrupt, rejected free will, and viewed Aristotle's teachings in the *Nicomachean Ethics* as opposed to the Gospel's message of God's grace. Ethics was separated from theology. The elect would do what is good out of gratitude for being saved, and the magistracy was to compel the reprobate to conform to law and public morality. The suppression of religious dissenters in confessional regimes prompted radical Protestants to apply rights of religious freedom to individuals rather than churches. The individual, not the established church, was to be the bearer of rights. Although the founding documents of the United States claim that the basis of these rights is self-evident in that they come from the Creator, this is today no longer universally accepted, nor is there anything near a consensus on what constitutes the common good. Each

is free to do what feels right within the limits of the law. No secular ethic has emerged to ground a shared moral community. Science cannot teach ethics nor provide a basis for the dignity of human persons.

In "Manufacturing the Goods Life" Gregory attempts to discover the origins of the capitalist-consumerism mentality of "acquire, discard, repeat" that serves as the cultural glue of contemporary society. Well aware of relevant biblical passages, medieval Christian leaders saw the dangers of acquisitiveness and preached against avarice and greed. They also violated their own admonitions. Up to a point, Christian morality kept in check the excesses of the urban profit economies and the competitiveness of market forces. While holding to traditional Christian morality concerning avarice, the Protestant Reformers separated morality from salvation and saw the world as overrun by greed and ambition. Disagreements about biblical teachings liberated markets and economic practices from Christianity. Across confessional lines, Christians beginning around the mid-seventeenth century increasingly preferred shopping to fighting about religion. The economic success of the Dutch Republic, where religion was privatized and one was free to pursue profit, led people to turn their backs on biblical teachings about material things. Among the Puritans in England and New England there was a gradual shift from the common good to self-interest, the public sphere was secularized, and there was a "migration of the holy" from church to state (according to John Bossy). Men sought to fulfill their duty to provide for their families. Wealth was to be accumulated and displayed; it was seen as a sign of God's favor and approval. The quest for more and more material things encouraged people to discipline themselves in Jan de Vries's industrious revolution and made them more easily governable by the state. Enlightenment thinkers praised the pursuit of happiness through material things, and avarice renamed as self-interest became a virtue. A new ethic emerged—the good life consists of the goods life, translated in the modern day to industrial capitalism and contemporary consumerism that serves to hold together societies of ideologically divided individuals.

In the chapter "Secularizing Knowledge" Gregory shows how the modern research university came to privilege objective, secular, specialized knowledge that is separated from the rest of life and based on the assumptions governing investigation in the natural sciences. The truth-claims of revealed religion are considered subjective and are altogether excluded from knowledge. Beliefs and rituals can be examined as cultural phenomena or relics in a religion, sociology, or history department. In the Middle Ages theology was studied in monastic and cathedral schools, in universities and the *studia* of the mendicants. It embraced the rediscovered Aristotelian philosophy and was in dialogue with other disciplines. New knowledge was derived primarily by deduction from authoritative texts: the Bible and church fathers for theology, the writings of Aristotle for philosophy, those of Galen for medicine, and the *Corpus juris canonici* and code of Justinian for lawyers. The literary works of

ancient Greece and Rome were models of style for Renaissance humanists. Correspondence among humanists created a “Republic of Letters” outside the university setting, in part because some intellectual endeavors were not welcome in a scholastic curriculum. Johann Müller of Königsberg in the 1470s and Mikolaj Kopernik in the 1510s also conducted astronomical observations outside universities. “By rejecting the authority of the Roman Church, the Reformation eliminated any shared framework for the integration of knowledge” (p. 326), while disagreements over doctrine led some to see religion as a matter of subjective opinion. Theology was privileged but thereby became isolated and insulated in early-modern confessional universities protected by rulers. Theologians devoted intellectual energy to confessional controversies, but this meant they usually ignored new scientific and historical knowledge. Those wanting to escape these divisive debates participated in the cross-confessional Republic of Letters to exchange increasingly secular ideas. Academies, private homes, and princely courts became new sites where experiments in the natural sciences were conducted and the findings reported as new, useful, and objective knowledge in scientific journals. Eventually universities in the Dutch Republic and Empire demoted the teaching of theology and initially gave prominence to philosophy and to research in philology, then increasingly to the natural sciences in the nineteenth century. The social sciences developed and tried to imitate the methods of the natural sciences so as to discover the laws that govern human behavior. The secularization of knowledge occurred first in Protestant universities as Catholic institutions retreated into a shell of antimodernist neo-Scholasticism, their secularization coming only in the late-twentieth century. The long-time privileging of theology, unexamined metaphysical assumptions, and ignorance of new knowledge meant most nineteenth-century theologians were ill equipped to deal with the challenges of Darwinism, higher biblical criticism, and historicism. Protestant pluralism could not be reconciled with objective universal science. The German model of a research university was eventually appropriated in America, and higher education was secularized because religious claims to knowledge could not be reconciled with pluralism. Christianity, watered down to nonsectarian principles and values, was treated as a civilizing factor. Eventually secular humanists looked to the great books and works of art to provide this civilizing force. Anyone who took religion seriously was dismissed as sectarian or a fundamentalist. The university’s function was now to inculcate skepticism and open-ended toleration, to relativize or eliminate religious belief.

According to Gregory, it was the Reformation’s rejection of the authority of the Roman Church, its insistence on *sola scriptura*, and its inability to agree on what the Bible teaches that precipitated the early-modern doctrinal disagreements and religio-political conflicts that unintentionally set this trajectory in motion. “Doctrinal disagreement—along with its multiple social, moral, and political effects—is the most fundamental and consequential fact about Western Christianity since 1520” (p. 45).



### Comments of Joshua Benson (The Catholic University of America)

Gregory's first chapter tracks the genesis and consequences of two assumptions of secular reason. These comments will focus only on one: what Gregory calls a "univocal metaphysics" (p. 38). This assumption is important to Gregory's total narrative, and he frequently returns to it. He argues that the Franciscan theologian John Duns Scotus (d. 1308) lies at the source of this univocal metaphysics, which ultimately undercuts God's transcendence by including him within the realm of the created world. Those who adhere to a view known as "Radical Orthodoxy" have raised similar fears about Scotus. Although Gregory seems to distinguish himself from these individuals in his endnotes, his reading of Scotus is substantially the same. Regarding Gregory's text, I would like to point out briefly what a major group of scholars has already demonstrated at length about Radical Orthodoxy's reading of Scotus's doctrine of univocity—it is tragically flawed. As any number of commentators have stressed: "The doctrine of univocity is a semantic doctrine . . . it is highly misleading to talk . . . about a 'univocalist ontology,'"<sup>1</sup> or, metaphysics. In other words, Scotus's univocal concept of being belongs to the field of religious/theological language about God; it is not a claim about any purported relationship between God's being and created being in reality. Scotus does not believe, contrary to Gregory's reading, that his claim in a semantic field necessitates a claim about an ontological similarity between God and creatures in reality, such that "[God] belongs to a more encompassing reality with creatures" (Gregory, p. 37). Scotus himself makes this clear in one of the most critical texts regarding his theory, which Gregory does not cite: "... God and creatures are nevertheless totally distinct in reality, because they share in no reality."<sup>2</sup> One hardly needs to know Scotus's corpus well to discover this crucial distinction—there is a large body of scholarly literature, old and new, that maintains it. In fact, one of the sources cited by Gregory also shows that Scotus's theory does not undermine God's transcendence. Scotus indeed praises God's transcendence in his *De primo principio*: "You the first efficient cause, you the ultimate end, you supreme in perfection transcend all things."<sup>3</sup> This is not mere lip-service; Scotus holds that God transcends all things, and his univocity theory of religious language does not undermine it. Further, it is significant that fourteenth-century figures were more concerned to criticize Scotus's formal distinction and its implications for God's simplicity than issues regarding univocity and divine transcendence. Gregory's work

<sup>1</sup>See Thomas Williams, "The Doctrine of Univocity Is True and Salutory," *Modern Theology*, 21 (2005): 575–85, here 575.

<sup>2</sup>"[Deus et creatura] sunt tamen primo diversa in realitate, quia in nulla realitate conveniunt." John Duns Scotus, *Ordinatio* 1.8.1.3 (Vatican City, 1956), 4:190n82.

<sup>3</sup>"Tu primum efficiens. Tu finis ultimus. Tu supremus in perfectione, cuncta transcendis." John Duns Scotus, *A Treatise on God as First Principle*, ed. Allan Bernard Wolter (Chicago, 1983), p. 143.



does not stand or fall on his claim about Scotus. Nevertheless, in a work so concerned with genealogies, we might hope for more care in their construction.

### **Comments of Hans J. Hillerbrand (Duke University)**

This is a remarkable book, and given the attention it has already received it might well buttress its author's standing as key scholar of early-modern Europe. Its analytic prowess, bibliographical mastery, and conversancy with a wide range of developments in European intellectual history are all impressive. This is the kind of book reviewers wish to have written themselves.

Having said that, one must add, however, that the book's thesis and conclusions are neither new nor persuasive. That the Protestant Reformation was an intellectual, theological, and societal disaster has been a mainstay of Catholic critics—for them, Martin Luther was not only a poor theologian; he also destroyed a flowering late-medieval culture and worldview. To be sure, Gregory gives the traditional Catholic perspective an intriguingly new twist, but in so doing, he is not always successful.

It is not clear what kind of book this is. It is certainly not a history of the Reformation (although three of the four blurbs on the dust jacket are from early-modern historians.) Gregory has a lot to say about the Reformation, but he also says a lot about the centuries before and after the Reformation. Thus, his focus is considerably broader so as to sustain his argument that, no matter how committed to enhancing the place of religion in society, the Reformation produced the exact opposite—the philosophically confused, morally blemished, theologically irrelevant twenty-first century.

That, of course, is heavy medicine.

Unfortunately, in the six chapters of the book Gregory lets his thesis overwhelm the facts. Although he declares repeatedly that his book is more than an intellectual history of Europe, covering political, social, and economic developments as well, this reviewer, at any rate, is left with the impression that he slides all too smoothly over individuals and ideas that do not fit his scheme of things. There may be other culprits in the story of the “decline of the west,” but Gregory leaves little doubt that the real culprit was Luther and his compatriots in reform.

At issue, then, is the question if developments in Europe can be traced so singly to the Reformation (as both title and subtitle of the book assert). I do not think so. Although I am pleased that religion, in varying guises, is given so central a place in Gregory's book, I also suggest that there were revolutionary developments that “secularized society” and had nothing to do with the Reformation. Take the role of the scientific and geographic revolutions where surely the work of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo had less to do with their

religious beliefs than with problems of the Aristotelian/Ptolemaic cosmology. Or take economics. The uniform medieval value system collapsed because the concept of the “just price” no longer worked. Europeans in faraway places traded cheap glass marbles for costly furs. What then was the “just price for furs in Europe?” Late in the sixteenth century, Spanish Jesuit Juan de Mariana offered the apt conclusion that “the market has its own laws.” Add to that the Christian encounters with different religions, Louis Cappel’s study of the Hebrew vowel marks, and the ubiquitous rise of natural science, and one must conclude that the new turns in the understanding of the world and its impact on society would have come about even if the likes of Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli, or John Calvin had died in their respective cradles.

In short, things were just a bit more diverse than is brilliantly argued here, although one appreciates, perhaps grudgingly, Gregory’s commitment to make religion important in European history. That makes (its flaws notwithstanding), *The Unintended Reformation* a book that needed to be written. Not that it makes a cogent case, but it should trigger a conversation.

### Comments of Simon Ditchfield (University of York, UK)

This is a very American book and for a very simple reason. Even the least observant Briton visiting the United States today is struck by a paradox—although in the United States church and state are legally separate, the country has become a Walmart of religious faiths all jostling for the spiritual consumer’s attention. By contrast, in the United Kingdom, where the monarch is head of the Church of England and the coins that jangle in our pockets all proclaim her as “Defender of the Faith,” the public profile of Christian faith in particular and religion in general is, relatively speaking, all but invisible. Thus viewed from the British perspective, Gregory’s lament for the parlous state of the present in which a cacophony of religious, philosophical, and moral “hyperpluralism” has superseded what, for all its dissonances, was essentially a harmonious pre-Reformation Age of Faith appears misplaced. So what has got Gregory’s goat and impelled him to abandon his original project, which was to write a more conventional narrative history of the Reformation Age, in favor of authoring a passionate polemic of such breathtaking scope and learning? The answer lies in the specifically American context of its composition, where the failure of “the Secularization thesis” was given such dramatically tragic endorsement by 9/11. This has been accompanied by the so-called “religious turn” within the profession of U.S. academic history as reflected by the news that, according to data culled from membership details of the American Historical Association in 2009, “religious history” surpassed all other topic categories. If one adds to this the moral and actual bankruptcy of the financial sector and the unmasking of that demonic enabler of the “goods society”—easy credit—presaged by the collapse of Lehmann Brothers in September 2008, the necessary conditions are in place for Gregory’s apologetic. However, the sufficient conditions are still lacking to contextualize

Gregory's argument, and here, to borrow E. H. Carr's sage injunction, one needs to attend to the sound of the buzzing within the historian's bonnet.<sup>4</sup> In Gregory's case, we are dealing with a scholar who is not only a trained historian and member of the academic staff at one of the pre-eminent Catholic universities in North America—Notre Dame—but also a professionally qualified philosopher, with two degrees from the Catholic University of Leuven. This unusual skill set for a twenty-first-century historian helped me understand why so often I found myself thinking that the facts adduced by Gregory for his argument were doing philosophical rather than historical work. To borrow an insight of Jonathan Sheehan in his subtle analysis of a work I consider to be similar in its ambitions to the book under review—Charles Taylor's *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA, 2007)—*The Unintended Reformation* “is not a history. Rather, it documents a set of contrastive categories.”<sup>5</sup> However, in place of Taylor's narrative of the shift from the premodern “porous” social self open to the spiritual world to the modern “buffered” individual for whom religion has been “excarnated” and rendered immaterial and transcendent, Gregory offers an altogether bleaker cautionary tale in which “the blithe and incoherent denial of the category of truth in the domains of human morality, values, and meaning” (p. 18) *has left religion itself secularized* (p. 174, emphasis added). For Gregory, the answer is to be found in a neo-Scholastic marriage of reason and belief, with philosophy as (once more) the handmaid of theology. The implication appears to be that we do not need a (scientific) truth to serve us, but a (religious) truth to serve. This raises a disquieting question. Where does this leave those of us religious historians who do not profess allegiance to any formal denomination and believe that our continued membership of the secular academy does not disqualify us from making valid contributions to the historical understanding of our chosen subject?

### **Comments of Paul F. Grendler (University of Toronto Emeritus and Chapel Hill, NC)**

This comment will focus on the last chapter in which Gregory argues that the Reformation secularized knowledge, especially university knowledge. He argues that just before the Reformation “the monastic, scholastic, scientific, and humanistic strands of late medieval knowledge-making were not sequestered from one another” (p. 324). But then, “By rejecting the authority of the Roman church, the Reformation eliminated any shared framework for the integration of knowledge” (p. 326). Theology and theologians became separated from the scientific knowledge creation of the universities, a situation that exists today.

<sup>4</sup>E. H. Carr, *What Is History?* (Harmondsworth, UK, 1962).

<sup>5</sup>Jonathan Sheehan, “When Was Disenchantment? History and the Secular Age” in *Varieties of Secularism in a Secular Age*, ed. Michael Warner, Jonathan VanAntwerpen, and Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA, 2010), pp. 217–42, here p. 225.

There are historical problems with this argument. University scientific knowledge (medical, legal, and physical knowledge) was already separate from theological knowledge before the Reformation. How so? The most important universities for producing all knowledge except theological knowledge in the Renaissance and Reformation era (1400 through the early-seventeenth century) were Italian universities. Why? Because they had many (and famous) professors in these subjects, whereas northern European universities had few (and little known) professors. For example, the universities of Bologna and Padua had thirteen to twenty-eight professors of medicine and twenty to fifty professors of law in any given year in the sixteenth century. The universities of Heidelberg, Leiden, Vienna, and so forth had three or four professors of law and medicine each, but lacked professors of astronomy and mathematics. Professors in Italian universities created an enormous amount of new knowledge—good, bad, and indifferent—and disseminated it through lectures and publications. Professors in northern European universities produced little. Some of this new scientific knowledge had an enormous impact; for example, Italian university professors created the Medical Renaissance of the sixteenth century.

Italian universities had already marginalized theology in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By 1500 most large Italian universities had only one or two professors of theology and one or two professors of metaphysics in a professoriate of fifty to one hundred. Some had fewer theologians. For example, the University of Bologna did not teach theology through much of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and theology won a permanent place in its curriculum only in the academic year 1566–67. Just as important, many professors of law, medicine, and natural philosophy had little respect for theology and metaphysics.

Another way of explaining the situation is that northern European and Spanish universities were collegiate universities teaching arts (meaning humanities and philosophy) to what we would now call undergraduates and theology to clergymen. Most of the teachers were regent masters, young men with master's degrees who taught younger students studying for bachelor of arts degrees. They resembled today's graduate teaching assistants. By contrast, Italian universities were graduate and professional universities whose professors held doctorates. They offered advanced training and conferred doctorates in law and medicine on mostly laymen. Hence, numerous northern Europeans acquired bachelor's degrees in arts in their home countries and doctorates in law or medicine in Italy.

In short, Italian universities were already research universities producing secular knowledge and marginalizing theology before the Reformation. In time northern universities became more like Italian universities as they caught up with and sometimes surpassed the scientific innovations of Italian Renaissance universities.



Other questions come to mind. To what extent did Scholastic theologians in late-medieval Europe evaluate the truth claims of scientific knowledge? And perhaps Gregory underestimates the antagonism between humanism and Scholasticism in northern European universities. A key component of humanism was its sharp critical attitude toward all received knowledge. Scholastic theologians and philosophers were a favorite target.

Finally, is it such a bad thing that a great deal of university knowledge was and is secular? Should theologians using the test of Catholic experiential knowledge have examined the truth claims of the new anatomical knowledge that Andreas Vesalius and his followers created? What would they have said?

Although this comment questions some of the arguments of the book, it agrees with much of its description of the development of knowledge and criticisms of contemporary American life, including the universities. Finally, two editorial suggestions are in order. The author might have divided the long chapters into sections, and have reduced the size of many paragraphs and sentences. The publisher should have provided footnotes.

### **Response of Brad S. Gregory (University of Notre Dame)**

I am grateful to my colleagues for their reviews and to *The Catholic Historical Review* for the opportunity to respond briefly to their chief criticisms and questions. I will first address the two reviews that focus on specific points, then turn to the two that consider the book as a whole.

My interpretation of Duns Scotus and his metaphysical univocity is based entirely on secondary sources, beginning with Amos Funkenstein and including the other scholars of medieval philosophy and theology mentioned in the notes. Even if we follow those interpreters who, as Benson indicates, regard Scotus's conception of being as a semantic theory of religious language rather than an ontology, it would at most qualify the character of Scotus's contribution to the genealogical analysis traced in chapter 1. A more adequate account would then inquire about the process whereby Scotus's semantic theory was taken as a metaphysics such that God and creation *were* conceived ontologically as (infinite and finite) differentiations within the more encompassing *reality* of being and how this became the dominant metaphysical framework within which modern philosophical and scientific thought about the relationship between God and nature unfolded. For, whatever the particularities of the history, it seems clear not only that this happened but also that, in combination with Occam's razor applied to an either/or distinction between natural and supernatural causality, it explains why so many scholars and scientists today mistakenly assume that central claims of revealed religion are rendered implausible in proportion as scientific explanation of natural regularities proceeds apace. Any revised account taking its departure from Benson's point about Scotus, it seems to me, would not affect my argument in

chapter 1 about the critical role of Reformation-era doctrinal controversies in sidelining contested issues related to God's alleged revelation.

Grendler seems to have misunderstood what I wrote in chapter 6 about the relationship between theology and the other disciplines in late-medieval universities, whether in Italy (where I rely especially on his scholarship) or in northern Europe. That different sorts of knowledge (monastic, scholastic, scientific, humanistic) were not sequestered from one another on the eve of the Reformation, that they "coexisted and interacted among many of the church's intellectuals" (p. 324), does *not* mean—as I make clear—that they were integrated into a whole or that their interconnections were apparent at the time (pp. 317–26). The point is that the pursuit and transmission of knowledge, regardless of its type and whether it was inside or outside Italian or northern European universities, continued to presuppose an intellectual framework that included Christian truth claims and their theological expression. It was thus not "secular knowledge" in any modern sense. That is why professors in arts, law, or medical faculties in Italian no less than in northern universities, as Grendler knows far better than I, could be and sometimes were suspected of heresy. Theology's marginalization in Italian universities (and its institutionalization in friars' *studia*) did not imply that knowledge pursued in other faculties was opposed to or unrelated in principle to Christian truth claims. Their integration was simply not commonly pursued, still less achieved. In this sense, as I note (p. 318), the specialization of knowledge was indeed already underway in the late Middle Ages. But the Reformation's impact was dramatically different in kind, because Protestant reformers rejected many of the truth claims that constituted the doctrinal framework, rendering theology *incapable* of serving as an integrative discipline *across* what became institutionalized divides in confessionalized universities. Grendler's blandly general remarks about humanism and Scholasticism do not do justice to the pages I devote to their relationship (pp. 323–26), and his question about theology, Catholic experiential knowledge, and Vesalius's anatomical knowledge shows that he misunderstands the chapter's argument about how "the kinds of knowledge in question were undeniably different, and irreducible to one another" (p. 325; cf. 308–09).

A more basic incomprehension of the book as such seems apparent in Hillerbrand's remarks. His comments reflect some of the ingrained assumptions about periodization, supersessionist historical change, and textbook narratives of secularization that I challenge—hence his bafflement about "what kind of book this is." So, to be clear: *The Unintended Reformation* is a history book. It takes the present Western world as its point of departure. It seeks to explain how the past gave rise to the present, emphasizing the disruptions of the Reformation era to this end. I proceed in self-consciously unconventional ways for reasons that are clearly articulated in the introduction, which lays out the book's aim, rationale, and method (pp. 1–14, 20–24). Contrary to Hillerbrand's imputations (and Ditchfield's suspicions), the book's approach

presupposes no substantive religious commitments, Catholic or otherwise. An atheist careful not to impose personal views on those studied could have written it. If all religious truth claims turn out to be nonsense, nothing in the book's analysis or conclusions would change. I state repeatedly (and show extensively) that it was not "Luther" or the Reformation per se, but rather the unresolved doctrinal disagreements among Protestants and Catholics, as well as the concrete religio-political conflicts between Catholics and magisterial Protestants, that precipitated the Western world's *unintended* ideological and institutional secularization. One can approve or disapprove of this process and its outcomes, diverse assessments about which contribute to contemporary hyperpluralism; I offer multiple arguments about why our situation today seems troubling, but this judgment is separable from the historical analysis as such. Hillerbrand imagines that early-modern scientific and cosmological discoveries and the development of commercial markets were secularizing factors independent of religion and the Reformation's impact and as such provide evidence that I let my "thesis overwhelm the facts" and "[slide] all too smoothly over individuals and ideas that do not fit [my] scheme of things." Rather, such allegations make plain how little Hillerbrand understood of chapters 1, 5, and 6.

Instead of addressing any of its arguments, Ditchfield speculates about why I wrote an ostensibly "very American book." Yet the conclusions of many of its historical arguments pertaining to "the parlous state of the present"—about, for example, the absence of evidence for human rights given naturalist metaphysical assumptions, consumerism's impact on climate change, or the effects of the fragmentation of knowledge on university education—apply no less to Britain or European countries than to the United States. To be sure, hyperpluralism with respect to questions of meaning, morality, and values is more *publicly visible* and causes more political friction at present in the United States than in the United Kingdom, but a very wide range of incompatible ideological claims, religious as well as secular, is evident in both. I did not pursue in the book their specific, contingent, and complex particularities in different national contexts or the highly variable character of their current public manifestations and political implications. But these national variations are fully compatible with the book's argument.

I have been concerned with the questions that *The Unintended Reformation* seeks to answer since long before 9/11, the scholarly "religious turn," or the economic debacle of 2008. When I was still in Stanford's history department, Ditchfield reviewed my first book, *Salvation at Stake* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), in this journal. In its conclusion I wrote:

It would be an exaggeration to say that unresolved religious disagreement caused the Enlightenment, the rise of modern science and philosophy, the early modern renaissance of skepticism, and the birth of modern relativism. Yet its important influence on all these major trajectories in modern thought is clear. (p. 348)

*The Unintended Reformation* extends and expands the exploration of issues raised in *Salvation at Stake*. I reject Ditchfield's apparent dichotomization of philosophy and history. Philosophy belongs to the human past and present, and all scholars make historically rooted philosophical assumptions whether or not they are aware of it. Among other aims, *The Unintended Reformation* seeks to raise philosophical self-awareness among all scholars on the basis of historical analysis, rather than acquiescing in dominant assumptions about disciplinary boundaries. Yet Ditchfield can relax, considering how well he does his scholarly work as a leading historian of early-modern Catholicism. Just as he professes no formal denominational allegiance, so *The Unintended Reformation* does not depend on any of mine, regardless of my institutional affiliations. I have always argued that doing good religious history is not a function of whether one is a religious believer. The book provides no basis for imputing to me the view that the answer to current problems "is to be found in a Neo-Scholastic marriage of reason and belief, with philosophy as (once more) the handmaid of theology." This should be evident from my remark about "comically simplistic papal diagnoses and remedies for the problems of modernity," such as "Scholasticism" (pp. 361-62). The contemporary *intellectual viability* of Roman Catholicism and some other religious worldviews in relationship to natural scientific findings should be acknowledged by anyone who understands the relevant intellectual issues involved, whether or not they accept any religious claims. That is why I say the academy should unsecularize itself based on its own principles of academic freedom and open inquiry. This has nothing to do with reconfessionalizing academic life or imagining that religious beliefs are a prerequisite for doing good scholarship. It bears instead on recognizing the non-neutrality of secular beliefs in a manner that would widen the range of intellectually responsible academic discourse.



## BOOK REVIEWS

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### General and Miscellaneous

*Masters of Preaching: The Most Poignant and Powerful Homilists in Church History.* By Ray E. Atwood. (Lanham, MD: Hamilton Books. 2012. Pp. xvi, 305. \$60.00. ISBN 978-0-761-85780-8.)

A priest of Dubuque has written a most useful guide for anyone who wishes to consider more seriously the fact that preaching is, in the clear teaching of the Council of Trent, the *Primum Officium* of the priesthood. Ray E. Atwood provides the historical schema for the development of various schools and styles of preaching, from the Hebrew prophets to the twentieth century, with typical sermons and homilies in accessible translation.

The patristic tradition expounded sacred texts not only literally, spiritually, and morally but also allegorically and anagogically. Although the typology in the latter idioms when overwrought can wear thin, it obviously had an impact on their original hearers. This only shows that great preaching must not only have a timeless quality but also a certain datedness, if it speaks directly to the vernacular culture.

The author draws heavily on the Reformed theologian Hughes Oliphant Old, who proves to be a good source. For instance, in contrast to the sometimes extravagant rhetorical devices of the Cappadocians, he sees in St. Augustine a sacramental sense of preaching that did not aim at “great oratory” but rather understood preaching as an act of worship. The Second Vatican Council’s teaching on the preaching ministry only renewed what had always been in the bosom of the Church and which in earlier times also had to be reinvigorated, as it was through such great lights of the Counter-Reformation as the Jesuit saint and cardinal Robert Bellarmine. He did not disparage oratory as an art and even encouraged its refinement, but not for its own sake. In his “De ratione formandae concionis” Bellarmine expects in a preacher “zeal, wisdom, and eloquence” and finds these symbolized by the tongues of fire at Pentecost whose “heat points to zeal, the splendor to wisdom, and the form of tongues, eloquence” (p. 209). St. Charles Borromeo’s insistence on a thorough knowledge of history reminds us that the neglect of such study explains much of the weakness in contemporary preaching.

Since the book includes thirty sermons and introduces voices such as Ezekiel, Jeremiah, St. Basil the Great, St. Ephraim the Deacon, the Venerable Bede, St. Alphonsus Liguori, and St. Jean Marie Vianney, it is almost pedantic to regret the omission of St. Bernardino of Siena. The Dominican Jean-Baptiste

Henri Lacordaire is mentioned only in passing. But it is a major loss to have overlooked Monsignor Ronald A. Knox, the most polished and original preacher of his age. Instead, for the twentieth century, we have Walter Burghardt, whose admirable style could outshine content, and Venerable Fulton J. Sheen, whose influence on many somewhat atones for indulgent dramaturgy. “Cupio dissolvi” was not a motto instinctive to him, and his free use of Knox, G. K. Chesterton, and C. S. Lewis without attribution was so bold as to be almost guileless.

None of the preachers cited followed the author’s advice that ten minutes should be the length of a homily. Just as a prelude and a sonata are not a symphony, so should distinctions be made between forms of preaching, and sacred rhetoric is not confined to the liturgy. At least preaching is no longer a “legitimate interruption” of the Mass, as the old Code of Canon Law had it. The reader will learn much from the many details presented here, although, alas, John Keble and Edward Pusey did not “follow [John Henry] Newman back to Rome” (p. 242), and Pope Benedict XVI did not canonize Newman. One hopes that may be a not too hasty prophecy. Atwood has written an edifying study, and both priests and people will benefit if it is widely used.

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GEORGE W. RUTLER

*The Franciscan Tradition.* By Regis J. Armstrong and Ingrid J. Peterson. [Spirituality in History Series.] (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2010. Pp. xxviii, 196. \$16.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-814-63030-3.)

The present volume is the first in a new series launched by the Liturgical Press exploring five major spiritual traditions within the Catholic Church: the Benedictines, Carmelites, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Franciscans. The focus of this inaugural volume by two recognized scholars of the tradition is to introduce the reader to Franciscan spirituality—in its various male and female expressions—through a survey of seventeen saintly figures within the tradition. A number of them are canonized saints of the Church (Francis and Clare of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, Colette of Corbie, Catherine of Bologna, Felix of Cantalice, the Martyrs of Nagasaki, Veronica Giuliani, Jean-Marie Vianney, Marianne Cope of Molokai, and Maximilian Kolbe); others are officially recognized as blessed (Junípero Serra and Mother Mary of the Passion); and a few are generally acknowledged as men and women of outstanding holiness (Angela da Foligno, Matt Talbot, and Solanus Casey). To account for the broad diversity of the Franciscan Family in history, the authors have chosen representative figures from all four branches of the Franciscan Family: the First Order of male Franciscans (including examples from all three of its branches: the Observants, Conventuals, and Capuchins); the Second Order of Poor Clares; the Third Order Secular of laymen and laywomen; and the Third Order Regular. The volume is thus carefully thought out with respect to the complexities of

Franciscan history and representative of its medieval, Renaissance, early modern, and modern periods.

The overall structure of this slim but substantive volume follows a simple pattern: a biographical sketch of each saintly figure, followed by selections from the writings of (or about) the individual in order to give a flavor of the spiritual orientation of each Franciscan.

Readers or preachers looking for biographical sketches of the key spiritual figures of this religious tradition have had to rely, for many years, chiefly on the heavily pious and uncritical *Franciscan Book of Saints* by Marion A. Habig (Chicago, 1959; rev. 1979). The biographical overviews in the present volume, although considerably more compact in scope, are a major improvement on the older work, especially in its increased sensitivity to the relationship between hagiography and history. Most of the sketches contain pertinent details on the lives of each of these saintly figures. The most disappointing sketch—perhaps the most difficult to render due to the amount and diversity of the literature—is the one treating Francis of Assisi. Indeed, the socio-economic and political context of early-thirteenth-century Assisi, so formative of the early minorite spiritual vision, is curiously absent in this treatment, although one finds a passing reference to it in the sketch on Clare. Similarly, there is little mention of the tensions that wracked the male movement in the Middle Ages, whereas Clare's travails with the papacy are pointedly noted.

The selection of texts that illuminate the spiritual vision of each figure is judicious and evocative. Indeed, a number of the texts (e.g., the *Pantheologia* for Bonaventure, the *Testament* of Colette, and especially the letters of Sera) are relatively unfamiliar and instructive.

The one real disappointment of the volume is that there is no synthetic essay attempting to present or grapple with a cohesive vision of Franciscan spirituality. Perhaps this is due to the structure of the book. But this is to be regretted since the reader is left with a somewhat fragmentary and impressionistic rather than analytical presentation of this particular spiritual tradition, which is the aim of the series. The work could have used more rigorous attention to copyediting.

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MICHAEL F. CUSATO, O.F.M.

*Sulle tracce di una storia omessa: Storiografia moderna e contemporanea dell'Ordine francescano.* By Giuseppe Buffon. [Analecta Francescana, Tomus XVIII; Nova Series: Documenta et Studia, 6.] (Grottaferrata: Frati Editori di Quaracchi. 2011. Pp. 271. €35,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-870-13282-3.)

In this book, Giuseppe Buffon confronts the lack of interest in the history of the Franciscan Order from the time of the official division of Observants

and Conventuals in 1517 until the Second Vatican Council (p. 29). The reason, he claims, is to be found in a misinterpretation of the Council's call for religious orders to rediscover the spirit and aims of their founders. For Franciscans, this has resulted in an unbalanced emphasis on the writings and early history of the brotherhood prior to St. Bonaventure, at the expense of the Order's modern institutional history. The reforms and divisions of the latter period have been treated as irrelevant in terms of the order's attempt to uncover its true identity in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council (pp. 39-45). In addition, some scholars have claimed that, because it is so "splintered, wide-spread and wide-ranging in focus: the typical Franciscan history simply does not exist,"<sup>1</sup> Buffon refuses to accept this state of affairs, arguing that the essence of Franciscan identity is to be found in the totality of the Order's history, complex and conflictual as it may be.

Given that St. Francis himself did not intend to found an order, a critical acceptance of pluriformity in interpreting his charism would, according to Buffon, constitute an important starting point in the search for Franciscan identity. Problems occur when any one group within an institute claims to have found the key to the charism, excluding other groups as decadent or deviating from the founder's perceived intention. Buffon cites Heribert Holzapfel's history of the Order (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909) as an example. This work aroused such controversy that it had to be withdrawn from commercial sale (pp. 47-51). A member of the Observant family and promoter of the Leonine Union of 1897, Holzapfel considered the separation of 1517 as an unfortunate necessity, promoting, as it did, official sanction of two diverse interpretations of the Franciscan charism. This paved the way for further divisions, each one convinced of its own legitimacy in terms of faithfulness to St. Francis. They were the work of restless and ambitious men, who professed reform so they could exempt themselves from obedience and detach themselves from their legitimate superiors. With the passage of time, the Observants would have demonstrated their vitality and propensity for reform without the need for these divisions (p. 49).

In contrast to Holzapfel, Buffon suggests that what is required is a new history of the order that takes serious account of particular histories and of other literature produced by the different parties concerned (Observants, Reform, Recollects, Alcantarines, Capuchins, and Conventuals, pp. 249-53). He examines several of these works in detail, placing them in their historical context without neglecting associated controversies and hagiographical debates (pp. 66-228). An extensive bibliography also is included (pp. 7-26). Buffon argues that this material reveals a constant dialectic between the central administration of the Order and autonomous groups, between official his-

<sup>1</sup>Emma Furniss, "The Franciscan Order in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Western Europe: A Historiographical Survey," *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 12 (2006), 10. Buffon, p. 259n5.



tory and history as interpreted by individual groups, and between pluralism/autonomy and unity. All this, he claims, has contributed to Franciscan identity (p. 259).

Although primarily of interest to those concerned with the nature of Franciscanism, Buffon's work may have wider appeal. His approach might well encourage discussion of the nature of reform in religious life and the multiplicity of factors, both within and without an Institute, that contribute to its success or failure in any given period. A historiographical approach, according to Buffon, enables the scholar to take in a wider perspective than one focused exclusively on the founder and his or her immediate surroundings. His is a timely reminder that, in addition to "accepting and retaining the spirit and aims of each founder," the "sound traditions" of an institute should also be retained as constituting "the patrimony of an institute" (*Perfectae Caritatis* §2 (b)). Historiography is an important instrument in determining that patrimony.

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MAURICE CARMODY

*Le pergamene dell'Archivio Capitolare Lateranense.* By Louis Duval-Arnould. [Tabularium Lateranense 1, a cura del Capitolo di San Giovanni in Laterano.] (Vatican City: Archivio Capitolare Lateranense. 2010. Pp. 427. €40,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-890-50470-1.)

It is hard to believe that until very recently anyone who wished to consult the documentary archives of the chapter of the Lateran Basilica—built by Emperor Constantine and long the seat of the papacy—had to rely exclusively on two handwritten inventories dating to the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, preserved today as manuscript A.75 and A.31 (pp. 189–220). Paul F. Kehr, his recent successors, and Philippe Lauer had indeed used the archives for their publications in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, but Andreas Rehberg urged as late as 1999 to create at least an inventory for the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century parchments that were kept rolled up in an *armario*.<sup>1</sup> It is very fortunate, therefore, that Louis Duval-Arnould—the former Latin scriptor of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (1969–2003), head of the papal library's division of manuscripts from 1998 to 2003, and since 1995 a canon of San Giovanni in Laterano as well as prefect of the chapter's archive—has taken on the arduous task of publishing an inventory of the fond of parchment documents of the Lateran Chapter.

The introduction (pp. 7–17) very briefly explains the historical vicissitudes of the Lateran over many centuries. They resulted on the one hand in

<sup>1</sup>Andreas Rehberg, *Die Kanoniker von S. Giovanni in Laterano und S. Maria Maggiore im 14. Jahrhundert: Eine Prosopographie* [Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 89], (Tübingen, 1999), p. 7n24.

enormous losses, one assumes—the earliest document preserved is a copy of a privilege for the chapter of Pope Leo IX—and on the other hand caused a wide dispersal of documents. To complicate matters further, the Lateran Chapter archive also incorporated over the centuries records pertaining to several monasteries that were annexed by San Giovanni in Laterano (Sant' Andrea in Selci or de Castellis, San Pietro di Ferentillo, Santa Maria della Gloria at Anagni, and Saint-Pierre de Clairac). Also incorporated by the Lateran was a priory of regular canons, San Tommaso in Ascoli. In addition, documents belonging to San Lorenzo ad Sancta Sanctorum in the papal palace were added to the chapter archive (p. 8). It should be noted in the case of Santa Maria della Gloria, absorbed by the Lateran in 1477, that this monastery had earlier annexed in its turn a monastery, Bagnara Calabra. Similarly, Bagnara Calabra had taken over the monastery of Santa Lucia della Montagna in Sicily with its records. Records from all of these monastic institutions are preserved among the documentary materials for San Giovanni in Laterano itself. Yet another illustration of the difficulties that Duval-Arnould encountered is the fact that today one section of the Lateran archive is preserved at the Casa generalizia of the Regular Canons of the Lateran at San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome. The other section of the Lateran archive is housed at the Archivio di Stato in Florence. These latter materials had originally been transferred to the monastery of San Bartolomeo dei Rochettini at Fiesole and were moved to Florence after San Bartolomeo was closed.

The inventory is divided into three parts—I: Serie Q, pergamene; II: Le raccolte medievali (Codici A. 75 and A.31); and III: Bollario della Chiesa Lateranense, where all papal privileges and other correspondence are inventoried, beginning with the privilege of Pope Leo IX of 1049 or 1050 (no. 1, p. 223) already mentioned and ending with a breve of Pope Paul VI of 1969 (no. 558, p. 340). The author modestly acknowledged the value of the inventory compiled in 1763 by the Benedictine Pier Luigi Galletti, whose classification he praised and maintained (p. 9). This means that all parchments are described in a single series, labeled as "Q" and divided into subsections by subject matter. The exceptions are papal documents, as previously noted. These are found arranged by date and numbered in part III of the volume called the *Bollario* (pp. 223–340). Parts I and III will probably be most useful for the modern period, but of particular interest are two medieval inventories published by Duval-Arnould in part II of the catalog (pp. 189–205). They constitute the manuscripts A.75 and A.31 in the "Q" series of the Archivio capitolare Lateranense. The oldest one, A.75, was compiled at the time of Pope Boniface VIII by the Canon Niccolò Frangipane, who was by 1297 among the first of the secular members of the chapter of San Giovanni.<sup>2</sup> Boniface eventually replaced all of the regular canons following the Rule of St. Augustine with secular canons in a bull of 1299 (Bullarium no. 217, p. 271), claiming that the regulars had dispersed the properties of the Lateran Basilica, but used the

<sup>2</sup>Rehberg, p. 23.

property in his turn to reward his aristocratic followers (p. 8). The second medieval catalog, *Archivio capitolare Lateranense*, codex A. 31, dates from the first half of the sixteenth century (pp. 13–14). Scholars will be very grateful to have these old catalogs at their fingertips, allowing comparisons with Galletti's inventory, thus revealing at least fragments of the history of the Lateran archive and therefore of the political and economic influence of the Lateran Basilica. It is sad to note how many manuscripts and documents have been lost since the mid-nineteenth century (pp. 10–11).

The catalog has been edited with great care and is admirable for its clarity. Each item of the inventory, whether original or copy, or original and copy, is dated as precisely as possible and preceded by a brief summary (calendar); the entries are followed by succinct references to external features and bibliographical references when applicable. Detailed indices facilitate the use of the volume. They include an index of incipits for the papal letters, and the extremely important index of names of persons and places (pp. 343–426). One notes with pleasure that three additional volumes are already planned for the *Tabularium Lateranense* series.

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UTA-RENAE BLUMENTHAL

### Ancient

*Heretics and Heresies in the Ancient Church and in Eastern Christianity. Studies in Honour of Adelbert Davids.* Edited by Joseph Verheyden and Herman Teule. [Eastern Christian Studies, Vol. 10.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2011. Pp. x, 395. €59,00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-042-92486-4.)

Recent scholarship has been fertile both in the study of heretics and in studies of heresy. Commonly the former show more evidence of reading than of reflection, whereas in the latter there is more reflection than evidence of reading. The first type, better though not the best conceivable, predominates in this collection in honor of the Dutch scholar Adelbert Davids. Boudewijn Dehandschutter justly observes, in "Heresy and the Early Christian Notion of Tradition," that Irenaeus, Clement, and Tertullian entertained different notions of the rule of faith, but the bias that he professes to be correcting on page 8 is already obsolete in the English-speaking world. When Anthony Hilhorst ("Christian Martyrs outside the Catholic Church") concludes that "the prestige of the martyr's status may have been fatal to the survival of Gnosticism" (p. 36), he casts some old stones and leaves the rest unturned. In "Heracleon and the Hermeneutics of Prepositions" Annewies Van den Hoek hints at a more skeptical appraisal of conventional taxonomies when she finds that Origen and his interlocutor used "similar linguistic tools" (p. 49) in the service of a shared conception of hermeneutic activity. Fred Ledegang's "The Ophites and the 'Ophite' Diagram in Celsus and Origen" is genuinely critical in its parsing of the impenetrable documents that remain to us. Jan van Amersfoort supplies enough evi-

dence to justify the title of his offering, "The Ebionites as Depicted in the Pseudo-Clementine Novel"; on the other hand, he cites no ancient witness in support of his claim that Valentinus "taught freely in the Church of Alexandria" (p. 86). Kristoffel Demoen, in "Incomprehensibility, Ineffability and Untranslatability," adds little of his own to a catena of excerpts from St. Gregory of Nyssa; in a subtle essay on "Preaching and the Arian Controversy" Johan Leemans shows that Gregory is winnowing orthodoxy from heresy even when dispensing praise and consolation to his own partisans. Joseph Verheyden's "Epiphanius of Salamis on Beasts and Heretics" bring to light an imaginative strain in the herpetology of the fourth century's Grand Inquisitor. Daniela Müller, in "Aspekte der Ketzerverfolgung," corroborates the well-known fact that heresies were defined in Byzantium by imperial law and in the West by bishops under Roman hegemony. Peter van Deun's edition of ten short *Chapters on the Double Will of the Lord* will put scholars in his debt, although Maximus's intimation that theology should deal in facts, not words (p. 212), would make it impossible to formulate either dogma or a history of doctrine. Antoon Bastiaensen on "Les vocables *perfidus* et *perfidia*" shows that these perennial terms of vilification signify the failure of the Jews to keep faith with God. Martin Parmentier offers an edition of a Latin text, whose "Rules of Interpretation" include the incorporeality of the Godhead, the discreteness of the three persons, and their common possession of divine attributes. Gerard Bartelink's "Die Invektiven gegen Nestorius" is an inventory of opprobrious terms in Cassian, also taking note of the tropes that he fails to employ. In a study of the Syriac prelate Gîwargis of Kaphrâ, Dietmar Winkler decides that the terms *Nestorian* and *Monophysite* are blunt tools for historians of Christology, whereas Hubert Kaufhold, in "Häresie, Schisma und Apostasie," argues that these concepts are not differentiated in Georgian and Armenian histories. Once again, however, it would be anachronistic to assume that they are in common use today. While Herman Teule investigates the sources of a compendium by Bar-Hebraeus, Fedor Poljakov professes to have discovered "Gnostiken Reminiszenzen" in the Russian liturgy, and Bert Groen deprecates passages in the "modern Byzantine liturgy" that appear to countenance "anti-Judaism."

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MARK EDWARDS

*One God. Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire.* Edited by Stephen Mitchell and Peter Van Nuffelen. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. 239. \$99.00. ISBN 978-0-521-19416-7.)

*Monotheism between Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity.* Edited by Stephen Mitchell and Peter Van Nuffelen. [Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion, 12.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2010. Pp. vi, 225. €48,00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-042-92242-6.)

These two collections of essays are the product of a conference entitled "Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire (1–4 c. AD)" that was held at Exeter University in July 2006 and represented a highlight of a triennial research pro-



gram on the intellectual background to pagan monotheism. The program was conceived as a response to the volume *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, edited by Michael Frede and the reviewer.

The two books differ in conception and format. *One God* is an elegantly produced hardcover, containing six basically conceptual essays by recognized authorities in the field of religious studies, as well as the contributions of the two editors. *Monotheism*, on the other hand, is a paperback volume, apparently less carefully edited, which takes the form more of a series of case studies, as the editors themselves note (p. 8). While accepting "pagan monotheism" as a heuristic tool, both books give emphasis to the social and political context of religious praxis and the preeminence of cult and ritual over ideology, although the editors point to a chronological division between the two. Regarding the "Constantinian revolution" as a watershed, they assign to *One God* papers dealing with the era before the recognition of Christianity as a *religio licita* and to *Monotheism* those relating to the period 350–450. It may also be noted that *One God* concentrates on the Greek East, whereas *Monotheism* draws to an equal extent on Latin sources.

The papers in *One God* reflect the fundamental distinctions among (a) "soft" (inclusive) pagan and "hard" (exclusive) Judeo-Christian monotheism, (b) numerical and qualitative oneness, and (c) monotheistic thought and polytheistic cult. In a well-structured methodological article, "Pagan Monotheism as a Religious Phenomenon" (pp. 16–33), Peter Van Nuffelen discusses the history and usefulness of such coinages as henotheism, monotheism, and monolatry, together with the neologism megatheism, in the context of the study of Greco-Roman religion. All these terms, he argues, point to the changed way of conceiving and worshiping the godhead in the Roman Empire as from the first century, a change brought about by the interaction between various religious trends under the growing influence of philosophical discourse. Change is equally the central issue in the analysis of Roman religion from the first to the fourth century by John North, "Pagan Ritual and Monotheism" (pp. 34–52), although his emphasis is on social and sociological factors (listed on pp. 42 and 51); not only does North minimize the role of philosophy in the process of mutation, but he dismisses altogether the idea that the tendency toward monotheism is "a necessary condition for the religious transformations we are seeking to analyse" (p. 51). Frede ("The Case for Pagan Monotheism in Greek and Graeco-Roman Antiquity," pp. 53–81) and Stephen Mitchell ("Further Thoughts on the Cult of Theos Hypsistos," pp. 167–208) remain faithful to the positions adopted in their respective essays in *Pagan Monotheism*. Emphasizing continuity and intellectuality, Frede brings in evidence from Antisthenes, Chrysippus, and Galen to prove that philosophy is at the heart of ancient religion, which "is not just a matter of cult and ritual" (p. 81). By adducing new epigraphic evidence, Mitchell restates his thesis that the cult of Theos Hypsistos was "in essence and in spirit, if not in the narrowest definition, a form of monotheistic religion" (p. 198).

With reference to St. Augustine's reception of the Platonic theology, Alfons Fürst ("Monotheism between Cult and Politics: The Themes of the Ancient Debate between Pagan and Christian Monotheism," pp. 82-99) argues that the Christian apologists "found the decisive difference at the level not of the concept, but of the worship of God" (p. 85). Fürst sees this antithesis as already present in Origen's answer to Celsus and, following the influential thesis of Carl Andresen in *Logos und Nomos* (Berlin, 1955), states that the debate focuses on issues of ethical, social, and political order and more specifically on "the complementary headings *logos* and *nomos*" (p. 94), rather than on theoretical principles concerning the nature of the godhead.

The importance of the social context of religious belief and praxis is emphasized by Christoph Marksches ("The Price of Monotheism: Some New Observations on a Current Debate about Late Antiquity," pp. 100-11), Angelos Chaniotis ("Megatheism: The Search for the Almighty God and the Competition of Cults," pp. 112-41), and Nicole Belayche ("*Deus deum... summorum maximus* (Apuleius): Ritual Expressions of Distinction in the Divine World in the Imperial Period," pp. 141-66). Using epigraphic evidence from a wide religious spectrum that includes Jewish, Samaritan, Christian, and pagan confessional statements, all three authors argue that pagan monotheism is not a helpful tool in a discussion of religious identity. Instead, they presuppose a polytheistic background against which individuals, groups, cities, and communities advocate the supremacy of their own god in a spirit of basically amicable competitiveness. In particular, Marksches uses evidence from fifth-century Samaria to attack Assmann's theory of primary (polytheistic) and secondary (monotheistic) religions that are responsible for the eristic distinction between the one true god they worship and the many false gods of everybody else. In this he is not alone; Assmann casts a heavy shadow over *One God*, particularly the introduction (e.g., pp. 2, 4, 9-10), and most of the authors prefer to convey a tolerant, multicultural image of the Mediterranean world in Roman imperial times. One may wonder, however, whether this irenic, postmodern vision, bred in the last few decades within an environment of neoliberal competitive ideology and practice, is not something of an oversimplification, reflecting one aspect only of a complex historical reality.

In contrast, *Monotheism* steers clear of such firm preconceptions. Most papers comment on the Christian-pagan discourse and therefore discuss issues of reception and misrepresentation, appropriation and propaganda, and distortion and slander, as well as concentrating on the dialectic between inclusiveness and exclusion in social and intellectual terms. Maria V. Cerruti ("Pagan Monotheism"? Towards a Historical Typology," pp. 15-32) uses a variety of philosophical texts to illustrate the typological distinction between the hierarchical and the syncretistic forms of pagan monotheism. In a very fine article, Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui ("Orphic God(s): Theogonies and Hymns as Vehicles of Monotheism," pp. 77-100) takes us through a thousand years of Orphic monotheism and its tribulations at the hands of various philosophers

as well as of Jews and Christians. Giulia Sfameni Gasparro ("One God and Divine Unity. Late Antique Theologies between Exclusivism and Inclusiveness," pp. 33–56) contrasts the social all-inclusiveness of Christian communities with the intellectual exclusivity of paganism, whose *Sitz-im-Leben* is the philosophical school. In "*Eadem spectamus astra*. Astral Immortality as Common Ground between Pagan and Christian Monotheism" (pp. 57–76), Bert Selzer draws on the corpus of *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* to show how the quintessentially pagan belief in astral immortality is presented by the Christians as their own. With reference to the careers of two famous rhetors ("Pagan Conceptions of Monotheism in the Fourth Century: The Example of Libanius and Themistius," pp. 101–26), Isabella Sandwell illustrates the unsurprising compatibility between monotheistic and polytheistic belief in the fourth century. Reading a variety of ancient philosophical and rhetorical sources in the light of Max Weber's discourse ("From Philosophic Monotheism to Imperial Henotheism: Esoteric and Popular Religion in late antique Platonism," pp. 127–48), Niketas Siniosoglou explores the tension between philosophical monotheism and cultic henotheism, arguing that, despite Emperor Julian's efforts toward combining the two, the inclusive attitude of paganism prevented it from ever becoming an *Alltagreligion*. Finally, three papers, by Crystal Addey, Maijastina Kahlos, and Gillian Clark, concentrate on Augustine's critique of the approval of polytheistic cult by pagan philosophers with a monotheistic outlook—whereas in Christianity belief and cult are addressed by all and sundry to the one true god, the scandal of paganism consists, to Augustine's mind, in the arrogance of its leaders who seem to accept, and even propagate, the distinction between a philosophically minded elite and a superstitious populace.

Behind the nine case studies collected in *Monotheism* there lurks a persistent, if unformulated, question: What was it that ensured the victory of Christianity vis-à-vis a revamped, monotheistic paganism? With varying degrees of emphasis, the answers focus on its synthesis of a theology, which (despite its often impenetrable nature) was professedly accessible to all, with a universally practiced cult—this in contrast to the ambiguous attitude to cult of monotheistic paganism. But other factors also played their part. In several influential studies Ramsay MacMullen has argued that the organization and management of violence by the Christians was decisive; and one might equally suggest that, in such a catalytic development, chance played its role as well. Yet, however one balances out the parameters that led to the social triumph of Christianity, any discussion of the subject should take into consideration the general issues that cut across the spiritual background of late antiquity, rather than concentrating on one particular aspect of it: these include the phenomena of canonicity and exclusion, orthodoxy and heresy, prophecy and tradition, authority and challenge, faith and salvation, holy places and holy men, to mention just a few.

In this context it may be worth raising a query over another presupposition running through the two volumes: that the intolerance present in a strict

monotheistic religion was “unknown in ancient paganism” (*One God*, p. 2) and that the “Constantinian revolution” is thus a watershed between two epochs (*Monotheism*, pp. 1, 5). It can equally be argued that the reign of Decius (249–51) provides evidence of a turning point in the social and intellectual history of late antiquity, for what is normally described as the first systematic persecution of the Christians is no less than the demand made by a theocratic ruler to *all* the inhabitants of his universal empire to comply, under death penalty, with the cultic rules of the state religion. By the time of Decius’s edict the “religious intolerance” that was to be later enforced by his Christian counterparts had already begun to take hold. Nor was this simply a pagan reaction to the rise of Christian monotheism: revolutionary monotheism (to use Assmann’s vocabulary), with its monopoly of the truth (and its insistence on revelation, canonicity, and orthodoxy), was transversal to the textual communities that emerged in late antiquity and remodeled its intellectual and spiritual landscape (*cf.* the reviewer’s *La lutte pour l’orthodoxie* [Paris, 2006]).

The two volumes offer a welcome addition to the discussion on the change of paradigm in the religious sociology of late antiquity and go some way toward filling a gap that was noted and criticized in many of the contributions to *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, arising as it did from their emphasis on continuity in the philosophical discourse. However, one might suggest that future studies, rather than underlining the differences between pagan and Christian, should focus on osmosis, interaction, and acculturation, all of which played a dominant role in influencing the change in priorities among the newly created religious communities spread across the entire breadth of the late-antique *oecumene*.

University of Athens

POLYMNIA ATHANASSIADI

### Medieval

*The Bear: History of a Fallen King*. By Michel Pastoureau. Translated by George Hollock (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 343. \$29.95. ISBN 978-0-674-04782-2.)

Michel Pastoureau’s *The Bear: History of a Fallen King* is a fascinating cultural history, but one that seems to come up short. In part I, Pastoureau points to a lost communion between man and bear, such that “ancient peoples in the Paleolithic considered the bear a creature apart” (p. 25) and elevated the bear to become a totemic animal. Later, Greco-Roman, Celtic, and Germanic mythologies evidence a cult of the bear and provide enduring tales of metamorphoses of human into bear; of protective she-bears that nurse human infants; and of monstrous love, sometimes fertile, between a human female and a bear. Although the bear was venerated in early-medieval culture for its strength, its close resemblance to man and its allegedly insatiable sexual



appetite prepared the foundation for a more violent confrontation with ecclesiastical authority. Since the theology of the Church depended on man's uniqueness and superiority to animals, precisely because the bear so nearly resembled man, Pastoureau contends, churchmen sought to suppress rites or festivals that included the bear: Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, condemned "vile games with the bear" (p. 83); and other bishops, too, condemned festivals in which men dressed as bears or danced with them. Until the end of the Middle Ages churchmen repeated that men should not "play the bear" (p. 83), which entailed not only adopting a bear disguise but also manifesting uncontrollable sexual desire. Thus, the Church "went to war" (p. 89) against the bear, organizing hunts to nearly eliminate European bear populations. It attacked the bear's legendary strength by depicting it in hagiographical literature as tamed and domesticated by holy men, and it demonized the bear as the embodiment of numerous vices and as the preferred form in which the devil appears. Finally, it humiliated the bear, allowing it to be captured, muzzled, chained, and led from fair to market as an object of amusement. Once the Church "dethroned" the bear as king of the beasts after 1000 AD, it replaced him with the lion—an exotic, distant animal whose symbology could be easily controlled. By the end of the twelfth century, the lion began to replace the bear on armorial bearings and in royal menageries. The bear's diminished status is best illustrated for Pastoureau in vernacular literature: in the *chansons de geste*, or in French fabliaux like the *Roman de Renart*, in which the bear is reduced to a foolish, stupid, clumsy creature.

Although Pastoureau's study contains abundant fabulous material from medieval bestiaries and vernacular literature to fascinate the historian, this also underscores one of its shortcomings—it ignores challenges from natural philosophy following the introduction of Aristotle's biology. Although many Scholastic texts do repeat the fantastic claim that bears couple like humans, face to face, they challenge other mythic characteristics. For example, the natural philosopher Albert the Great (d. 1280), in his commentary *De animalibus*, remarks that the bear is *not* very lustful (*parum luxurians*; DA 7.3.3.157). To the myth that the she-bear gives birth to an unformed cub and then brings it to life by licking it, Albert replies "none of this is true at all." (DA 7.3.3.159) Although Alexander Neckam (d. 1217) does accept this myth, he does not attribute it, as Pastoreaux suggests was common, to the she-bear's unsurpassing lust but rather to the bear's humoral complexion, which causes the *cotillidones* that bind the fetus to the womb to rend, resulting in premature birth. (*De naturis rerum*, 2.131)

Nevertheless, *The Bear* contains much that will inform and entertain.

*Sedulius Scottus: De Rectoribus Christianis, "On Christian Rulers."* Edited and translated by R. W. Dyson. (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press. 2010. Pp. 202. \$90.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83566-0.)

This book is a bilingual edition, Latin and English on facing pages, of one of the main works of Sedulius Scottus, the ninth-century Irish scholar and poet who was active in Carolingian circles c. 850. Dyson is a historian of political theory aiming at an audience with similar interests. A person reading the book to learn firsthand what Sedulius Scottus wrote on the subject of Christian kingship will be fairly well served. However, readers who study Sedulius Scottus or medieval Latin literature and are engaged in literary criticism will need to continue to rely on the previously published Latin text and English translation.

The central error of the volume is Dyson's misapprehension of the character of Sigmund Hellmann's critical edition (*Sedulius Scottus* [Munich, 1906], pp. 1-91). He believes Hellmann did not take into account Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 103 ("Hellmann appears to have taken no notice" [of Migne], p. 20). This mistaken view supplies the rationale for choosing between Hellmann and Migne as it suits him and making a small number of conjectural emendations. In fact, Dyson misidentifies the author and date of the Migne text, ascribing it to the *Spicilegium* of Luc D'Archery (1655-77) rather than Angelo Mai (*Spicilegium Romanum*, 1842), who used the Vatican Palatine manuscript (P). Dyson does not understand that Hellmann's text is based on all extant manuscripts and the editions of Mai and Traube (MGH, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, vol. 3, 1896) and that citations in the critical apparatus to "P corr. Mai" mean Migne.

Despite charging him with such a remarkable dereliction, Dyson praises Hellmann and claims that his text is based on Hellmann ("the text printed here is in most respects the one established by him" [p. 21]). This statement does not prove to be true. Wording, spelling, and punctuation are closest to Mai, including copying some of Migne's errors (e.g., *creseunt* [poem line 6] on p. 162 and the unmetrical final line of the poem on p. 190).

The preference for Migne sometimes leads Dyson to reject Hellmann's clearly better readings. For example, Dyson prints: "*Ob hoc coelestum transcurrens prata librorum/Florida congeSSI vobis, rex, inclyta sertA*" (p. 44, Preface, lines 11-12): ["To this end, passing across the flowery meadows/Of heavenly books, I have plucked for you, O King,/Splendid wreaths"] instead of Hellmann's "*Ob hoc caelestum transcurrens prata librorum/Florida congeSSI vobis, rex inclite, sertA*" (p. 19) ["For this reason, running through the meadows of heavenly books, I have gathered flowery garlands for you, renowned king"]. Taking *florida* with *prata* instead of *serta* and preferring *inclyta* to *inclite* misses the Latinity of the word order of line 12 and leaves the underwhelming single word vocative "*rex*." (Similarly, compare Hellmann, p. 28, line 23 and Dyson, p. 64; and Hellmann, p. 76, lines 1-4 and Dyson, p. 164.)

Adding to the problem, there are instances where Dyson prints the text of Migne but translates Hellmann: "fickleness" (p. 159) translates Hellmann's *mutabilitate* (p. 73, line 14), not Migne's *mobilitate*; "equipped" (p. 163) translates Hellmann's *ornatus* (p. 75, line 9), not Migne's *ordinatus*.

Regarding the translation, Dyson claims to improve on the translation of E. G. Doyle (*Sedulius Scottus: On Christian Rulers and the Poems* [Binghamton, NY, 1983]), which he considers "often unduly free" (p. 21). A literal translation of an obscure passage, however, is no help, as seen in the Preface, lines 4–5, when Sedulius writes, "*Artibus egregiis sapientia Celsitonantis/Praeposuit hominem cunctis animalibus orbis*." The translation "By excellent arts the wisdom of the Heavenly Thunderer/Has set man over all the creatures of the world" (p. 45) misses the point that God has given arts to humans: "The wisdom of the heavenly-thunderer set man by means of excellent arts before all the animals of the world."

The introduction mainly surveys political theory starting in the fourth century. Its assessment of the quality of Sedulius Scottus's thinking is surprisingly dismissive ("Most of the advice given by Sedulius Scottus is entirely predictable" [p. 38]), underestimating Sedulius's nuanced presentation of the relationship between the secular and the sacred, and leaving out the humane, Boethian themes that set *De Rectoribus Christianis* apart from the other Carolingian texts with which it is grouped.

*University of Richmond*

DEAN SIMPSON

*Mind Matters: Studies of Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual History in Honour of Marcia Colish*. Edited by Cary J. Nederman, Nancy Van Deusen, and E. Ann Matter. [Disputatio, Vol. 21.] (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 2009. Pp. ix, 308. €60,00. ISBN 978-2-503-52756-7.)

Marcia Colish has published widely and influentially on the history of medieval thought. This Festschrift celebrates her valuable achievements with thirteen essays written in her honor, some boasting witty titles, eight of them on twelfth-century topics, five on later ones up to Machiavelli. Great figures are present: St. Anselm of Canterbury, Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Abelard, Peter Lombard, Gratian of Bologna, and Nicholas of Cusa, among others. Important themes, too, are here: theories of language, the devil, Christology, the sources of law, wonders, programs of study, music, princely virtues, and saints' cults. And the contributors are well-established scholars. An excellent evaluation of notions of schools of thought—Porretans, nominalists, and so forth—in the study of twelfth-century history is made by William Courtenay ("Schools and Schools of Thought"). Gary Macy ("Fake Fathers") finds that canon law discussions of the role of women in the Church were most often based on spurious authorities. Arjo Vanderjagt ("Constant Exercise") brings to life links between modern devotion and humanism in northwestern Europe in the late-

fifteenth century with a study of a letter of Rudolphus Agricola offering pedagogical advice. Grover Zinn ("Minding Matter") unpicks the discussion by Hugh of St. Victor of a (now lost) symbolical drawing of Noah's ark that denotes the Church as the body of Christ. One of Colish's books was on *The Mirror of Language* (New Haven, 1968), and, appropriately, her interests in language are reflected in an amusing essay by Mary Sirridge on the content and functions of vocative and substantive phrases such as "I am called" and "I am." Priscian's "rambling" and "notoriously cryptic and episodic" discussion of these, she writes (p. 97), "in no way discouraged medieval commentators from trying to extract a consistent theory from his remarks." Willemien Otten ("Broken Mirrors") also writes on theory of language and Abelard's teaching on the Incarnation, but he loses the reader when he writes that Abelard sees "incarnational teaching resulting in an intersubjective human process of universal learning by which Redemption can ultimately be the result of one teacher's unusual talent" (p. 86). M. B. Pranger shows how St. Augustine's exclusion of evil from being shaped the thought of Pope Gregory the Great, Anselm of Canterbury, and Heinrich von Kleist about the devil. In an interesting way Jason Taliadoros challenges Colish's assessment of the controversy in Anglo-Norman circles over Lombard's Christology, but his attempt to bring John of Salisbury into these debates (pp. 139–40) is not successful. Edward M. Peters's essay on Gervase of Tilbury ("The Lady Vanishes") usefully adds to knowledge and understanding of twelfth-century stories about edifying and memorable wonders. Nancy Van Deusen provides a most helpful study of the *Timaeus* in the writings of Nicholas of Cusa. E. Ann Matter shows how Alberto Alfieri in the early-fifteenth century happily turned Macrobius's swirling realm of the heavenly spheres into a Christian vision of the afterlife. Cary Nederman suggests that Poggio Bracciolini and Machiavelli were not so startling in their views on greed since Nicolas Oresme and Christine de Pizan in the fourteenth century were already heading in a similar direction. Joel Seltzer vividly shows how Hussite radicals in fifteenth-century Bohemia dismantled the practices that accompanied the cult of saints, yet by the early-sixteenth century the Utraquists in Prague "celebrated St Jan Hus Day with all the hoopla of a national holiday" (p. 297). Occasional misprints notwithstanding, these "Mind Matters" are well worth reading. They are opened and brought together with an appreciation by the volume's editors of Colish's published work.

University of Sheffield

DAVID LUSCOMBE

*Witch Beliefs and Witch Trials in the Middle Ages: Documents and Readings.*

By P. G. Maxwell-Stuart. (New York: Continuum. 2011. Pp. x, 228. \$32.95. ISBN 978-1-441-14965-7.)

This book's title derives from that of Joseph Hansen's *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1900), and the book itself offers in English



translation a selection of the original sources (most in Latin, but some in French and German) that Hansen edited. Maxwell-Stuart has drawn from parts 1, 2, and 6 of *Quellen*: papal pronouncements, the literature of witchcraft and demonology (that is, extracts from legal documents or theological treatises), and records of witch trials from both ecclesiastical and secular courts. Hansen's collection had eight parts, but aside from part 3 containing long excerpts from the infamous *Malleus maleficarum* (now available in several English translations, including an abridgement by Maxwell-Stuart himself), the omitted parts of *Quellen* are quite small. Even from the sections he does translate, Maxwell-Stuart has had to abridge or excise many of sources to shrink a collection originally near 700 pages down to just over 200.

Aside from cuts and abridgements, this volume follows Hansen's original selection and organization of sources, which is basically chronological within each section (although some of Hansen's datings have been corrected by subsequent scholarship). Although noting that Hansen's overall interpretation of the history of magic and witchcraft, which of course shaped his selection and organization of sources, is now outdated, Maxwell-Stuart declares that the "diversity" of Hansen's materials "presents us with details and voices which generally go unheard or are scarcely noticed in modern collections" (p. 14). Since excerpts from demonological treatises and trial records are the bread and butter of all witchcraft source collections, this probably refers to Hansen's focus on medieval material, whereas most subsequent collections have focused extensively or indeed exclusively on early-modern witchcraft. Among Hansen's source-types, Maxwell-Stuart seems clearly to favor papal pronouncements, which fill fully 20 percent of his abridgement, whereas they compose a mere 7 percent of those sections of Hansen that he abridges.

As for the translations themselves, there are inevitably choices made that readers will either favor or not, depending on their own preferences. Regarding terms such as *malefica* or *venefica*, for example, Maxwell-Stuart adopts the accurate if admittedly "cumbersome" (p. 14) practice of rendering these as "female practitioner of harmful magic" and "female practitioner of poisonous magic" rather than simply as "witch." He also has a proclivity for rendering long strings of Latin clauses as enumerated lists. This allows modern readers to follow along a bit more easily, but is not strictly faithful to the original texts. Although working exclusively from Hansen is certainly the most practical way to translate a significant volume of medieval sources, those editions have in some cases been augmented or corrected by later scholarship. It would have been useful to have a discussion of this somewhere in the volume. Maxwell-Stuart's introduction is very brief and seems intended mainly to draw the reader back into a medieval world in which spirits and demons, miracles and magic are all rationally understood components of divine order. He provides very little overview of the medieval history of magic, and, despite presenting Hansen as a representative of the now largely discredited "rationalist" school of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth cen-

turies (pp. 12–13), he offers no real overview of historiographic trends in witchcraft scholarship.

Iowa State University

MICHAEL D. BAILEY

*Medieval Anchoritisms: Gender, Space and the Solitary Life.* By Liz Herbert McAvoy. [Gender in the Middle Ages, Vol. 6.] (Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer. 2011. Pp. x, 201. \$95.00. ISBN 978-1-843-84277-4.)

As Liz Herbert McAvoy points out in the introduction to her new book, “The past two-and-a-half decades have seen a considerable development in scholarly interest in the anchoritic life and its wider effects upon medieval society and its systems of belief” (p. 3). Modestly, she does not add that, for the last dozen of those twenty-five years, she has been at the forefront of stimulating, promoting, and shaping this scholarly interest as conference organizer and editor of conference proceedings and collections of commissioned essays. It is particularly good, therefore, now to have her monograph on the subject.

The centers of interest and angles of approach of *Medieval Anchoritisms* will be familiar to anyone who has followed McAvoy’s work over this period. Questions of gender are central—particularly the way that patriarchal culture encloses women (with the anchorhold only the most extreme manifestation of that fact) whilst in the process providing a position from which women can write back. Luce Irigaray, Julia Kristeva, and Hélène Cixous are the acknowledged underpinnings of the approach. As the book’s subtitle indicates, gender here is inflected also with work on the social production of space (Gaston Bachelard, Henri Lefebvre, and Michel Foucault); René Girard on scapegoats and Irit Rogoff’s more recent *Terra Infirma* are also avowed influences (see pp. 6–7). The theoretical model is worth emphasizing, because it is its constant presence that lends coherence and unity to a book that often jumps around in method and especially in chronology. It should be pointed out that, after its first chapter and despite the inclusive title, *Medieval Anchoritisms* is a study of gender, space, and the solitary life in England.

The first two chapters look at male anchorites and in particular the way in which male anchoritism is “haunted” by the feminine. Sources as diverse as St. John Cassian’s *Conferences*, the Rule of St. Benedict, and the *Regula solitariorum* of Grimlaic (chapter 1), as well as the brief rule known as the “Reply of a Fourteenth-Century Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds to a Man’s Petition to be a Recluse” and the later *Speculum Inclusorum* (chapter 2), show anxieties over the ways that anchoritic enclosure could be felt to compromise masculine identity. In response the texts emphasize the aggressive masculinity of the *miles Christi* or the virtues of “the sealed, continent and specifically monastic male body” (p. 66). Chapters 3 and 4 turn to female anchorites. Chapter 3 examines the ways in which texts by men (St. Aldhelm on virginity, Goscelin of St. Bertin’s *Liber Confortatorius*, and *Ancrene Wisse*) interpellate their

audiences of women anchorites, whereas chapter 4 instead looks at female-authored works: Julian of Norwich's *Revelations*, the *Book* of Margery Kempe (who, although not an anchorite herself, authors a book that is "shot through with anchoritic hermeneutics" [p. 124] and "performs" an anchoritic identity [p. 134]), and the gruesomely explicit *Revelation of Purgatory* by an anonymous Winchester anchorite. The final chapter turns from literary sources to records of the female anchorites of the Welsh marches (and Chester in particular), primarily in the thirteenth century, seeing them as reflective of the fluid, unstable ("feminine") lines of the borderlands, as well as probably productive of *Ancrene Wisse*.

*Medieval Anchoritisms* is not a *summa*, but it does draw together the recurrent concerns and approaches that have characterized McAvoy's work to date and applies them to a wide range of texts. The book is perhaps most convincing in its readings of the late-medieval canonical literary texts, but it is always stimulating and has a singleness of purpose that is compelling.

University of Exeter

E.A. JONES

*A Bishopric between Three Kingdoms: Calahorra, 1045-1190.* By Carolina Carl. [The Medieval and Early Modern World, Vol. 43.] (Leiden: Brill. 2011. Pp. xii, 292. \$166.00. ISBN 978-9-004-18012-3.)

The town of Calahorra, sited on a rock some 1200 feet above the Ebro River about seventy-five miles northwest of Zaragoza, had been important since Roman times. A Christian bishopric from 456 AD, its prelates appeared in eight Iberian councils before disappearing from sight early in the Muslim period. Some dim memory of its former existence as a bishopric was reflected sporadically in later northern Christian sources. In 1045 García Sánchez III of Navarre captured the town in one episode of the contemporary general movement of the mountain peoples of the north of Iberia down into the river valleys. But Calahorra remained an exposed frontier post until Zaragoza itself was conquered by Alfonso I of Aragón in 1118. Thus it became one matrix for the gradual amalgamation of northern Christians, Mozarabe Christian immigrants from the south, Muslim Arabs, and a yet newer stream of south French pilgrims from beyond the Pyrenees into a unique society. This present study therefore has the potential to stimulate the first fundamental reconceptualization of the history of the Christian churches of the early Reconquista period since the Augustinian Enrique Flórez published his *España Sagrada* in the eighteenth century.

The current study extends an earlier one by the author.<sup>1</sup> The titles of the two studies indicate the change of emphasis in the author's approach, as the

<sup>1</sup>Carolina Carl, "The Bishop and the Basques: The Diocese of Calahorra and the Basque Province of Alava under Bishop Rodrigo Cascante, 1147-1190," *Journal of Medieval History*, 34 (2008): 229-44.

Basques as an ethnic entity of the first give way to the emerging political kingdoms of Navarre, Aragón-Barcelona, and Castile-León of the second. Within this latter, wider arena the author moves with a generally sure touch as she mines the source materials edited and the scholarship deployed upon them by three generations of medieval historians of Iberia since the end of World War II.

In addition, Carolina Carl is able to employ a knowledge, unparalleled in its detail, of the machinery of this heretofore largely obscure diocese. She details the interaction there of church governance with the emerging power of urban municipalities and the growth of royal dynasties that furnished the essential dynamic of contemporary Iberian society. Within this context she correctly, one is tempted to say almost uniquely, identifies the new institution of the cathedral chapter as a critical fulcrum of change. More often than the bishopric itself, the cathedral chapter was an essentially urban institution, and Carl is quite right to investigate its familial, social, and financial ties to the urban elite of the similarly emerging municipality in what is surely the single most valuable portion of her study.

She relates this story within the context of the emerging monarchies of Christian north Iberia, of course, but her work here is largely derivative and her conclusions often arguable, as are still those of most other current scholarship of the period. Notwithstanding, it is curious that the other major player in the dynamic—the emerging Roman papacy—is largely neglected. She focuses largely upon this latter's initiative in the substitution of the Roman rite for the Mozarabic but adds little to that subject. On the other hand, she entirely ignores the growing acceptance at Rome of the desirability of formally recognizing the cathedral chapter as the ordinary canonical instrument for the election of bishops. This was to be a crucial step that placed the cathedral chapter at the center of the competing interests of its own canons, the urban patriciate, the local nobility, the crown, and even the distant papacy in Iberia as everywhere in Western Europe.

Given that many of the critical arguments will have to be from the history of architecture, art, and even archaeology, it is to be hoped that the author will continue to press her own researches back into refoundation of the Christian churches of Iberia in the aftermath of the Muslim Conquest of the peninsula.

*Villanova University*

BERNARD F. REILLY

*The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland.* By Neil Xavier O'Donoghue. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2011. Pp. xv; 352. \$48.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-03732-1.)

In this study of the Eucharist in pre-Norman Ireland, Neil Xavier O'Donoghue has assembled an array of primary source material that is most impressive in its breadth and quality, and the University of Notre Dame Press



has done this source material ample justice in its attractive presentation. However, on closer inspection, one finds his secondary sources are dated and incomplete, and his engagement with his sources is frequently not sufficiently critical. Throughout his work, there is an undercurrent of inaccuracies, so easily verifiable that it brings his scholarship into serious question. To highlight but a few of these: "When William died, he was succeeded by his son, Henry I" (p. 32). But when William died, in 1087, he was succeeded by his second son, William Rufus, who reigned until his own death in 1100. The Irish Church was a "church without martyrs" (p. 14), but St. Patrick's *Letter to Coroticus* gives the lie to this popular belief. He claims that there is "little in Irish monasticism that could be termed unique" (p. 14) but seems to overlook the Céli Dé penchant for the daily recitation of the "beloved three fifties," the "Breastplate of Devotion," and other practices of piety that are not found elsewhere. O'Donoghue claims that the use of chrismals was "a peculiarity to pre-Norman Ireland" (p. 121) and yet can quote the blessing of a chrismal from the *Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York*, and further on (pp. 187, 188) refer to chrismals from Mortain in France and from England and Switzerland.

These minor inaccuracies are superficial irritants; however, there are more serious errors. He claims that the *Nauigatio sancti Brendani* is "an important work of Irish hagiography" (p. 116) and to a large extent treats it as such. If he had consulted the critical bibliography of Glyn Burgess and Clara Strijbosch, he would not have made this mistake and so have ignored the pioneering work of such authors as Jonathan Wooding, Thomas O'Loughlin, David Dumville, and many others. He states that the Céli Dé movement was "a reform" (p. 103) and claims that "there is little evidence that they produced any hagiographical material"; this bald statement totally ignores the *Félire Óengusso*, one of the most important hagiographical/liturgical works of the early Irish Church. His misunderstanding of the Céli Dé monks leads him to claim that the "sacramental ministry was the domain of the non-monastic clergy" (p. 14) and "pastoral care . . . was provided by a nonmonastic clergy" (p. 15). Even a superficial reading of the Céli Dé Rules reveals that for these monks their pastoral ministry occupied a very major and significant place in their daily monastic routine.<sup>1</sup> These errors, coupled with careless presentation in his bibliography, spoil what could be a very promising area of research.

In spite of taking refuge in the words of Robert F. Taft, who said that his own conclusions might "seem banal in the extreme,"<sup>2</sup> O'Donoghue's conclusions are a disappointing anticlimax to the preceding 200 pages. He does

<sup>1</sup>See the reviewer's *Sacred Time in Early Christian Ireland* (London, 2007) for a fuller treatment of the Céli Dé movement and the monks' pastoral involvement.

<sup>2</sup>Robert F. Taft, "The Order and Place of Lay Communion in the Late Antique and Byzantine East," in *Studia Liturgica Diversa: Essays in Honor of Paul F. Bradshaw*, [Studies in Church Music and Liturgy], (Portland, 2004), pp. 129–49.

not analyze his source material in sufficient depth to draw any substantially new conclusions from his research. We learn little from his work about the theological understanding of the Eucharist in pre-Norman Ireland. This is a pity because of his obvious enthusiasm for his subject; because, as he points out (p. xi), “relatively little has been published on the Eucharistic liturgy in the pre-Norman church”; and because of the amount of material he has assembled.

*Sarum College*  
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PATRICIA RUMSEY

*Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095-1216.* By Susanna A. Throop. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. x, 232. \$119.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66582-3.)

In a closely argued, lucid, and thoughtful study of the motif of vengeance in the formative century of crusading practice and discourse, Susanna Throop has made an important contribution to our understanding of the place of the crusade within twelfth-century culture; of crusading's rhetorical dimensions; and of the ways in which it exploited a wide range of social, political, historical, and textual referents to create and sustain its impact on numerous people's imaginations. In the process, Throop mounts a strong challenge to the current scholarly orthodoxy, which maintains that vengeance as an animating idea for crusaders was most pronounced at the time of the First Crusade (1095-1101) and tailed away thereafter as historians, preachers, and apologists of crusading developed discursive strategies that were more congenial to educated clerical sensibilities. This, Throop argues persuasively, inverts the actual chronology of the importance of ideas of crusading as vengeful violence; crusade-as-vengeance in fact becomes more prominent over the course of the twelfth century. Moreover, historians' assumptions about the discrete categories of elite and popular cultural fields, she argues, do not stand up to the evidence for the movement and interplay of ideas and images between different literary genres bearing upon crusading, a discursive flexibility that established a rich linguistic field within which notions of vengeance were able to circulate and influence one another. Many challenges have been made in the past, of course, to the elite-popular binary, but Throop makes her case with care and insight, grounding her arguments in a close and measured reading of her mostly narrative sources.

A number of criticisms may be made of the book. The mobilization of those crusade-related texts that do *not* feature vengeance as a central element of their target language is sometimes a little tentative, and their potential value as contextualizing control material is consequently diluted. The promise of a methodological approach that is “modified structuralist” is perhaps not fully realized. One feels that there is a more extensive lexical and semantic field operating on the margins of, and interpenetrating with, the terms

such as *ultio* and *vindicta* that are especially targeted for analysis—a wider, if less tidy, discursive frame that would have probably permitted further layering of the argument.

Overall, however, this is an extremely valuable book with important things to say about the motive forces behind crusading as a collective and self-avowedly moral endeavor. Many of its particular points—about the importance of the Crucifixion as a potent symbol of vengeful righteousness for crusaders; about the ready conflation of Jews, Muslims, and heretics as the victims of vengeful sentiment; about vengeance as an organon of social memory; and about the language of zeal as an animating force within vengeful crusade rhetoric—are striking and exciting. In general, Throop's book is valuable as a demonstration of what can be gained from a reading of crusade texts that is closely attentive to questions of language and meaning-making. One hopes that more such work will be undertaken, for the study of crusading stands to be substantially enriched by discursively-aware research into its extensive narrative source-base. This substantial book makes an excellent start.

*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

MARCUS BULL

*Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy.* By Claire Taylor. [Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages, Vol. 2.] (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, in association with Boydell & Brewer. 2011. Pp. xvi, 277. \$90.00. ISBN 978-1-903-15338-3.)

This is a tightly focused, and highly detailed, history of heresy, both Waldensianism and Catharism, crusade and inquisition in the southern French region of Quercy from the mid-twelfth through mid-thirteenth centuries. Claire Taylor, despite her focus on Quercy, has important things to say about larger questions. She challenges the tendency, perhaps most visible in Mark Pegg's work, of some recent historians to treat heresy as a "construct," something that existed in the minds of Catholic polemicists and inquisitors rather than in the objective, lived experience of real people. Taylor demonstrates that both Waldensianism and Catharism had an objective existence in Quercy. People clearly distinguished between competing belief systems. Their choice of which faith to follow was based on a careful weighing up of what the heretics and the orthodox church taught. They opted for dissent even though they knew doing so was dangerous. Taylor also argues that the experience of Quercy undermines many of what she terms the standard "structuralist functionalist" explanations for the appeal of heresy. It is often argued that heresy appealed to people who lived where the shortcomings of the local clergy made them incapable of meeting the felt spiritual needs of their flock. This was not the situation in Quercy. There the twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century church was vigorous, the center of the region's cultural and devotional life, with its popular abbeys in particular establishing a dense network of rela-

tionships with the local nobility. Indeed, the nobles of Quercy initially allied with the invaders from the north when the Albigensian Crusade began in 1209.

What made the nobles of Quercy willing to protect heretics in their lands were the social and political changes that came in the wake of the crusade. Key to Taylor's argument are changes in the nature of fief-holding that the war brought. She follows Paul Ourliac and Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier in arguing that in Quercy, as in Languedoc, the pre-crusade "fief" was very different from its northern counterpart. It was not a piece of land, but the rights to take certain revenues associated with an office, a manse, settlement, or a church. It was a mechanism by which nobles redistributed revenue to their servants. Fiefs created alliances, not subservience, among those who often simultaneously held them from one another. The fief was not necessarily military, and vassals did not owe military service for them. The crusade and its aftermath produced a revolution in the nature of fief-holding:

Fiefs were no longer essentially about the distribution of rights to revenues, the social glue . . . that acknowledged status through wealth but preserved horizontal relationships established between social equals. Fief holding now . . . meant that vassals were obliged to provide men-at-arms for the crusaders' campaigns, and that castles would be seized from uncooperative vassals. (p. 211)

This reduction in the political autonomy of the Quercy elite made it willing to tolerate and protect heresy. Ironically, it was only in the course of the crusade and its aftermath that heresy spread widely in Quercy, as its protection became allied with the defense of southern autonomy.

The book does have some flaws. Although Taylor argues that people consciously chose to adhere to heretical beliefs, she also wants to maintain that before c. 1180 people in Quercy were not necessarily aware of the contradictions among the various faith communities. Taylor never successfully resolves this tension. The book's organization could also be stronger, and some lengthy passages read rather like undigested research notes. However, the conclusion sums up the book's major points in a crisp, concise, and clear fashion. Anyone interested in heresy and its repression will find this book essential reading.

*University of California, Irvine*

JAMES GIVEN

*The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors.* By Karen Sullivan. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 296. \$45.00. ISBN 978-0-226-78167-9.)

As Karen Sullivan knows, three of the seven titular figures in *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors* were not inquisitors. Yet if it is reasonably simple to identify an inquisitor, defining "inner lives" is more problematic. Aware of the difficulties surrounding medieval interiority, Sullivan signifies by



“inner lives” inquisitors’ “thoughts and feelings” (p. 3) toward suspected heretics: how they imagined and approached them, the premises of their anti-heretical activity. Yet as the real disposition of “the inquisitor as a historical subject in the world” (p. 3) is inaccessible, these inner lives are “subjective fiction” (p. 4), strictly textual and representational. Textualized inner lives are retrievable; moreover, the “literary inquisitor” offers “a closer view” (p. 4) than possible even if we knew, or were, his historical self.

This allows Sullivan to depart from “virtually all” recent scholarship on medieval heresy inquisitions (p. 24). She sees this as dominated by deterministic structures and discourses, and rejects “the tendency of a certain kind of historical scholarship to emphasize historical circumstances,” and change over time, “over individual cases” (p. 113; cf. p. 103). Her concern is with agency and decision, moments when persons cross the grain of a contemporary mentality unable solely to explain their conduct or sentiments. “Individual cases” constitute the book’s seven chapters, which are further organized by a binary of zeal (represented by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Conrad of Marburg, Bernard Gui, and Nicholas Eymeric) and charity (St. Dominic Guzmán, St. Peter Martyr, Brother Bernard Délicieux) into which Sullivan divides dispositions toward heretics.

Unsurprisingly from a scholar de-emphasizing “historical circumstances,” the case studies generally offer very tight foci. Their close readings are thoughtful and attentive. To Sullivan, the inner life prehensible in all texts—by inquisitors and by others writing about them—co-construct a single, consistent whole. Although this is again consonant with her frank departure from context and change, historians may be discomfited by its occluded tensions. For example, Sullivan’s analysis of a “loving” Dominic omits or softens zealous choices made by him and by those later memorializing him. In one instance, Sullivan argues that although historian Étienne de Salanhac credited Dominic with Diego of Osma’s angry prediction of the Albigensian Crusade (“the staff will prevail where the blessing does not”), a still-charitable Dominic “merely foresees that this suffering will occur and regrets its unfortunate necessity” (p. 73). However, in Étienne’s account, Dominic rendered the prophecy as promise, warning his listeners that *concitabimus adversum vos principes et prelatos* bringing death and destruction. Sullivan strangely translates *concitabimus* as “you will arouse,” transferring the violence’s source from the “we” of Dominic and his companions (p. 73).

This instantiates for the historian the complications of a zeal/charity binary and, relatedly, of merging diverse representations. Committed to each “inner life” as a trans-temporal unity, Sullivan does not dismantle why an author crafted a certain persona. Consequently, she sometimes appears to describe precisely a “real” disposition held by “a historical subject in the world,” with authors helpless to do aught but replicate it. Sullivan, ironically, withholds “thoughts and feelings” about heresy from writers who were them-

selves motivated agents able to defy contemporary mentality. Even when produced by another, each textual disposition restrictively redounds only to its "inquisitor" and was not reflective of, or vulnerable to, other dispositions toward heretics.

Structural history might be faulted for diminishing the agency of inquisitors who burned fellow Christians, granting them a passivity that can seem exculpatory. Despite the care and craft of Sullivan's readings, her literary *imaginaires* also cannot explain that horror. Perhaps nothing can.

*University of South Carolina*

CHRISTINE CALDWELL AMES

*Heilsbronn von der Gründung 1132 bis 1321: Das Beziehungsgeflecht eines Zisterzienserklosters im Spiegel seiner Quellenüberlieferung.* By Miriam Montag-Erlwein. [Studien zum Germania Sacra, Neue Folge 1.] (Boston: Walter de Gruyter. 2011. Pp. xiv, 666. \$195.00. ISBN 978-3-11-023513-5.)

The Academy of Sciences in Göttingen has assumed oversight of the *Germania Sacra* (see *ante*, 96 [2010]: 755). In a welcome innovation, it is publishing supplementary historical monographs as well as the series' well-known studies of specific institutions that arrange all the available evidence in accordance with a standard format. This first book of the new type is a slightly revised version of the dissertation of Miriam Montag-Erlwein (University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, 2007). She set out to demonstrate that monasteries helped to integrate and shape the identity of the region where they were situated. The Cistercian abbey of Heilsbronn, southwest of Nuremberg, lends itself to such an examination because there are 384 extant charters—regrettably, only twenty-seven date from the twelfth century—for the period between the monastery's foundation and 1321, the death of an influential abbot. A 1483 necrology, surviving tombs and coats of arms in the church, and the extensive abbatial library—which has been in Erlangen since the eighteenth century—supply additional information. Montag-Erlwein studies in almost stupefying detail the abbey's relations with the papacy, the monarchy, the three Franconian bishops, the nobility, and nearby imperial cities, as well as what the provenance of its manuscripts—many originated in Paris—reveals about its intellectual horizons.

Bishop Otto I of Bamberg (1102–39) founded the abbey in 1132 in the Diocese of Eichstätt to strengthen Bamberg's territorial influence in a region that also bordered on the Bishopric of Würzburg. After 1200 Heilsbronn freed itself from its ordinary and Bamberg, but maintained close ties to Würzburg, where it sold its surplus agricultural commodities. Otto appointed the nearby Count Rapoto I of Abenberg, who was the advocate of Bamberg, as the protector (*defensor*) of Heilsbronn; his son, Rapoto II, may have become a monk; and the first abbot, Rapoto, may have been an Abenberg. After the death, around 1200, of the last of the Abenbergs, who used Heilsbronn as their burial

church and who were remembered as the founders, the Staufen assumed the advocacy. Heilsbronn benefited from the frequent stays of the post-Interregnum kings in Nuremberg, where the abbey acquired considerable property and where its dependents settled. The monks turned to Rome for protection when relations with the king deteriorated. The counts of Zollern (the ancestors of the later kings of Prussia), who became the burgraves of Nuremberg around 1192 and who descended from the Abenbergs, made Heilsbronn their necropolis a century later as they consolidated their power. Their noble relatives and ministerials were among the chief benefactors of the abbey. Between 1200 and 1321, at least thirty-six lower noble families made around seventy-four donations to assure their salvation. No other Franconian church enjoyed comparable support.

Although Montag-Erlwein has assembled a prodigious amount of information, her work will be of interest primarily to local specialists because she has not made it accessible to others. There is no introductory general history of the abbey; instead, she plunges into an examination of Heilsbronn's relations with the papacy. She first discusses Bishop Otto on page 150 and the Abenbergs on page 266. There are no maps or genealogies. There is an extensive bibliography, but some more general works that might have been useful are missing. Constance Hoffman Berman's *The Cistercian Evolution* (Philadelphia, 2000) might have provided an insight into why it is unclear whether Otto initially intended to found a Cistercian house. The author lists an article by Joseph Morsel, but not his *La noblesse contre le prince: L'espace social des Thüngen à la fin du Moyen Age (Franconie, vers 1250-1525)* (Stuttgart, 2000). The Academy of Sciences should consider how the larger scholarly community might be better served.

Illinois State University

JOHN B. FREED

*Peter of Damascus: Byzantine Monk and Spiritual Theologian.* By Greg Peters. [Studies and Texts, 175.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2011. Pp. xii, 214. \$75.00. ISBN 978-0-888-44175-1.)

In this book Greg Peters introduces us to a Byzantine monk and spiritual theologian who, although highly regarded by the tradition—second only to St. Maximos the Confessor in the space allotted him in the *Philokalia*—has been all but ignored in modern scholarship. The two works included in the *Philokalia* Peters calls the “Admonition to His Own Soul” and the “Spiritual Alphabet” in his table of contents; St. Nikodimos, in the *Philokalia*, has simply “book I and “book II,” but Peters’s titles are apt. Although tradition clearly held Peter in high regard, nothing much seems to have been known about him; Nikodimos in his preface was most likely guessing, and guessing wrongly.

Peters begins his book with some serious detective work and argues convincingly that Peter Damascene belongs the middle/late twelfth century. He argues, too, that we cannot deduce from the epithet *Damascene* that he came

from Damascus and tries to identify our Peter, with no very secure result; we do learn a good deal about attributions of treatises to people who may or may not have been Peter. In the course of these early chapters we learn about the slight scholarship on Peter, which has been mostly dismissive. Peters then presents his own understanding of Peter, by way of a discussion, chapter by chapter, of the two works. He wants us to see Peter as a more original spiritual theologian than most maintain and a clearer thinker. In particular, he rejects the notion that Peter can be assigned to the "Evagrian-Maximian" tradition of Byzantine spirituality and tries to persuade us that his works are more carefully structured than is usually maintained. Whether this is at all successful is an open question. The Evagrian-Maximian tradition is a pretty broad one; it is not clear why Peter should be regarded as belonging elsewhere. Over the question of structure, taking us through these works chapter-by-chapter is not an entirely helpful way of approaching the issue. Peter seems typical of the Byzantine spiritual tradition in presenting his teaching as a series of lists and lists within lists. Like virtually all monastic literature, it is not intended to be read through, but taken piece by piece and pondered. It would have been more enlightening to compare and contrast Peter with other examples of monastic literature and to note similarities and differences. Arguing that Peter stands apart from the Evagrian-Maximian tradition, which is the Byzantine spiritual tradition, is a distraction. One striking, and unusual, feature of Peter's works is his frequent citations of earlier writers. Peters addresses this in his final chapter on intertextuality, but it would have been much more enlightening had it been woven more tightly into his exposition. An appendix gives the verses that precede each chapter in the "Spiritual Alphabet," omitted in the English translation of the *Philokalia* as probably secondary. This is valuable and brings out more clearly the alphabetical structure of the work. However, in his discussion each chapter is called after its letter with  $\acute{\text{alpha}}$  added; the diacritical instructs us to read the letter as a number, so "*Logos O  $\acute{\text{alpha}}$* " should mean "chapter 70." It is, however, chapter 15; the diacritical should have been omitted. Peters also argues that Peter envisages an audience now wholly monastic, but that is true of many Byzantine spiritual writers and is not peculiar to Peter Damascene. Nevertheless, if this book serves to draw attention to Peter Damascene, it will have achieved a worthy end.

University of Durham

ANDREW LOUTH

*The Life of Wulfric of Haselbury, Anchorite.* By John of Forde. Introduction, translation, and notes by Pauline Matarasso. [Cistercian Fathers Series, No. 79.] (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications. Distrib. Liturgical Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 262. \$34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-879-07579-8.)

Pauline Matarasso has done great service in translating John of Forde's vivid portrait of the anchorite Wulfric, rendering John's difficult Latin in crisp and often witty English. Her substantial introduction, notes, appendices, bibliography, and index are particularly valuable, given the continuing absence of



a critical edition of the *Life*. Although her translation relies primarily on Maurice Bell's 1933 edition, her "Translator's Note" (pp. 81–84) reports that she also consulted the forthcoming edition from *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*. Such information distinguishes this translation from the many that fail to identify their source manuscript or edition.

In the 1180s John, a young monk at the Cistercian abbey of Forde, wrote about Wulfric, enclosed from 1124–25 until his death in 1154 in the church of Haselbury, eight miles from Forde. Matarasso suggests that the project may have been a writing apprenticeship (p. 68), preparing John for his later composition of 120 sermons on the Song of Songs. Her introduction surveys topics such as the author and the date of the work as well as the institution of anchoritism and John's skill at negotiating oral accounts about Wulfric in the languages (English, French, and Latin) current in Anglo-Norman England (pp. 32–37).

John is insistently present in this work, articulating the spiritual and moral implications of Wulfric's life. Of Wulfric's desire for solitude, he writes, "May all those who have devoted themselves to the spiritual life . . . not readily entrust for long to human eyes that face which Christ so ardently desires for himself" (p. 107). One short chapter concerns the affection for Cistercians shown by Wulfric, "This champion and herald of our order": "in every form of holiness they pleased him whose approbation they desired" (p. 152).

Wulfric receives a constant stream of visitors, whom Matarasso discusses at length (pp. 18–32) and tabulates in an appendix (p. 245). John's meticulous identification of his sources substantiates Wulfric's claim that Brihtric, the church's vicar, "was the true anchorite of the place, whereas he [Wulfric], constantly exposed to conversation, could more properly be called the parish priest" (p. 117). Wulfric is constantly available, alone for prayer only at night, "for it was at night that he worked out his own salvation, since by day he was working the salvation of others in the midst of the earth" (pp. 134–35).

As the *Life of Wulfric* is set in twelfth-century England, Matarasso's notes thoroughly explain that context. In a narrative of happy symbolism, John depicts Wulfric's conversion as signaled by a new coin of the reign of King Henry I (r. 1100–35; p. 99). Later, Wulfric foretells Henry's death (p. 200) and the reign and capture of his successor, King Stephen (pp. 200–01). Other reminders of Wulfric's historical context involve more humble figures. When Wulfric heals someone mute since birth, the man can speak both English and French. Afterward, Brihtric complains to Wulfric in familiar terms well captured by Matarasso: "Look, I have served you all these years, and today I've proved clearly that it's a waste of time. . . . You have never given me the use of French" (p. 115). The work is a rich source for medieval historians.

It would be a shame, though, if only scholars read this translation of *The Life of Wulfric*. It is a lovely work, overflowing with great stories—perfect for

refectory reading. As John of Forde lovingly preserved the memory of Wulfric as a *vir Dei*, now Matarasso renews that memory, inviting a new generation to Wulfric's cell.

Ohio University

MARSHA L. DUTTON

*Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantries at St Paul's Cathedral, c. 1200–1548.* By Marie-Hélène Rousseau. [Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. xiv, 242. \$124.95. ISBN 978-1-409-40581-8.)

The Cathedral of St Paul's, the heart of London's religious life, was one of the most important churches in medieval England. A major landowner, home to the bishops of London, and an important setting for significant civic and national events, the cathedral was also central to urban lay piety, commemoration, and intercession. One of the most recognizable elements of this intercessory practice was the medieval chantry, the theme of which forms the subject of this book.

The medieval chantry was the foundation and endowment of a Mass by one or more benefactors, to be celebrated at an altar, for the souls of the founders or other specified persons. Chantries could range from Masses celebrated at pre-existing altars through to side chapels and the elaborate "cage-chantries" of the later medieval period. The study of medieval chantries has been a popular subject over the last few decades. However, much of this work has largely been within the field of architectural history with a particular focus on a small, perhaps unrepresentative, sample of surviving and architecturally impressive examples. Such work has often gloried in the architectural specifics and *minutiae* of such monuments, as well as perhaps a rather unhelpful obsession with their founders. Overall, they have generally informed very little on how these monuments operated in practice or their wider relevance to the religious community as a whole; a *lacuna* somewhat remedied by more recent revisionist historical, and archaeological, work. Marie-Hélène Rousseau's work is thankfully, largely in this category and provides a detailed and meticulously researched piece of historical work that focuses not just on the chantries themselves, but on their management and organizational arrangements. This is a worthy task made much the harder by the fact that both chantries and medieval cathedral have long departed. Here, the value of history in resurrecting the afterlife practices of pre-Reformation London is ably and effectively demonstrated.

The interdisciplinary study of chantries can present many problems to the researcher. Just as the archaeologist is sometimes criticized for failing to use documentary sources adequately, the historian—and certainly the architectural historian—can be equally criticized for failing to reconstruct such physical aspects as setting, location, and visual and spatial relationships. Despite the fact that individuals often founded chantries, it is clear that in practice

they did not operate independently; they formed but one component of a wider ritual church landscape. Thus, one minor criticism of Rousseau's book would be that it would be very interesting to understand further where some of these chantries were located in the cathedral and their relationship with other important areas of the church, wherever possible. We are told that there were more than eighty chantries in the cathedral, and thus they would have had a significant impact on church ritual space and liturgical arrangement, as well as serving as foci for important civil and lay interactions. Such an interpretation, perhaps in the form of a plan—based on Schofield's plan of the cathedral and precinct already included—would have provided a further useful addition to this work.

The book is a bit pricey and therefore may be unfortunately beyond the means of many interested amateurs. Overall, however, it provides a timely, well-written, and well-researched contribution to the study of medieval chantries in one of London's most important churches.

*University of Winchester*

SIMON ROFFEY

*Die Register Innocenz' III. 11 Band. 11. Pontifikatsjahr 1208/1209: Texte und Indices.* Edited by Othmar Hageneder and Andrea Sommerlechner, with Christoph Egger, Rainer Murauer, Reinhard Selinger, and Herwig Weigl. [Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom, II. Abteilung: Quellen, 1. Reihe.] (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. 2010. Pp. xcii, 532. \$254.00 paperback. ISBN 978-3-700-16544-6.)

It is now some sixty years since Leo Santifaller, at that time both head of the Österreichischen Staatsarchiv and director of the Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, in alliance with Friedrich Kempf and Friedrich Schmidinger, decided upon the great historical enterprise of an Austrian critical edition of the registers of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), which would replace the often seriously flawed texts published in Jacques-Paul Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (1844–55). The initial progress of the enterprise was slow, given that the principal editor, Othmar Hageneder, and his associates could not dedicate themselves to the task on a full-time basis, but happily in recent years, with Hageneder still at the helm, an exceptional team of editors and researchers is now moving the project forward at a considerable pace. Nine years of registers have now been published, and in the latest volume, the letters of Register Vat. 7A, 49–101 have been transcribed. They concern the eleventh year of Innocent's pontificate and contain 271 letters from February 1208 to February 1209.

With the exception of the register of Pope Gregory VII (1073–85), which contains some 390 items, the registers of Innocent III's predecessors in the high Middle Ages do not survive, although some of them at least were certainly conserved and consulted both by curial officials and visitors to Rome

into the middle of the thirteenth century. This makes the almost complete survival of Innocent's registers all the more valuable, even though it has resulted in a tendency on the part of historians to ascribe to Innocent III any number of innovations that were often no more than a continuance of papal thought over a longer period, as we can often know from letters of previous popes that survive in local archives or through decretal collections. The major limitation of Innocent's registers is that they do not cover all the business conducted by the Roman Curia. It is important to emphasize that only a small number of letters were enregistered, and how one letter found its way into the register and why another is left out is often far from clear. Most privileges to monastic houses, for instance, do not find their way into the registers, possibly because the cost of enregistering a letter proved prohibitive and not central to the monastery's purpose in obtaining the privilege. But even matters of high politics were sometimes left out. It is therefore always necessary to be aware of the very many letters surviving in local archives that supplement those conserved in the registers. The use of both in combination gives us the best understanding of papal government.

Nevertheless, the registers still tell us a great deal and give us a very useful overview of the papacy's concerns. However, papal letters should not all be taken to be an expression of the thought of the pope directly. Although we know Innocent III greatly involved himself in the business of government and heard many cases personally, we cannot really know in most cases whether the pope personally dictated a letter. One suspects he did in important matters of politics, and the eleventh year of his pontificate was hardly short on political drama. The papacy still had to expend much energy dealing with the aftermath of the Latin conquest of Constantinople and the subsequent problems of the relationship between the Greek and Latin clergy. An even older problem—the unhappy marriage of Philip Augustus and Ingeborg, who had spent one night together back in 1193—also continued to trouble the pontiff, as did the arrangement of the marriage of his ward, Frederick II, who, Innocent insisted, was of an exceptionally distinguished family and one very worthy of the king of Aragon's sister. New troubles dawned as well. King John's refusal to accept Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury would lead to Innocent's interdict in England in March 1208, whereas the assassination of Peter of Castelnau, papal legate in Languedoc, caused the pope to launch the Albigensian crusade, directed against Raymond VI of Toulouse, whom he considered chiefly responsible for the crime. The *negotium pacis et fidei* would be center stage for much of the year, although the papacy still carefully sought the reconciliation of sometime heretics, as can be seen in its treatment of Durán of Huesca and his Catholic Poor. Various ecclesiastical disputes across Christendom remind us of the great range and powerful influence of the papacy, but also that in resolving problems it was often as powerless to act as the unsuspecting deacon of León, G., invited to dinner by the *miles*, M., who then castrated him, believing G. to be having an affair with his concubine. This case, like so many others, required delicate handling. M. and



his concubine had subsequently been burnt for the crime by the local prince (presumably Alfonso IX). Only if Innocent's judges delegate decided that G. had been guiltless of fornication and of the vengeance exacted by the ruler could G. properly be ordained as a priest.

As always, the Austrian edition comes with an excellent introduction to the manuscript and the edition, an extensive bibliography, superb notes, and very thorough indices. Innocent III, who paid such close attention to the practices and production of his chancery, would undoubtedly approve wholeheartedly of this admirable new edition.

*Saint Louis University*

DAMIAN J. SMITH

*Cathédrale et pèlerinage aux époques médiévale et moderne: Reliques, processions et dévotions à l'église-mère du diocèse.* Edited by Catherine Vincent and Jacques Pycke. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Fascicule 92.] (Louvain-la-Neuve: Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique. 2010. Pp. 330. €45,00 paperback.)

Religious typology has conventionally separated the cathedral's socio-religious experiences from those of the pilgrimage. The seventeen essays in this volume (plus an introductory essay by Catherine Vincent and a conclusion by André Vauchez) test the proposition that cathedrals as the bishop's seat of power and communal liturgies are essentially different from pilgrimages, which are individual expressions of devotion outside of institutional structures. The volume's conclusions challenge the traditional view by showing the often-successful efforts of cathedral authorities over many centuries to provide the sacred relics that would attract pilgrims to their shrines. Sites explored in the essays include many individual places—Paris, Tournai, Toul, Le Puy, Autun, Reims, Langres, Rouen, Sens, Cambrai, Vienne, and Embrun—as well as more broadly focused discussions of cathedral crypts, postmedieval developments, founding saints of Lorraine, and mendicant processions.

The majority of the essays focus on the later Middle Ages, especially the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, the vitality of cathedrals as pilgrimage sites did not end with the Middle Ages, as several of the essays demonstrate. For example, Le Puy-en-Velay with its famous Black Virgin was an ancient Marian pilgrimage site that, according to Bruno Maes, became an even more important Catholic destination in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when it was surrounded by Calvinist Huguenot communities. After the Council of Trent, too, there was a general move to open up cathedral choirs, to rid them of the assemblage of altars typical of the Middle Ages—a move that reached its apex in the eighteenth century, as Mathieu Lours shows. The reinvigoration of shrines in the postmedieval period also resulted from acquisition of a new relic such as the "suaire" (shroud) that moved to Besançon's Cathedral of St. Jean from the collegiale church of St. Etienne when it was demolished by Vauban.

The dividing line between a pilgrimage and a procession can be blurred, as Philippe Martin points out for Toul in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even during the Middle Ages, an important cathedral—like the “mother church” at Tournai—could attract regional clergy on a pilgrimage, as Jacques Pycke shows. The Tournai ecclesiastics encouraged pilgrimage at key liturgical points in the calendar, including Pentecost, the Exaltation of the Cross, and Marian feasts. The authorization of commercial festivals at times of religious importance also buoyed the Tournai cathedral’s privileged position in a large area of northern Europe.

The distinction between procession and pilgrimage to Notre Dame of Paris is likewise difficult to perceive, as Mireille Vincent-Cassy argues. This cathedral had been a pilgrimage site since 945, but it was in the twelfth century that an influx of new relics often on display promoted the cathedral’s status. The multiple visits of King Charles V during the fourteenth century to pray for a son and then to commemorate the success of his prayer qualified as “pilgrimages,” since they had the elements of the vow, the journey, and the oblation. Processions were characterized by accompanying clergy carrying a cross before the marchers and ended with a sermon. Some processions became pilgrimages, Vincent-Cassy argues, for example the “deambulation” of 1449 in Paris, which had 12,500 children dressed in white, walking barefoot with candles from the church of the Holy Innocents to the cathedral, where they heard a Mass sung before the image of Notre Dame.

These specific examples are selected from the many richly detailed discussions of cathedral activity that could not be summarized here for lack of space. Suffice it to say that a careful reader of the essays in this volume will certainly come away convinced that the conventional division between cathedral worship and the pilgrimage must be challenged as simplistic. The historical reality is far more complex—and far more interesting.

*University of Southern Maine*

KATHLEEN ASHLEY

*The Proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles*, Vol. 1: *The Latin Edition*; Vol. 2: *The Translation*. Edited and translated by Helen J. Nicholson. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Vol. 1: Pp. xl, 432; \$134.95; ISBN 978-1-409-43650-8. Vol. 2: Pp. lx, 653; \$154.95; ISBN 978-1-409-43652-2.)

Controversy has followed the Order of the Knights Templar from the time of the arrest of the French Templars on October 13, 1307, until today. Their name has become mired in myth, legend, and fantasy, and their original function—to protect pilgrims in the Holy Land—has been largely forgotten, as has their role in medieval society as military monks who took monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

Representatives of the Order arrived in Britain in 1128, and the king and his nobles vied with each other to give them land. As the Templars were late-comers to the British land-market this was often land that had to be reclaimed from the waste, marsh, or fen. Over the years they did this and became efficient farmers, sending the profits from their estates to their brothers in the East. Apart from the occasional squabble with neighbors (revealed in local court records), they were unobtrusive landlords in the countryside. In London, however, high-ranking members of the Order became advisers, accountants, and bankers to the monarch. When the French king Philippe IV arrested the French Templars, King Edward II of England procrastinated on the grounds that the Templars had always been good friends to his family. After pressure from Pope Clement V, he eventually arrested the English Templars in January 1308 and held them on loose house arrest until the arrival in 1309 of the papal inquisition. The text of these volumes that are transcribed and translated in a work of great scholarship by Helen Nicholson is the evidence from the trials of the Templars in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

Five versions of the proceedings exist. The most complete of these is Ms Bodley 454 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. There are three versions in the British Library, which are either incomplete or damaged by fire, and there is a version in the Vatican Library (Armarium XXXV.147), which is a summary of the proceedings in Britain sent to Clement V for use at the Council of Vienne in 1312, when he disbanded the Order. All five versions are used in this edition. In the introduction to volume 1 Nicholson gives the provenance and history of the manuscripts and describes these in detail. She also discusses versions already in print, including the flawed version by David Wilkins. The editorial conventions are carefully explained, and the text adheres as closely as possible to the original manuscript, including marginalia, insertions, additions, and line breaks. The footnotes to the Latin versions show where the text differs from Wilkins's version, and there are extensive notes showing how the contractions and abbreviations of the Latin words have been interpreted. This is of inestimable value to scholars working on medieval Latin texts.

Volume 2 is a word-for-word translation of the Latin versions. Therefore, those unversed in Latin can compare these and establish where contradiction lies, whereas Latin readers can compare the editor's interpretations of difficult passages with their own.

The British Templars were tried on eighty-eight charges obtained from the interrogation of the French Templars, which were acquired by mental and physical torture. In the introduction Nicholson includes a useful and very relevant discussion on the use of evidence obtained by torture. She concludes that as historical evidence the proceedings of the trials of the British Templars need to be used with care and should not be accepted as sound historical evidence. She suggests that an important aspect of the trial evidence is that it shows how the papal inquisition proceeded and overcame its difficulties in

England, where torture was not permitted. She also shows that the Order was one of centralization with a tight structure.

Only three of the British Templars confessed, and some sort of intimidation may have been used on them. As shown in the text of the Bodleian manuscript, the others replied that they did not know or that they had never heard of any such thing regarding the charges of heresy, blasphemy, idolatry, and sexual misconduct. The evidence given by hostile witnesses, also included in the proceedings, was either hearsay or complete fabrication. The proceedings in these volumes show that the British Templars were not guilty of the charges against them. So why were these brought in the first place? The proceedings against the French Templars do not show either Philippe IV or Clement V in a good light, but the Grand Master Jacques de Molay was not without his faults. The British Templars were caught up in a power struggle that was not of their making. Nicholson does not get involved in any debates on why the Templars were arrested and whether they were guilty. She presents the texts as they stand and illustrates these with intelligent introductions that help readers to better understand them. Both editor and publisher are to be congratulated on publishing these volumes, which are works of significant scholarship and an addition to the printed corpus of medieval texts.

*Wolfson College, Cambridge*

EVELYN LORD

*The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York, 1317-1340*, Vol. VI.

Edited by David Robinson. [The Canterbury and York Society, Vol. CI.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press. 2011. Pp. x, 281. \$45.00. ISBN 978-0-907-23973-4.)

In volume VI of the Register of Archbishop William Melton, David Robinson, who also edited the second volume in this series in 1978, calendars, primarily in English, the 741 documents dealing with the archdeaconry of the East Riding. In addition to these brief summaries, Robinson furnishes fuller or even complete renderings of many documents, sometimes in English, sometimes in Latin. Robinson has carefully edited this work, occasionally suggesting corrections to the Latin text and referring where appropriate to printed collections of sources such as the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*.

This volume records the routine business of an archdiocese: licenses for ordination, licenses for private confessors and chaplains, appointments to churches, excommunications (in one case, for stealing the archbishop's swans), visitations of parishes and monasteries, penances imposed on nuns and canons for various sins, marriage cases, purgations from alleged crimes, disputes over benefices, establishment of chantries and one monastery, dispensations for illegitimate birth, and permissions for or punishment for clerical nonresidence. Occasionally a document refers to something of more than local significance, like destruction of property by Scots. There also are the



occasional human-interest references like the license given to the prioress of Nunkeeling to visit the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury “provided that she returns as soon as possible to her house” (p. 31). This was, after all, Chaucer’s century, and perhaps here was another Madame Eglentyne. Chaucer’s clerk might also have found a kindred spirit in Thomas de Eston—acolyte and rector of Heslerton, to whom in 1322 the archbishop grants permission to be absent from his church for seven years so he may study at a *studium generale*. Ten years later, the archbishop grants Thomas, now a priest, permission to study at a *studium generale* for another three years. Three years later, Thomas gains an extension of two more years. In another interesting case, the archbishop orders the nun Joan de Ledes, who feigned her own death and burial, to return to her priory.

In short, this volume from Melton’s register, especially when complemented by the others in the series, provides the kind of information utilized by Craig Harline and Eddy Put in *A Bishop’s Tale* (New Haven, 2000). The forty-nine pages of indices, as a further example of the potential of this source, provide an extremely useful synopsis of the contents of the register. Almost three pages of those indices concern abbeys and priories of men and women. In addition to general issues like appointments of officials appear a purgation of a prior on a charge of adultery, a restriction on expenses for dogs and horses, and multiple references to corrodies. The archbishop warns the canons of the Augustinian Priory of Bridlington, in the interest of a free election, not to discuss the election of their next prior with the local notables. Apostate religious may return to their abandoned monasteries a third time but no more. After visitations of the priories of Nunkeeling and Swine, the archbishop directs that secular women are not to reside in those institutions without his permission. The archbishop also forbids secular priests and friars access to certain areas in those priories. In several documents the archbishop warns both canons and nuns about novelties in dress. Hens and chickens may not be present in the choir, church, or chapter of Swine priory.

Students of the fourteenth-century English church owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Robinson and the Canterbury and York Society for this book.

Stephen F. Austin State University

JOHN W. DAHMUS

*Handbook for Curates: A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry.* By Guido of Monte Rochen. Translated by Anne T. Thayer. Introduction by Anne T. Thayer and Katharine J. Lualdi. [Medieval Texts in Translation.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2011. Pp. xlv, 350. \$34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-813-21869-4.)

The fields of pastoral care and more generally the religious life and piety of the late Middle Ages have experienced significant attention over the

course of the last several decades. With this first English translation of Guido of Monte Rochen's *Manipulus curatorum*, scholars and students now have a more accessible text of what was certainly one of the most widely disseminated handbooks for "neophyte priests," particularly so after the introduction of printing in the fifteenth century.

The introduction offers a helpful overview of the *Handbook* by Guido, a fourteenth-century "magister" from Teruel, Spain, and the issues surrounding it. Written in the early 1330s, the *Handbook* survives in some 250 manuscripts and more than 1400 early printed copies. The work is saturated with references and imagery from the Bible, and Guido incorporated authorities from the patristic era to more contemporary sources in theology and canon law. Of particular interest in the introduction is the discussion of marginalia and annotations contained in the manuscripts and printed copies. Although it is difficult to speak with much precision about Guido's medieval and early-modern readers, given the large number of annotations, clearly this was not a text that sat idly on the shelf.

Guido divided his work into three parts. Part 1 looks at the sacraments in general and then separately at baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist (the largest section in this part), holy orders, extreme unction, and marriage. Part 2 is an extended discussion of the sacrament of penance and all of the theological and practical complexities associated with the administration of this sacrament. The third part is a basic catechesis and walks the reader through the articles of faith contained in the Apostles', Nicene, Athanasian, and Lateran Creeds along with the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and a short section on the "gifts of the blessed."

Modern readers will find in this text a measure of pastoral/theological flexibility—the way in which Guido offers competing theories from different authorities and in some cases hesitates to provide the answer or even allows the reader to decide the best course of action. This flexibility was not uncommon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But in the sixteenth century, theological tensions and a sharpened doctrinal focus on the sacraments may explain why Guido's *Handbook* was listed on the Spanish Inquisition's Index of prohibited books. Modern readers also will find informative and often amusing examples about how parish priests should handle both real and hypothetical cases. For example, in his discussion of baptism, should a sleeping person be baptized, and what should be done for conjoined twins (one baptism or two)? In his discussion of the "defects" that can occur in the Mass, Guido has a lengthy discussion about what to do if a spider or fly gets into the consecrated chalice. One solution is that the insect should be "burned and its ashes kept in a shrine" (p. 104).

In all, this is a well-written and readable translation that will benefit scholars working in the fields of religious history and/or theology in the

late Middle Ages. It will also be a useful source text for university or seminary students.

Roberts Wesleyan College

RONALD J. STANSBURY

*Statuti e costituzioni medievali del Capitolo Lateranense.* By Louis Duval-Arnould and Jochen Johrendt with the collaboration of Anna Maria Voci. [Tabularium Lateranense 2.] (Vatican City: Archivio Capitolare Lateranense. 2011. Pp. 195. €20,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-890-50470-2.)

Two articles on the medieval Lateran chapter that appeared in 2006 in French and German respectively are here united in an Italian translation by Anna Maria Voci. Louis Duval-Arnould edited the statutes for San Giovanni in Laterano issued by Pope Gregory XI (1369–73), and Jochen Johrendt, inspired by Duval-Arnould to fill the remaining thirteenth-century gap, published critical editions of the papal statutes for the chapter by Pope Gregory IX (1228) and Pope Nicholas IV (1290).<sup>1</sup> Although much of the general history of the Lateran chapter is unfortunately still unknown, the texts here combined in an Italian translation form important stepping stones to a better understanding of the role of San Giovanni in Laterano during the Middle Ages. The most influential change in the composition of the chapter occurred in 1298/99 under Pope Boniface VIII, who replaced the regular Lateran canons following the Rule of St. Augustine with secular canons. Boniface VIII, however, never issued statutes strictly speaking, but instead regulated the life of the newly constituted chapter in a series of important letters and extremely generous privileges. It is a major plus for the book that Duval-Arnould also edited twenty-three of these together with a complementary letter of Pope Benedict XI of April 1304 (pp. 63–110). Without texts illuminating the change-over from regular to secular canons c. 1300, the relationship between the critically edited constitutions and statutes of the thirteenth- and fourteenth centuries would have been difficult to understand and to appreciate. Still an open question, however, is the institutional history of the chapter in the later eleventh- and early-twelfth centuries. It seems unlikely that the privilege issued for the chapter by Pope Alexander II in 1061, a *deperditum*, already stipulated the later Rule of St. Augustine as regulation for the life of the reformed canons as Johrendt accepts on the basis of later privileges (p. 23). It would probably be better—sources on this question are very scarce—to look to the Aachen Rule as altered by Pope Gregory VII as inspiration for the canons of San Frediano of Lucca who were charged by Alexander II with the reform of the Lateran chapter.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Jochen Johrendt, "Die Statuten des Regulierten Laterankapitels im 13. Jahrhundert," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 86 (2006) 95–143; Louis Duval-Arnould, "Les constitutions de Grégoire XI pour le chapitre du Latran (1369–1373)," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 60 (2006) 405–50.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Tilmann Schmidt, "Die Kanonikerreform in Rom und Papst Alexander II. (1061–1073)," *Studi Gregoriani*, 9 (1972): 199–221.

Johrendt's discussion focuses with precision on the thirteenth century. He provides critical editions of the documents of Pope Gregory IX (February 3, 1228) and Pope Nicholas IV (May 7, 1290) in favor of the chapter and illuminates with great care the changes that they illustrate. The privilege of Gregory IX is a "statute" in line with the confirmations of rights and properties granted by the papacy since its earliest days, but especially since the eleventh century. In contrast to the mixture of regulations for the internal life of the chapter and confirmation of property rights found here, the bull of 1290 granted by Nicholas IV is a document that exclusively deals with the internal life of the regular canons. Both illustrate very well the evolution of "statutes" as a category of primary sources (p. 25). The same could be said of the youngest document in the volume—the constitutions of Pope Gregory XI. This pontiff, the former Cardinal Roger de Beaufort, was a great benefactor of the Lateran basilica as well as its chapter, confirming, for example, in a constitution of 1372 the primacy of the basilica over all the churches of the world, not excluding St. Peter's (p. 113n). His bull, the *Lateranensis capituli constitutiones a Gregorio PP. XI edictae*, issued May 1, 1373, at Avignon (pp. 149–72), replaced the statutes of Pope Nicholas IV. These naturally no longer suited a chapter that now was formed exclusively by secular canons, who had relied so far on unwritten *consuetudines* (p. 114).

The reader will be grateful for the edition, not least for the complete description and the detailed commentary on the content of the regulations governing the chapter of San Giovanni in Laterano in the late-fourteenth century. The book concludes with a very useful index of persons and places for the entire volume.

*The Catholic University of America (Emerita)*

UTA-RENATE BLUMENTHAL

*The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, Vol. II: 1394–1422. Edited and translated by John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs, and Leslie Watkiss. [Oxford Medieval Texts.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. c, 888. \$250.00. ISBN 978-0-199-25346-3.)

Chronicle-writing in later medieval England was dominated by the Benedictine abbey of St. Albans. Initiated by Roger of Wendover and then continued by Matthew Paris, this rich tradition was revitalized in the later years of the fourteenth century by Thomas Walsingham (c. 1340–c. 1420). Throughout his long affiliation with St. Albans, Walsingham produced a large contemporary history, the *Chronica maiora*, covering events from 1376 to 1422. At the same time the St. Albans scriptorium also produced an abridged version of this text, the so-called Short Chronicle. These histories were written contemporaneously with the events they describe, and circulated in numerous overlapping and often repetitive drafts. Owing to this complex manuscript tradition, versions of both the longer and shorter histories appeared in several clumsily edited Rolls Series editions published in the



1860s and 1870s. The first sustained effort to correct the errors in the Rolls Series editions was made by Vivian H. Galbraith, with his edition of *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (Oxford, 1937). Galbraith's groundbreaking work was continued by his student, the late John Taylor, whose comprehensive understanding of fourteenth-century chronicles was unparalleled. Together with Wendy Childs and Leslie Watkiss, Taylor has edited the portion of the *Chronica maiora* extending from 1376 to 1394 in volume I (2002). Now, with the appearance of volume II (1394-1422), the editors have at long last provided scholars with a single, unified text of this important chronicle.

In their lengthy introduction the editors address several interrelated problems associated with the *Chronica maiora*. After deftly disentangling the complex manuscript tradition conveying versions of both the *Chronica maiora* and the Short Chronicle, the editors explain their rationale for basing this edition primarily on Bodley MS 462, collated with two related manuscripts, Faustina B. IX, and CCCC 7 (2). The editors next explore the knotty problem of authorship. Although in their estimation Walsingham was the sole author of the narrative extending from 1376 to 1393 (found in BL, Royal MS 13. E. IX), alterations in both the manuscript tradition and the narrative style in the later segment from 1394 to 1422 raise the possibility of multiple authorship. After noting that "evidence of his participation in the writing of this part of chronicle is hard to come by" (p. xlii), the editors then note that Walsingham "remains . . . in all probability, the sole author of the *Chronica maiora*" (p. xlv). The editors then turn their attention to the character of the narrative and its historical value. The narrative focuses on the last years of King Richard II's reign, whose "actions are portrayed in a uniformly unfavourable light" (p. liv). This is especially evident in the extended narrative concerning Richard's deposition and the accession of King Henry IV, where extensive reliance on the *Record and Process* betrays a clear Lancastrian bias. For its account of the Lancastrian regime the *Chronica maiora* provides important and in many places unique versions of principal events, especially concerning King Henry V's campaigns in France and the Lollard movement.

Thanks to the editors' expertise, scholars are now availed of the full narrative, with English translation, of the St. Albans chronicle extending from 1376 to 1422. All the same, because many of the editors' interpretations advert to the views expressed by Galbraith in the 1930s, a few of which have been challenged—if not overturned—by subsequent scholarship, some of their conclusions do not necessarily represent the final word. Thus, the editors' observations regarding the dating, sequencing, and relationships among the several manuscripts conveying both the *Chronica maiora* and the Short Chronicle are not altogether convincing. It is not altogether clear, for instance, whether Walsingham (assuming he was the sole author) first compiled the *Chronica maiora*, and then subsequently drafted an abridged version—or vice versa. Nor is the question of Walsingham's sole authorship of the entire narrative made abundantly clear; even the editors are vague on this point.

Quite apart, then, from the overall importance of this most welcome edition of the St. Albans chronicle, some of its conclusions invite further discussion and reconsideration.

*La Salle University*

GEORGE STOW

*Kampf um Florenz—Die Medici im Exil (1494–1512)*. By Götz-Rüdiger Tewes. (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 2011. Pp. xiv, 1190. €128,00. ISBN 978-3-412-20643-7.)

Many years ago, there was a delightful friend, all energy and projects, who would visit my roommates and me in our college dormitory. She carried a very heavy bookbag, which, after climbing four flights of stairs, she would drop on the floor with a thud. In the bag there figured most prominently a thick biology text that she was always promising to read. One day, we played a prank on her and placed a brick at the bottom of her bookbag. Imagine her surprise one week later when we emptied the bag and revealed the brick. When Götz-Rüdiger Tewes's new book—nearly 1200 pages in German—arrived, this reviewer's first thought was that a similar if not identical trick was being played on him by the editors of *The Catholic Historical Review*. All's well that ends well. The friend did read her biology book, and this admirable book by Tewes was a pleasure to read.

Florence in the period from 1494 to 1512, when the Medici family was in exile and a republican regime known as the *governo popolare* was in control, has long been the subject of intense scrutiny, especially by scholars interested in Savonarola and Machiavelli. Tewes tells the story of this period again, but this time from the point of view of the exiled Medici and their partisans in Florence, whose story is reconstructed in exacting detail on the basis of a great deal of new evidence that Tewes has assembled and analyzed with great care. He situates his work within the field of historical network study, but his is an unusual case. Other Florentine historians have looked at the network as a tool of social advancement, as a means of preserving class dominance, as a way of controlling territory, as an instrument for seizing political power, or as a way extending influence abroad. The emphasis has been on how growing networks advanced the interests of those who belonged to them. Tewes instead studies a network that shrunk and adapted defensively during a prolonged crisis. This is not an expansive Facebook-style story, but it is no less interesting.

The broad network that was established by Cosimo de' Medici in the 1420s and 1430s did not disappear after the political disaster of 1494, but in great part it became dormant. Most former partisans participated in the restored republic, whereas only a few key Florentine players remained secretly active in the Medici network, whose principals (Piero, Cardinal Giovanni, and Giuliano) continued to move freely about the Italian pensin-

sula. Crucial to the survival of the principals as political actors was the preservation of their wealth. Notwithstanding repeated “clawback” efforts by the Florentine government, the Medici continued to command resources that were substantial enough to influence the policy of successive popes and the king of France.

To the final chapters of Raymond de Roover’s classic study, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), Tewes offers a powerful corrective. De Roover described Lorenzo the Magnificent, who was in charge from 1469 to 1492, as financially inept, bringing about the collapse of the Medici bank. On the contrary, Tewes shows how during the War of the Pazzi conspiracy of 1478–80, when there was good likelihood that Florence would lose the war and the Medici would be forced out of Florence, a financially astute Lorenzo transferred most of the holdings of the Medici bank to another entity, the Bartolini family bank. Lorenzo used the Bartolini bank as a front for Medici business and a vehicle for preserving his wealth in the event of political catastrophe. He also enriched it by using it as a conduit for state funds. The result was a durable and flourishing enterprise in service to the Medici but directed by the Bartolini, one of whom happened to be director of the Florentine Mint.

The extent of Medici participation in the Bartolini bank was not public knowledge. When catastrophe did befall them and the Medici were exiled in 1494, their wealth was protected by the Bartolini, most of whose business was done in faraway Lyons, giving the Medici powerful leverage in France. Meanwhile, the Bartolini director of the Mint remained in office in Florence long after the Medici were exiled. Others of the Bartolini held significant positions of authority in the *governo popolare*, and—along with members of the Tornabuoni, Lanfredini, Pucci, Alamanni, and Salviati families—they worked secretly to further the financial and political interests of the Medici in exile.

Alongside the Bartolini bank, another, indispensable resource was the network of lucrative church benefices held by Giovanni de’ Medici, the future Pope Leo X. When the republic subjected his Florentine benefices to punitive taxes, Giovanni used Roman channels to transfer them to friends in exchange for pensions from their revenues.

To reconstruct the Medicean network, Tewes has done exemplary work in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, the Archivio Salviati in Pisa, and the Archivio di Stato of Florence. Much of his crucial evidence is from the wonderful but rarely consulted collection of account books and parchment diplomas of the Bartolini Salimbeni family, whose archive is kept in their summer residence in Vicchio, a fifty-minute drive from Florence. The precision with which he has documented a complicated but extremely important dimension of this decisive period in Florentine history is to be commended.

### Early Modern European

*Religious Conflict and Accommodation in the Early Modern World.* Edited by Marguerite Ragnow and William D. Phillips Jr. [Minnesota Studies in Early Modern History, No. 3.] (Minneapolis: Center for Early Modern History, University of Minnesota. 2011. Pp. xii, 257. \$55.00. ISBN 978-0-979-75592-7.)

The new history of the ideas and practices of religious toleration is now global, and this volume fits very well in that trajectory. It covers both interreligious (Christians versus Muslims versus Hindus versus Chinese and more) and intra-religious (Shiite versus Sunni, Protestant versus Catholic and more) conflict and accommodation in many a variation on the theme.

The opening chapter by James D. Tracy makes the valuable point that all of the conflicts among Catholics and Protestants and dissenters in Europe took place against the background of the looming threat of Islam, and yet the Turks were often more worried about their conflicts with Persia than with the Europeans. War and peace between the two religious blocs were only the tip of the iceberg of raids, piracies, and incursions on the one hand and trade, cooperation, and peaceful interaction at the local level on the other. Different levels of conflict could become salient or recede in importance at different points in time.

Ideas counted and were manifold. Anne Marie Wolf analyzes a letter from Juan de Segovia of 1455 in which a strong case for toleration of Muslims is made almost exclusively from texts of the Bible, not from pragmatism, natural law, rationalism, or human rights. Wolf thinks the author's concern for conversion may "not fit most conceptions of religious tolerance" (p. 61), but surely the term can be ample enough to include peaceful conversionists.

The Mughal emperor Akbar's House of Religious Assembly, analyzed by Stephen Blake, brought together a breathtaking array of figures for discussion: Sufi, philosopher, orator, jurist, Sunni, Shia, Brahman, Jain, Nazarene, Jew, Zoroastrian, and others. The goal was "lasting reconciliation" as a political strategy for governing a very diverse empire, and it seems to have worked up to a point.

Denis Crouzet finds a transition in sixteenth-century France from understanding the king as a figure of violence—defender of the faith, punisher of evil—to representing him as a peacemaker. The king against his (and God's) enemies morphed into the king as guarantor of civil peace. Accommodation of religious diversity was a duty of peace. A century later, that had changed again.

Transylvania was probably the most officially tolerant place in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with repeated decrees permitting Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Arian (a heresy everywhere else), and even



sometimes Orthodox services. Graeme Murdock explains that this can probably be attributed to the precariousness of frontier living, and the danger of provoking internal violence in the face of an external threat.

Timothy Brook tells the fascinating story of a Spanish-Chinese massacre in Luzon in 1639–40. In China, the state was strong enough to enforce accommodation from European merchants and missionaries. Not so in the Philippines. Economic distress led to a battle of the gods, and the Chinese merchants and farmers there lost, perhaps in part because their state would not back them overseas. The idea of henotheism caused the Spaniards to fight for the superiority of their deity, whereas the Chinese were accustomed to appealing to different gods at different times. And the Chinese center saw the Chinese who had strayed so far away as unfilial, in contrast to the Spanish view of their adventurers as righteous conquerors.

A chapter from Luca Codignola on conservatism as a survival strategy for the Catholic Church in North America, 1760–1829, is reprinted from the *William and Mary Quarterly* (2007). And Frederick Asher explores the reconstructions of Hindu history today that are used to justify encroachment on Muslim mosques. Nationalists seek conflict; local merchants seek accommodation so they can live on tourism.

In books like this one, the history of the world is being rewritten as the history of variations on the theme of conflict and accommodation. The present may later be understood as part of the same dynamic.

*University of California, Riverside*

JOHN CHRISTIAN LAURSEN

*The Ruin of the Eternal City: Antiquity and Preservation in Renaissance Rome.* By David Karmon. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xii, 320. \$65.00. ISBN 978-0-199-76689-5.)

This book challenges the evidence of our eyes and of scholarly tradition. Most of Rome's ancient buildings are gone; many have supplied columns, capitals, and pavements to later structures; and considerable contemporary documentation attests to the recycling of antique stone as lime and construction material. The historiography has almost universally decried the destruction of the city's ancient remains by Romans down through the ages, but especially by Renaissance and Counter-Reformation popes. David Karmon argues, on the contrary, that Rome had a long tradition of preservation legislation and that the Renaissance popes—rather than being arch villains—were in fact saviors of antiquities. (His study ends with Pope Paul III, perhaps wisely, as Pope Sixtus V might have been harder to incorporate into his thesis.) When Karmon can make such claims without irony, we must believe that he does not subscribe to the conventional definition of preservation; and indeed that is the case he makes in this book. He asks us to rethink what preservation means, to look

afresh at the legislative evidence of concern for protecting ancient buildings, and to read "destruction" with more nuance. In other words, Karmon does the unthinkable; he takes a historicist approach to preservation policy, suggesting that we look at what it meant to the actors of the time rather than imposing modern, not very well conceived, standards on the past.

This argument is set forth in part I of the book and in its conclusion. Part II is felicitously named "object biographies," and here we find chapters devoted to the specific history of preservation (and destruction) at three important ancient structures: the Colosseum, the Pantheon, and what is now known as the "broken bridge"—Ponte Santa Maria. If there is a slightly broad-brush approach taken in part I, the three subjects of part II receive very satisfying treatment—detailed, readable, and illuminating. By focusing on the theme of what was preserved and what was not at each of these sites, Karmon throws fresh light on the history of these buildings and of the political forces that played over them. He brings out the role of the civic government, which had early claimed to be the protector of Rome's antiquities, so that for the first time we can trace its policies and interventions comprehensively over time. (These included the power to grant quarrying rights.) Karmon also argues vigorously that the papacy showed its commitment to preservation by the appointment of the first papal commissioner of antiquities, a post that lasted until 1870, under Paul III. If he does not go into detail on sixteenth-century papal "excavation campaigns" (that is, quarrying), his book nonetheless points up the need for a parallel study of the economic history of the Roman construction industry, complete with prices of different kinds of stone and what "ruins" supplied them.

This is a book with a bold, overarching thesis and richly textured component parts. It does assume that the only antiquities under the lens are classical. Hopefully it will inspire others to look anew at Rome's ancient churches and their even more tortured history of preservation and destruction.

Wesleyan University

LAURIE NUSSDORFER

*Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482-1523.* By Ronald C. Finucane†. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 276. ISBN 978-0-813-21875-5.)

*Contested Canonizations* is an engaging, "unashamedly narrative" (p. 3) study that offers the first collective overview of how five prospective saints advanced to the altars between 1482 and 1523. In none of these cases was success assured. The group's average time to canonization may have been a respectably cautious 210 years, but individual waits ranged from 12 to 417 years, and that vertiginous spread is, in a sense, Ronald C. Finucane's subject. What telling difficulties did each man face? And why did these cases succeed rather than others?

An initial chapter describes the nature of "Saint-Making at the End of the Middle Ages." Finucane skillfully reduces this complex subject to two topics of universal interest: evidence of changing attitudes toward miracle (is it science yet?), and the nature of the procedure (how corrupt was it?). Then he gently deflates these enthusiastic questions. None of his documents from the curial elite of c. 1500 reports arguments about miracles per se; rather, they evince a legalistic concern with the factual details of miraculous events (in some cases, it seems, with sheer obstructive intent). Thus, despite the usefulness of late-medieval miracle collections for understanding local perceptions, and of papal ceremonials and legal *relationes* for sussing out attitudes among the curial elite, the late Middle Ages did not achieve the sorts of revelatory discussion of miracle that would occur well after Trent. As for the second, procedural question, Finucane reviews the conservative format of the late-medieval canonization process, which essentially continued the twelve stages articulated in the thirteenth century by canonist Hostiensis. On that account, Finucane is justified in identifying his holy quintet as the last medieval saints, although they would normally be ascribed to the Renaissance or early modernity. Behind them lay the steadily diminishing rhythm of canonizations over the preceding two centuries; before them loomed the great saint drought of 1523–88.

Five core chapters follow, one per saint: theologian and Franciscan Master-General Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio (d. 1274, canonized 1482); lay ruler Duke Leopold of Austria (d. 1136, canonized 1485); the Minims' founder, Francis of Paola (d. 1507, canonized 1519); Archbishop and Dominican theologian Antonino Pierozzi of Florence (d. 1459, canonized 1523); and Bishop Benno of Meissen (d. 1106, canonized 1523). Each chapter repeats a simple, satisfying structure—overview of the life, discussion of the process, reflection on success. Despite the desperate complexity of the material, Finucane tells the men's stories extremely well.

Beset by "internal problems" particular to the renaissance Curia and by "external influences" associated with the tumultuous politics of early-modern Europe, these canonizations yield no simple recipe for success. Still, it is clear that a dogged supporter, political opportunism, and ready cash could tip the balance. Bonaventure would not have made it through the gauntlet of Franciscan factionalism, especially in the absence of miracles, without the support of Pope Sixtus IV. Leopold of Austria had plenty of posthumous miracles at his shrine in Klosterneuburg, but success required papal-imperial politicking and the labors of a tireless procurator on Klosterneuburg's behalf. As for Francis of Paola, he enjoyed the speediest ascent to the altars, thanks to the deep purses of French royalty, notably Louise of Savoy. Antoninus of Florence had a similarly politicized elevation—his cause served the Medici to counter the lingering influence of Savonarolan radicalism in factionalized Florence. Finally, canonization of the obscure Benno of Meissen burnished the dynasty and declared the reforming interests of Duke George of Saxony while underlining Charles V's opposition to Luther.

Finucane concludes that these individuals succeeded because each benefited a powerful interested party at a particular moment (p. 241). All scholars of canonization records know that asking "Cui bono?" will pretty reliably uncover the most vulgar trafficking in influence. God works in mysterious ways, respond the faithful; cynics experience a familiar tickle of amusement. Finucane, a consummate scholar, remained above that fray, content to be curious about the nuts and bolts of the processes during a liminal period. A wide audience will enjoy the author's storytelling skills and even discover a salutary provocation in his silences. Good teachers know when to let the conversation continue in the reader's mind.

*University of Texas at Austin*

ALISON K. FRAZIER

*Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy: A Study in the Circulation of Ideas.* By Amy Nelson Burnett. [Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xxviii, 234. \$74.00. ISBN 978-0-199-75399-4.)

Within the annals of historical theology, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt often gets a bad rap. Maligned by Martin Luther and rejected by Ulrich Zwingli, his role within the development of the Eucharistic debates among the emerging evangelical movements of the early-sixteenth century has been largely overlooked beneath a cloud of rhetoric and caricatures. In this book, however, Amy Nelson Burnett digs beyond the rhetoric to crack open a fresh look at both Karlstadt and his views on the sacrament within the broader context of the sixteenth-century evangelical movement. Those looking for a systematic theology of Karlstadt's views, however, will not find it here. Instead, Burnett plies her skills as an historian to trace the interaction of key themes within Karlstadt's Eucharistic theology with the theologies of both major and minor Reformers of the 1510s to the 1520s through the various tracts and essays that were published on this theme. In so doing, she sketches a new picture of Karlstadt's role as a catalyst of debate within the Eucharistic controversy that ended up fracturing the nascent evangelical movement into competing factions.

Perhaps the greatest strength of Burnett's book is that she approaches her topic as a study in the "circulation of ideas." This allows her to move beyond the polemics that characterized the debate and to focus instead on the way in which Karlstadt's ideas circulated throughout German-speaking territories to seed dissent reaction to these emerging discussions concerning the nature of the presence of Christ's body and blood within the elements of the sacrament. After providing a brief outline of key themes within his Eucharistic thought, she traces the movement of these ideas not only in relationship to Luther but also to Zwingli and a host of lesser Reformation figures—a connection that has not yet been adequately explored—to illustrate the way in which his views acted like shepherding moons so as to shape and define the



diverging views on the sacrament that eventually fractured the evangelical movement into different confessional camps. Burnett's genius shines in the way that she traces the circulation of these ideas from the ground up through an examination of the publication history of the various writings that constituted the substance of this debate.

One could only wish that she had included more direct quotations from her primary texts within the body of her work to allow students and readers to see for themselves the way in which Karlstadt and the various Reformers stated their positions. She also does not connect the Eucharistic controversy with the earlier medieval debates concerning the nature of the sacrament, leaving the impression that the differences that surfaced during this time period were something new rather than a progression of intellectual currents with deeper historical roots. Burnett does periodically *hint* at what she calls "practical consequences" (p. 10) that divided the evangelical Reformers from one another; but by opting instead to follow the debate in terms of more abstract intellectual differences, her work misses the more profound connection to questions of faith formation and the relationship between objective means and subjective faith that emerged across Europe during this period. As a result, she falls short of grasping the shifting patterns of spiritual formation which went hand-in-glove with the more abstract theological debates—or at the very least, the reason behind the polemical rhetoric that divided Luther and Karlstadt from one another. In the end, her work remains (as her title suggests), not a study of shifting patterns of early-modern spirituality, but a study in the circulation of ideas.

Burnett's book breaks important ground for the historian and theologian alike. Like a good work of scholarship, it also hints at new areas of creative inquiry. As a landmark study, it will be of use for students of religious history and theology for many years to come.

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RICHARD A. BEINERT

*The Senses and the English Reformation.* By Matthew Milner. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2011. Pp. xiv, 407. \$124.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66642-4.)

The common understanding of late-medieval Christianity in relation to its reformed counterpart is that the former was highly sensual, grounded in a rich visual culture of images, vestments, processions, and sacramentals and depending on practices such as *seeing* the elevation of the host and the visual veneration of relics. Its Reformation successor would be dominantly aural, based on the *hearing* of vernacular scripture and preaching; its banishment of the visual made it an internalized and intellectual experience. Such an understanding is, of course, far too simple and moreover accepts uncritically

the Reformation self-understanding and its critique of late-medieval religion. *The Senses and the English Reformation* undertakes to examine attitudes toward the senses, not simply visibility and audibility but smell, taste, and touch as well, from the fifteenth through the end of the sixteenth centuries to determine whether changes in understanding underlay the moving of those tectonic plates that convulsed European religion.

With extraordinary learning, Matthew Milner examines philosophical views of the senses from the high Middle Ages through the sixteenth century. Following from the Aristotelianism of Aquinas, sight was indeed accorded the primacy among the senses. But audibility came a close second, mainly for its ability to perceive interiors. Perhaps surprisingly, smell came next in the hierarchy of the senses, followed by taste, and—considered the basest—touch. The real issue emerged in the role the senses played in human cognition, whether they could be trusted, and if so, to what degree. How did religious objects and actions affect the devout and to what degree were religious elements what they appeared to be? Although it counseled caution in regard to the senses, pre-Reformation piety fully exploited an affective sensation in its liturgical practice.

The underlying question is the degree to which attitudes toward the senses changed between pre-Reformation and post-Reformation English experience and how such change might explain the upheaval in religious expression and understanding. This is what Milner sets out to examine in his study. What he finds, however, is a general consistency in the attitudes toward the senses over this 200-year period, the reformers still governed by traditional assumptions about sensory propriety and theory. The fundamentals of medieval sensory culture appear not to have changed appreciably over the course of the sixteenth century. Fear of idolatry, he notes, is dependent on the same understanding of the senses on which medieval sacramentality was based. In fact, the most ardent nonconformists with Elizabethan religion “appear as the truest inheritors of medieval religious sensing” (p. 290) because of their retention of an intrinsic intentionality in their understanding of religious objects.

What, then, did change in the ways the senses were deployed between the late-medieval and early-modern periods? Here, the explanatory character of the book may disappoint. The major differences must lie with printing; it would be hard to overestimate the impact of the printing press on European eyes and ears in the period. Although Milner acknowledges the position of scripture as the focus of the senses, he has little to say about the ways its authority was enhanced immeasurably by the printing press. Readers will look in vain for reference to the major scholarship on printing—that of Elizabeth Eisenstein, for example.

But the true value of *The Senses and the English Reformation* lies in its account of English worship and liturgy over the two centuries it treats. Milner

richly demonstrates the position played by the senses in English worship from the late-medieval world through the various stages of the Reformation. "Sensation may be the root of all sin," he notes, "but it was also the cornerstone of redemption" (p. 59) in its sacramental role. Although the overall story will be familiar to historians of the period, the wealth of detail and the attention to the ways in which the various senses informed the liturgical life will amply repay the reading. We learn, for example, about acoustic jars that enhanced the resonance of music and preaching (pp. 107–08), whereas in the Reformation the greater emphasis on auralty required pulpits to be moved into the naves and the distance between preacher and congregation to be minimized (p. 292). The "dogwhipper" became a necessary function to keep animals from fighting or leaping onto the Communion table (p. 300). Lovers of words will prize "utraquism" (from *utraque*, both) that describes the direction in the 1548 *Order of Communion* for the reception of Communion in both species (p. 316). And perhaps surprisingly, we learn touch would prove just as essential in Protestant sacraments and sacramentals.

Those concerned with the texture of religious practice in the crucial centuries of pre- and post-Reformation England will prize the learning and scope of this book.

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

MICHAEL O'CONNELL

*Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635.* By Judith Pollmann. [The *Past & Present* Book Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 239. \$99.00. ISBN 978-0-199-60991-8.).

Historical scholarship on Catholics and Catholicism in the past ten years has undergone a remarkable evolution, moving away from a focus on institutions and clerical offices that grimly drilled obedience into indifferent laymen and laywomen. Instead, studies on various territories across Europe have given attention to the eager involvement of the laity in religious revival, the ongoing vitality of traditional observances in programs of reform, and the power of devotion in inculcating a confessional self-consciousness among Catholics. Judith Pollmann's exemplary treatment of Catholic identity in the Southern Netherlands represents the full flowering of these salutary revisionist trends. As important as institutions were, historians can no longer cast the Catholic Reformation, at least in northern Europe, as primarily a set of organizational responses to Protestantism. Pollmann also clears up misreadings about the state of lay piety in the Netherlands and sends scholarship on the Reformation in new directions.

The focus of her study is perceptions by laity and clergy from the middle strata of society about the religious and political movements that moved through the Southern Low Countries. In a remarkably succinct book, Pollmann accomplishes this task with great success in part because she

uncovered an amazing array of unpublished sources from clerics and from laymen and laywomen who experienced the upheaval of rebellion, war, and religious conflict. Largely overlooked by historians, these diaries, spiritual journals, poems, chronicles, and even a songbook, along with an extensive body of published narratives, form the bulk of her source material. She handles these sources with dexterity, extracting a great deal out of them yet without universalizing her evidence. Interspersing firsthand accounts throughout the various phases of the political and religious narrative enables Pollmann to contextualize the sources appropriately and to illuminate the critical moments of action from local perspectives. For example, she marshals Marcus van Vaernewijck and Nicholas Soldoyer to describe the execution of heretics and Willem Janszoon Verwer to elucidate the Spanish siege of Haarlem. As a result, compelling local insights and observations substantially enrich Pollmann's inquiry into the advent of heresy, the call for reform, and the tumult of iconoclasm in chapters 1 and 2, the Hapsburg suppression of rebellion and Protestantism in chapter 3, the temporary Calvinist ascendancy in chapter 4, and the triumph of the Hapsburgs and the Counter-Reformation in chapters 5 and 6.

The book's central argument is that Catholicism eventually triumphed in the Southern Netherlands and perhaps in other places as well, because clergy actually engaged laypeople, giving them reasons to reject heresy, providing them the means to develop their spiritual lives, and restoring to them a sense of sacred community. Thus, clerical collaboration with laity could bring about religious change for early-modern Catholics as much as it did for Protestants. She traces the developments that led regular and secular priests to the realization that they had to reach out to the laity. From the 1520s through the 1560s, clerics failed to equip the laity to answer Protestants, treating the Reformation as an internal church problem. After iconoclastic upheaval in 1566, the Hapsburgs responded by conflating religious orthodoxy with political obedience, spawning new resistance. Finally, after the defeat of Protestant forces in the south in the 1580s, political and ecclesiastical authorities promoted sodalities, the veneration of saints, and Eucharistic devotion, which found a ready constituency among lay Catholics. Thoroughly researched, elegantly written, and splendidly conceived, this book deserves careful attention from all students of the Catholic Reformation.

*Saint Louis University*

CHARLES H. PARKER

*From Inspiration to Invention: Rhetoric in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus.* By J. Carlos Coupeau, S.J. [No. 22 in Series 3: Scholarly Studies Originally Composed in English.] (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2010. Pp. xii, 292. \$29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-880-81074-3.)

Over the past twenty years, historians, prompted in part by John W. O'Malley's *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), have explored the strug-



gles of the first generation of Jesuits as they defined themselves and their role in early-modern Catholicism. Oddly, few historians have shown a comparable interest in the ordinances, rules, and decrees formulated by the same Jesuits in their juridical, canonical conceptualization of this self-understanding. Within a hundred years the succinct Formula of the Institute evolved into a multivolume collection of letters, briefs, bulls, ordinances, rules, and decrees. Such negligence becomes even more astonishing because the Institute of Jesuit Sources has made the *Constitutions*, *Ratio studiorum*, and the decrees of the general congregations more accessible in English translations. [May one hope that the different *formulae* and *regulae* will be translated before the classically educated generation passes away?] The same institute has published the only commentaries (in English translation) on the *Constitutions*, specifically the multivolume study by Antonio M. de Aldama, S.J. (1989–99), and *Together for Mission: A Spiritual Commentary on the Constitutions of the Society* (2001) by André de Jaer, S.J. Both authors, not surprisingly, were more interested in Jesuit understanding and appreciation of the *Constitutions* than with a historico-critical analysis. De Jaer, following in the venerable footsteps of Joseph de Guibert, S.J., claims a spiritual value for the *Constitutions* equal to that of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Indeed, de Jaer suggests the former may be more important for Jesuits because they are proper to the Society whereas the wider Ignatian family share in the *Spiritual Exercises*. In the monograph under review, the author proposes the perspective of the “academic discipline of spirituality” (p. 2) through the study of argumentation with a specific rhetorical objective.

J. Carolos Coupeau, S.J., wrote his doctoral thesis under the direction of O'Malley at the Weston School of Theology. Currently Coupeau lectures at the Institute of Spirituality of the Pontifical Gregorian University and edits the online journal *Ignaziana*. He employs disciplines such as spirituality, history, rhetoric (old and new), hermeneutics, and literary criticism, as he charts the movement from the inspiration behind the *Constitutions* to rhetorical invention of its audience. Certain themes will interest historians more than others—for example, the delineation of the role of St. Ignatius of Loyola's secretary Juan de Polanco in the composition of the *Constitutions*; and the influence of four classic rules, St. Basil's *Asketikon*, St. Augustine's *Praeceptum*, St. Benedict's *Regula*, and St. Francis of Assisi's *Regula et vita*, on the Jesuit *Constitutions*. In a fascinating and important section on the history of the interpretation of the *Constitutions*, Coupeau posits three distinct phases: postfoundational (1558–1895) with apologetical, critical, and ascetical works; historical interpretation (1900–64); and spiritual interpretation (1964–present). The author's linguistic abilities allow him to peruse classical Latin commentaries and twentieth-century vernacular tomes. We progress from “a sort of holy founder's last will, the norm of ascetical life, a set of canons and regulations, and, only recently, as a concrete model for discernment in one's life” (p. 62) as we move through the three periods.

Coupeau revised and distilled his thesis for this monograph. The finished product is not an easy read, with a density and preference for technical language often to the point of obfuscation. Nonetheless, the book merits attention, but readers should familiarize themselves with the vocabulary in the glossary. Without it, they could get lost amidst charts and diagrams.

Fordham University

THOMAS M. McCOOG, S.J.

*Between Opposition and Collaboration: Nobles, Bishops, and the German Reformations in the Prince-Bishopric of Bamberg, 1555-1619.* By Richard J. Ninness. [Studies in Central European Histories, Vol. LIII.] (Leiden: Brill, 2011. Pp. xiv, 224. \$136.00. ISBN 978-9-004-20154-5.)

In his great history of the popes, Leopold von Ranke noted that the prince-bishops of Franconia proved powerless to hold back the spread of the Reformation. Not only were their parishes full of Lutheran preachers, but the nobility, the magistrates, the burgers, the mass of the subject population—even the episcopal authorities—gave over to the faith. Only those with “old German and Franconian fidelity,” Ranke suggested, had any remaining reverence for the bishops in their vestments and mitres. In *Between Opposition and Collaboration*, Richard J. Ninness revisits this issue, and in particular the observation that even the episcopal authorities should be counted among the supporters of the Lutheran religion. By way of a meticulous, archive-based study of the cathedral chapter of Bamberg and some of the higher offices of the diocese, Ninness reveals the inner workings of the prince-bishopric during the age of confessionalization. Indeed, the concept of confessionalization has an important ordering function in this study, for one of the main aims of the work is to add complexity and nuance to the rather one-dimensional image of the confessionalization process, particularly in the Catholic prince-bishoprics. Most studies tend to emphasize the conflictual character of the process and the sharp divisions that occurred as a result of religious change. In contrast, the perspective adopted by Ninness sets out to “. . . challenge at least the blanket validity of this position and argue for a more nuanced approach toward and a sensitivity to the variability of relations among the religious confessions” (p. 12). What is particularly fascinating about *Between Opposition and Collaboration* is that the confessional groupings under investigation are sharing the same offices of rule in the prince-bishopric of Bamberg.

The study begins with a historical backgrounding of the cathedral chapter itself, where it quickly becomes clear that it was essentially an aristocratic republic monopolized by the imperial knights and held together by “nepotism, cronyism, and exclusive cliquishness” (p. 41). With this as a foundation, the analysis then moves through the various stages of confessional change from the Reformation and the different phases of the Counter-Reformation. Ninness often draws back from a close study of Bamberg to take in the

broader context of developments, as with his look at the fate of the imperial knights within the Empire or the broader confessional framework; but the bulk of the analysis is focused on the workings of the prince-bishopric and what this reveals about religious relations. The main point to take away is that adherence to Lutheranism did not preclude a career in the chapter. At the outset of the study Ninness remarks that “the *raison d’être* of the cathedral chapter was family, not religion” (p. 26), and this observation is later confirmed at the end with the observation that “. . . confession was intertwined with family ties, traditional privilege, and political status in motivating the actions of the imperial knights in Bamberg” (p. 194). This would not surprise too many historians familiar with the period or the place, but what is particularly interesting about the study is how Ninness, largely on the basis of his archival work, is able to demonstrate how the knights were able to negotiate their shifting interests over the course of the confessional period—even in the face of intense Counter-Reformation reform, which momentarily knocked things out of balance—without renouncing their Lutheran beliefs or declining into perpetual religious conflict with the bishop or his Catholic officials. Indeed, mindful of the importance of the chapter as a matrix of patronage and power, it was not unusual for the Lutheran officials to see through the implementation of the Counter-Reformation. According to Ninness, at least in the early phase, “. . . Protestant officials were a more consistent influence in bringing Catholicism to the region than were the priests sent by Bamberg” (p. 122). Given the dominance of the confessionalization paradigm and the historical habit of thinking of religious relations in this period in strict either/or terms, this is a difficult model to reconcile with our notions of the Counter-Reformation. But these are the historical realities revealed by Ninness’s careful study of the prince-bishopric of Bamberg. Hopefully it will inspire historians to take up a similar approach for other areas of the Empire.

*Queen’s University, Belfast*

C. SCOTT DIXON

*La prassi della censura nell’Italia del Seicento. Tra repressione e mediazione.* By Marco Cavarzere. [Temi e testo, 92, “Tribunali della Fede.”] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 2011. Pp. xx, 263. €38,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-86372-281-9.)

This is a survey of ecclesiastical censorship from the first papal Index of general authority of 1559 (not 1558 as Cavarzere asserts) and ending in the early eighteenth century. The author has done extensive research in the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (ACDF) in Rome, which contains the surviving papers of the Congregations of the Index and Inquisition and other materials. Although the book mentions individual censorship cases, its purpose is to provide an overview of papal censorship in Italy. The book begins with an account of the system of ecclesiastical censorship. Other chapters describe the censors, press censorship, the censorship

of various forms of literature, self-censorship, the impact of censorship on society, and persons who avoided strict censorship. The book is sweeping and well written. It includes references to a considerable amount of recent scholarship, but not always the older scholarship. Unfortunately, the lack of balance prevents this book from being the needed survey.

The first sentence of the book refers to the decadence of Italy in the seventeenth century, and page after page leaves no doubt that the "repressive Roman system," "ecclesiastical censorship," "omnipresence of Roman ecclesiastical censorship," "papal repression," and "internal police" were responsible. Once in a while Cavarzere mentions "the marriage of repression and mediation," but mediation always failed. Since the opening of the ACDF archive in the late 1990s numerous scholars have published detailed studies showing nuanced and complex stories of attempts at expurgation, compromises, and bureaucratic backing and filling, as well as significant repressive censorship. Moreover, recent scholarship has also demonstrated that ecclesiastical censors recognized that they should not cut Italians off from European scholarly and cultural developments. So they created a system of permissions that enabled thousands of clergymen, scholars, and even ordinary laymen and laywomen to hold and read prohibited books. Cavarzere is aware of these developments, and he acknowledges that seventeenth-century censorship necessitated collaboration between church and state. But he does not see these exceptions as significantly modifying ecclesiastical repression. This is a legitimate point of view. But it is not the only one.

Sometimes Cavarzere reaches too far; for example, he sees the censorship of opera as part of seventeenth-century clerical repression. What would he make of the fact that nineteenth-century civil censors forced Giuseppe Verdi to make changes in his masterpieces? In the last chapter Cavarzere surveys the breaches in the wall of Roman repression such as the significant number of books printed in Venice that skillfully propagated libertinism, anticlericalism, and unbelief. In addition, Cavarzere correctly points out that influential clergymen and laymen held prohibited books in their libraries and made them available to others without penalty. Cavarzere argues that these exceptions paved the way for the Italian Enlightenment. But how pervasive could Roman repression have been when such works were printed and read in the seventeenth century? The account also jumps around chronologically, does not provide enough dates, and assumes a considerable amount of knowledge of censorship cases. In short, this is one point of view about the impact of seventeenth-century censorship, but probably not one that will win general assent.



*Picturing the Scientific Revolution*. By Volker R. Remmert. Translated by Ben Kern. [Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series, Vol. 4.] (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2011. Pp. vi, 295. \$65.00. ISBN 978-0-916-10167-1.)

This volume, a translation of the German text *Widmung, Welterklaerung, und Wissenschaftslegitimierung* (Wiesbaden, 2005) brings to English readers the opportunity of understanding more fully the role of frontispieces, engravings, and visual emblems in the development of astronomy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Like the texts and images that are Volker R. Remmert's historical subject, the author provides a kind of *explanatio imaginum* that brings out the contextual meanings implied in the pictures he examines. The book is handsomely constructed and well annotated with numerous references to historical sources and secondary interpretations drawn from the ranks of historians of science and art. However, Remmert clearly emerges as a historian of science in that his book's organization is not so much around the images as much it is around the ideas inscribed in the images. He contextualizes the images, not in an artistic tradition, but in the debates around Copernicanism and the attempt to gain support for both science and the theory itself. As the German title suggests, Remmert shows the role of dedication (*Widmung*) in garnering patronage for the sciences, a strategy closely related to the legitimization of the mathematical sciences in general and the heliocentric theory in particular (*Wissenschaftslegitimierung*).

Although the book belongs to a series on early-modern Catholicism, Remmert treats as many as Protestant scholars (for example, Tycho Brahe, Johannes Kepler, Philippus Lansbergen, John Wilkins) as he does Catholic (Christopher Scheiner, Christopher Clavius, Giovanni Battista Riccioli). He devotes considerable space to Brahe and his attempt to enhance the status of astronomy as a discipline, a trend that continued through the seventeenth century (chapter 6). This elevation of astronomy involved constructing a tradition of astronomy that included not only the customary luminaries such as Alfonso the Wise and Copernicus but also the portrayal of Ptolemy as a king in William Cunningham's *Cosmographicall Glass* (1559). Remmert furthers the not-to-be-forgotten work of Nicholas Jardine in the 1980s on Kepler's attempt to construct a new history of astronomy in his defense of Brahe. These are instances of how the discipline of astronomy experienced a deep-seated change in its aims and self-characterization between Copernicus and Isaac Newton.

Chapter 7 covers the pictorial representations of four Jesuit figures. The author offers enlightening commentary on how a book in early-modern Europe functioned in multiple ways only one of which was to be read. Extending his earlier discussion of Scheiner's *Rosina Ursina* (Bracciano, 1630), Remmert demonstrates how the visual representations contained in this volume served the dual purposes of soliciting patronage and fostering the

advancement of science itself. The three other Jesuits treated (Mario Bettini, André Schott, Francesco Eschinardi) advance the theme of the application of the mathematical sciences by invoking the imagery of gardens, pictures that to seventeenth-century eyes would no doubt have connected their thoughts to Eden and the implied command in Genesis to increase knowledge for the glory of God and the betterment of the human race.

Given the high quality of this volume, Remmert's interpretations are nevertheless open to criticism, especially with regard to issues of biblical and scientific authority. His treatment of Scheiner's *Rosa Ursina* is rich and nuanced but results in some overstatements. He contends that the difference between Galileo, as expressed in *Il Saggiatore*, and Scheiner lay in the latter's vote for the negating authority of the Bible and patristic exegetical consensus even in matters of physical truth. However, the frontispiece of the *Rosa Ursina* does not necessarily suggest a belief in the superiority of biblical and patristic truth so much as a trust in the concurrence of natural and scriptural knowledge. In general, this book leads the reader into the beautiful world of early-modern representations of scientific ideas.

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KENNETH J. HOWELL

*Sinners on Trial: Jews and Sacrilege after the Reformation.* By Magda Teter. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 331. \$39.95. ISBN 978-0-674-05297-0.)

Politically powerful noblemen in Reformation Poland, attempting to protect Protestants (and enhance their own power), advanced measures limiting the authority of the Catholic Church. This culminated in the 1560s when the Polish parliament (Sejm) decided that secular authorities would no longer enforce verdicts declared by ecclesiastical courts. Ironically, with the ecclesiastical courts' loss of power, secular courts gradually began to adjudicate religious and moral matters. Acts that once were classified as sins and might have been punished with symbolic acts of penance or excommunication were now criminalized. As Magda Teter notes, "Crimes against religion, such as adultery, blasphemy and sacrilege, almost surely sent the convicts quickly to the stake, while social and sexual crimes, such as adultery, bigamy, abortion and infanticide, became punishable by diverse forms of death. . ." (p. 7). In effect, local magistrate courts became the adjudicators of religious and moral behavior and the arbiters of the sacred. As the forces of the Counter-Reformation gained momentum in Poland and the Protestant and Catholic Churches vied for the status of "ecclesia Dei" (the Church of God), local authorities tended to side with the Catholics.

With erudition and much precise detail (although with a murky rhetorical strategy), Teter traces the highlights of the Protestant-Catholic competi-

tion, focusing especially on the issue of transubstantiation and the divine nature of the Eucharist. She shows how both legends and trials of cases of desecration of the host were part of a larger project to silence dissent, affirm Catholic dogma, and re-establish the Catholic Church's religious monopoly. Teter forces a rethinking of the thesis of Janusz Tazbir, who famously termed Counter-Reformation Poland "a state without stakes" (p. 225). He claimed that the decline of the Reformation in Poland was "gradual and painless" (p. 225). Poland, due to its constitutional system and vaunted toleration of dissenters, was spared "bloody religious strife" (p. 225). Teter insists that, although there may not have been religious wars, or mass trials and autos de fe, numerous individual acts of religious violence imposed by secular courts played a key role in Polish re-Catholicization: "The stakes were lit . . . it was the lay courts' classification of Catholic spaces as the only 'sacred' places and their adjudication of crimes of 'sacrilege' that sent Jews and Christians alike to death by fire . . ." (p. 225).

Teter's subtitle signals the other major theme of her book. Returning, more emphatically, to a thesis of her previous work, she posits that accusing, torturing, and burning Jews in desecration of host sacrilege cases was not typically persecution of Jews per se. Traditional Christian Jew-hatred made the Jews into a convenient foil who, by supposedly desecrating the host, dialectically affirmed its holiness and, by extension, the truth of the Catholic Church. Trying and burning Jews (not exclusively; actually, the majority of those executed for sacrilege were Christians) was but one tactic in the fight to re-Catholicize Poland. Moreover, cases of Jewish sacrilege were often overdetermined; Jewish victims might be demonized and (falsely) accused as a means of attacking the political power of their noble or royal protectors, confiscating Jewish property, weakening Jews as economic competitors, or securing their expulsion from the city.

Teter does bring evidence that the Jews saw themselves not as pawns in larger struggles, but as targets of religious persecution. However, her conclusion is that "Jews, conversely, were accused only when extraneous conditions of religious, political, or economic nature coincided" (p. 223). Often accusations failed, and Jews were spared. In another ironic twist, unlike poor individual Christians, Jews (at least prominent ones), had resources to marshal in defense against lethal libels: "charges mobilized a Jewish communal support network that was often successfully able to seek help from higher authorities" (p. 224).

With its wealth of information and two challenging theses, *Sinners on Trial* should become required reading for anyone studying Polish, Jewish, or church history.

*Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth.* By Stefania Tutino. [Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 404. \$74.00. ISBN 978-0-199-74053-6.)

Of the periodic outbursts of controversial writing that punctuated and quickened the development of ecclesiological and political thinking in medieval and early-modern Europe, the first, set off by the onset of the Investiture Conflict in the late-eleventh century, has been the focus over the years of an enormous amount of historical research. The same is true of the upwelling of polemical and theological literature occasioned at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the bitter standoff between Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip IV of France. That, however, cannot be said of the early-seventeenth century outburst that generated at least in Milward's incomplete listing (he does not cover the Venetian contribution) some two hundred often voluminous pieces of writing, and which Charles Howard McIlwain long ago characterized as having precipitated "a paper warfare in Europe the like of which has not been seen since . . . now that the common language of that warfare has fallen into disuse."<sup>1</sup> That great upheaval of the spirit was occasioned by the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, by James I's imposition of an Oath of Allegiance in 1606, by Pius V's imposition in the same year of an interdict on Venice, and by the assassination in 1610 of Henry IV of France by a Catholic fanatic. Although it has not, of course, escaped the attention of historians, that attention has been uneven in nature and the affiliated research efforts somewhat balkanized. That is to say, they have tended to focus on one or other of the several national flashpoints of the controversy and have failed, by and large, to explore in adequate depth its intricately intertwined pan-European character.

This lack Tutino has now moved happily to remedy. She has done so by focusing intently on Cardinal Robert Bellarmine and his teaching on the *potestas indirecta* of the pope in matters temporal. That power he depicts as grounded in the superiority of the pope's *spiritual* power (hence "the empire of souls" in the subtitle). His theory had by 1610 found its way into the very center of the Europe-wide outburst of theopolitical controversy and, in examining it, Tutino draws to the surface the degree to which its nuances were elicited in the course of Bellarmine's dialogue with thinkers as diverse as Paolo Sarpi in Venice, King James I of England, the Gallican Jean Richer and the ultramontane André Duval in Paris, his fellow Jesuit Martin Becanus in Germany, as well as various critics in Rome such as Pope Sixtus V. To some of them, he was "a dangerous man" properly to be denounced to the Holy Office. Any reader, then, prone to thinking of Bellarmine as an accepted member of some sort of Counter-Reformation establishment will be speedily disabused of that notion by Tutino's account, which makes clear the degree to which he was dogged by

<sup>1</sup>Charles Howard McIlwain, introduction, *The Political Works of James I* (Cambridge, MA, 1918), pp. xv-cxi, here p. lvii.



controversy in high papalist circles precisely because the papal power in temporals that he emphasized was no more than an indirect one. Nor is the reader allowed to overlook the importance of the differing national contexts in which that theory was deployed, the nuances that those differences inserted into its usage, and “the fragile dynamic between center and periphery of the Catholic world” (p. 258) that Tutino skillfully evokes. She does so by exploring not only the veritable ocean of pertinent theopolitic literature but also (and admirably) by calling upon the records of the Roman Inquisition and the voluminous correspondence between Bellarmine and the Roman officialdom, as also with writers like Duval and Becanus. The outcome: A first-rate book, ambitious in scope, impressive in delivery, tenacious in analysis, precise and comprehensive in documentation, a book destined for many a long year to come to constitute the requisite point of departure for other studies in the field.

However, a few mild criticisms need to be made. I am surprised by the lack of any mention of the earlier but still pertinent contributions of John Courtney Murray and frankly puzzled by the author’s failure to discuss the theory of a papal *potestas indirecta* developed by Jean de Paris three centuries before Bellarmine wrote. Although slightly different from Bellarmine’s theory, it had resonated down through the centuries intervening, starting echoes in the thinking of such as Pierre d’Ailly, Jean Gerson, John Mair, and Jacques Almain—men whom Tutino certainly mentions, but not in this connection. I also would judge as ill advised the author’s attempt at the end of the book to vindicate the continuing pertinence of Bellarmine’s theory by inviting us to see it through the lens constituted by the views of such as Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, and Carl Schmitt (this last enjoying at the moment something of an undeserved vogue). That attempt does not really work, and it has the effect, alas, of introducing a fleeting moment of opacity into what is otherwise a crisp and lucid account.

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*Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain.* By Erin Kathleen Rowe. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 264. \$74.95. ISBN 978-0-271-03773-8.)

A country deeply divided over its proper role on the world stage, in doubt over the nature of its core values and leadership, a country where a militaristic, nativist, and traditionalist faction was pitted against a more inclusive, forward-looking wing—this was not the contemporary United States, but Spain during the crisis of the seventeenth century. In *Saint and Nation*, Erin Kathleen Rowe makes a case for studying how national identity can crystallize around a religious symbol. Between 1617 and 1630, Spain was split in a contentious battle over which saint or saints should be the country’s patron—the traditional Santiago Matamoros (St. James the Moorslayer) or Santiago together with the newly canonized St. Teresa of Ávila. Teresa’s pro-

moters ("*teresianos*") argued that new challenges—the rise of Protestantism, mainly, but also difficult times at home—necessitated a modern patron saint who understood these problems and could lead the Spanish nation to victory. Santiago's supporters ("*santiaguistas*") fought back viciously and ultimately won the day.

Over the course of an introduction and seven chapters, Rowe develops the story of this controversy, relying primarily on the pamphlets that the two sides hurled at one another, but also the archival records of the many cathedrals involved, the royal crown, and the Vatican itself. In essence, Rowe's book traces two histories. First, there is the ideological battle waged by the pamphleteers. A close reading of these pamphlets, some of them penned by Spain's leading authors and political thinkers, lays bare the nation's prejudices and aspirations. The *santiaguistas* revealed themselves to be misogynistic, papal and royal scofflaws who could not bring themselves to accept a woman as their patron saint, even though the pope, king, and parliament all commanded it. On their part, Teresa's supporters, armed with the Tridentine Church's critical reappraisal of sainthood, questioned Santiago's murky credentials and put forth the virtues of a real saint better equipped to deal with the modern world in which they lived. The second history is that of the legal battle that ensued over Teresa's shared patronage with Santiago. Matters of cult, Castile's cathedral chapters argued, belonged to them, and the monarchy or parliament could not simply vote themselves a new patron saint and expect them to worship accordingly. Because there was the inconvenient fact that the papacy had issued a brief authorizing Teresa's co-patronage, the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela set itself the task of proving that Pope Urban VIII had been mistaken when he granted it and remarkably won the fight in 1630, quashing forever hopes for Teresa's co-patronage of Spain.

Although both Santiago and Teresa's supporters pitched their saints as patrons for all of Spain, in reality this is a Castilian story. True, Philip III and Philip IV were avid *teresianos*, but hitching Teresa to the cause of the Hispanic monarchy, as Olivares hoped, never won over the hearts and minds of non-Castilians, just as the monarchy itself could never convince the Catalans, Portuguese, Italians, and Dutch to fall in line with its policies. Ultimately, therefore, the co-patronage controversy is a story about how Castile's cathedral chapters, bishops, cities, parliament, and religious orders lined up behind their saint and defended their privileges and political interests. At times, a more critical reading of some of the various primary sources would have been welcome, as well as a conclusion that integrates the book's themes, rather than looking forward to the fate of Santiago and Teresa in the twentieth century. These remarks aside, on the whole Rowe handles very well the complexity of her subject and her sources, and in doing so sheds valuable insight on the evolution of the Spanish national identity during the early-modern period.

*Processi informativi per la nomina dei vescovi di Trento nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano (secoli XVII-XVIII)*. Edited by Ugo Paoli. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Fonti, 10.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2010. Pp. 771. €48,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-13998-6.)

In his book, Ugo Paoli introduces an important source for the historical reconstruction of the Prince-Bishopric of Trent: the information processes written for the appointment of the prince-bishop. The documents used were obtained from the consistorial archives of the Apostolic Datary and the Apostolic Nunciature in Vienna, preserved in the Vatican Secret Archives. The author was vice-prefect of the Vatican Secret Archives from 1997 to 2002, and this made the collection of data easier. Paoli previously published a similar book, the *Relationes ad limina* (Trento, 2000), which covered the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries for the Prince-Bishopric of Trent. The *Relationes* are a complementary source to the processes, since they contain more information on the dioceses, whereas the processes focus on detailed biographies of the bishops.

The importance of this historical source is shown by the triple role carried out by the prince-bishop during the old regime: diocesan ordinary, prince of the Holy Roman Empire of Germany, and confederate member of the Tyrolean province. The prince therefore dealt with three authorities: the pope, the emperor, and the count of Tyrol. The bishopric of Trent was under the Holy Roman Empire, and as prince of the Empire the bishop had the right to vote in the imperial diet and the option of using the imperial courts; Trent also was a confederate member of the Tyrolean province, constantly fighting with the counts of Tyrol due to their repeated attempts to dominate.

This book is divided into two parts. The introduction describes the origin, evolution, and characteristics of the information processes used for the appointment of new bishops. The purpose of the processes was to determine whether the appointed bishop had the necessary requirements to be confirmed by the pope. The process examined qualified witnesses who would provide answers under oath regarding the appointed bishop's age, life, habits, doctrine, political views, and qualification to teach. The rest of the information pertained to the dioceses—boundaries, location, population, cathedral architecture and furnishings, structure of the cathedral chapter, number of city parishes and religious homes, number of students attending seminary, preservation of the bishop's palace, and the status of the bishop's revenue. In addition to this examination, the future bishop provided the following documents: certificate of appointment, baptism and confirmation certificates, ordination to minor and major orders, studies conducted and academic degrees, offices, profession of faith, proof of good manners and habits. The author then focuses on the content of the processes specific to the various bishops elected and on the historical circumstances affecting their election.

The second part of the book is a transcript of all the processes concerning the newly appointed bishops from 1665 to 1776. A total of eleven information processes is included—nine held in Vienna and two in Rome.

This volume is a unique and fundamental source regarding the history of the bishops of Trent. The documents published are important from a prosopographical point of view in reconstructing a collective biography of the bishops, and for the study of political-institutional matters in a state that for several years was a nexus among the Italian states, the Roman Church, and the German world.

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ALESSANDRA DATTERO

*Aspects de l'érudition hagiographique aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles.* By Bernard Joassart. [École pratique des Hautes Études. Sciences historiques et philologiques—V; Hautes Études médiévales et modernes, 99.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2011. Pp. x, 171. \$72.00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-600-01360-4.)

The European Renaissance presumed the myth of the golden age. Whatever was good was located in a remote and pristine past. The Jesuits as “Renaissance men” approved of the recovery of texts, cleaner texts (reconciling the many variants) and corrected ancient texts—an early form of “historical criticism”—delving into the glorious past alongside other Renaissance scholars, religious or “secular,” Protestant or Catholic. Even so, criticism of the lives of the saints formed just a small part of the textual recovery of the era.

Joassart writes that Jean Bolland (1596–1665) worked alone in compiling the *Acta Sanctorum* until he was joined by Godefrid Henschen (1601–81) and later by Daniel Papebroch (1628–1714). There is scant reference to hagiography in the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*. Even though it grew into a legend, as did the small mission to Quebec recounted in the *Relations jésuites*, the Bollandist hagiographical work was a numerically insignificant apostolate of the Society.

Not surprisingly, “friendly rivalry” developed between the older and established Benedictines and the Jesuits. Dom Jean Mabillon (1632–1707), a monk of the Congregation of St. Maur and student of Luc d'Achery (1609–83), gained fame for his profound study of the *Acta* of the Benedictine saints. The Maurist scholars were numerous, but only Mabillon distinguished himself in hagiography, although he did not work alone and was active in other areas of study. Mabillon's masterpiece was the *De re diplomatica* (Paris, 1681; and supplement, Paris, 1704). Joassart asserts that Bolland and Mabillon were “twins” in the work they did for their respective communities. He likewise asserts that the Bollandists eagerly followed the numerous publications of the Maurists to stimulate their own research (p. 53). The two communities did not organize or present their material in the same way. The Maurist hagiography



was intended primarily for internal consumption, whereas the Jesuits were writing apologetics for the whole world.

Early in his introduction Joassart exclaims that he does not wish to write about something boring like we find locked away in dull dissertations. Although the Bollandists and the Maurists may have been in benevolent competition with each other, this was not the case between the Jesuits and the Carmelites. The beginning of the quarrel dates from 1675. The Bollandists had just published in their first volume the article concerning Albert, "Patriarch of Jerusalem." Some of the early Christian writers did not support the Carmelite claim that their founder "materially" was the Prophet Elijah. One may see here the myth of the golden age at work in the Carmelite passion to seem as ancient as possible. The Bollandists analyzed the tradition and stirred up a controversy with the Carmelites, which became heated. Even some Carmelites, including Louis-Jacob de Saint-Charles (1608–70), doubted the claim about their foundation, which only increased the rancor. There followed a flood of Carmelite polemics in favor of the tradition that the Prophet Elijah did indeed found the Order (pp. 92–93). Henschen and Papebroch were responsible for the materials concerning the Carmelites. The Jesuit Superior General advised a middle path between compromising the truth and needlessly offending the Carmelite Order. The Carmelite Provincial, Daniel de La Vierge, wrote to the Bollandists to protest their publication, but his arguments were *ad hominem* and not historical. Various important dignitaries in Rome became involved in the case, mostly concluding in support of Papebroch. The Superior General disapproved of the "tone" of the work against the tradition of the founding of the Carmelites. Mabillon wrote to Papebroch, assuring his full support for the position taken by the Jesuit Bollandist. Mabillon went so far as to say he grieved that Papebroch was now distracted from his important work in order to defend himself in the case. In 1698 Pope Innocent XII ordered that both sides keep silence on the matter—a pontifical solution already famous at the beginning of the same century in the *De auxiliis* controversy between Dominicans and Jesuits.

*Alma, MI*

BRIAN VAN HOVE, S.J.

*Morales en conflit: Théologie et polémique au Grand Siècle (1640–1700).*

By Jean-Pascal Gay. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2011. Pp. 984. €45,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09150-3.)

In this major study of one of the most notorious of intra-Catholic disputes in early-modern France, Jean-Pascal Gay provides a tripartite survey of the Jansenist-Jesuit controversy. He begins, persuasively but surprisingly, at the end, with the censure of laxism by the Assemblée du Clergé in 1700, before retracing both the growing critique of casuistry and the attendant evolution of rigorism from the earlier years of the century. Among the many complex and overlapping considerations that arise are the question of Gallicanism (the

degree, in other words, to which this conflict was aggravated by its origins in the French Church or, conversely, by the suspicion within France of an ultramontane agenda, focused on the Roman center and its links with the Society of Jesus); the relationship among casuistry, *stricto sensu*, and the various penitential hypotheses to which it gave rise (tutorism [the safer], probabiliorism [the more probable] and, most controversial of all, probabilism [that which is simply probable]); the internal differences within both warring factions and, more controversially again, the perceived proximity between Jansenism and Calvinism; the local variations within the French jurisdiction; the accessibility (or not) of casuistic publications (in French and Latin), and the uses to which they were put; and the prehistory of the tradition and the appeal to precedent. The three parts are broadly diachronic (narrating the evolution of the controversy), ideological (examining the core issues at stake), and generic (examining the respective arenas of theology and polemic). There are four dominant texts (alongside an immense corpus of more technical treatises, from all of which extensive quotation is provided): the hostile *Théologie morale des Jésuites*, attributed to Antoine Arnauld (1643); the *Lettres provinciales* of Blaise Pascal (1656–57), constituting a turning point in the popularization of the debate and the trigger for a great deal of what was to follow, both in writing and in practice; the response, in the form of the *Apologie des casuistes* by the Jesuit Père Georges Pirot (Paris, 1657); and the rigorist *Théologie morale de Grenoble* (Paris, 1676), whose influence was to continue well into the eighteenth century (and the broader scope of reference of the study extends both backward into the sixteenth century and forward to the 1730s). As is characteristic of a published thesis, Gay's book is relentlessly exhaustive in its exemplification and annotation, but since much of the material is both little known and difficult of access, it is hard to see how this approach could have been modified in the interests of readability (and French translations are helpfully provided of all the Latin texts). There is also a degree of repetitiveness, not in the manner of treatment of the issues debated, but simply by virtue of the nature of the raw material and indeed of the modes of argument deployed. On the other hand, the gradual elucidation of the deeper theological questions at stake is made substantially clearer by the provision of partial conclusions to each chapter. Gay finally supplies a series of textual appendices, including a particularly enjoyable one that provides an anthology of satirical and parodic material. It will probably only be those scholars who are centrally concerned with the disciplines of early-modern European Catholic history who will read this detailed and technical account from beginning to end; but many others will consult it, and there is no doubt that it will serve as a seminal point of reference for any future work in the area.

*Old Believers in a Changing World.* By Robert O. Crummey. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011. Pp. xiv, 267. \$45.00. ISBN 978-0-875-80650-1.)

For nearly four decades Robert O. Crummey has written about the history of Russia's Old Believers in studies ranging from his classic monograph *The Old Believers and the World of Antichrist: The Vyg Community and the Russian State* (Madison, WI, 1970) to essays in the *Cambridge History of Russia* and the *Cambridge History of Christianity*. Unlike other scholars, who tend to specialize in one time period, Crummey has done groundbreaking research about both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He has made significant contributions to the study of Old Belief's legendary founding fathers, the religious and intellectual underpinnings of Old Belief high culture, and the complex relations between this high culture and popular religion. He also has published a number of thought-provoking essays on the historiography of Old Belief. This volume presents a selection of twelve articles and book chapters from Crummey's oeuvre.

The volume highlights Crummey's distinctive approach to the study of Old Belief: his careful analysis of the manuscripts and miscellanies that guaranteed Old Belief's long-term survival. Crummey's principal interest is in "the intellectual leaders of Old Belief" (XIII) and "the theological, liturgical, and moral issues that preoccupied" (XII) them. This focus is illustrated, for example, in four essays on the spirituality and historical philosophy of the founders (e.g., Andrei Denisov) of the famous Vyg Community during the early-eighteenth century and another essay on Old Believer hagiography ("The Miracle of Martyrdom"). Crummey's preference for textual analysis is reflected in two historiographic essays (expressing, for example, great admiration for the Novosibirsk scholar Nikolai N. Pokrovskii, who pioneered the study of old manuscripts surviving in Soviet- and post-Soviet Old Believer communities).

One of Crummey's lasting contributions is his emphasis on lesser-known leadership figures (who were eclipsed by the iconic Archpriest Avvakum). For example, he identified the Monk Avraamii as one of Old Belief's principal founding fathers (pp. 68–84). Avraamii articulated for the first time the apocalyptic worldview that "provided concepts, images, and rallying cries with which ordinary men and women could comprehend the rapidly changing . . . world around them. . ." (p. 84). Similarly, he resurrects the long-forgotten Andrei Borisov, leader of the Vyg Community from 1780 to 1791, who was inspired by both Eastern Christian tradition and the European Enlightenment (pp. 136–56). Fascinated by Rousseau and Western science (e.g., the physics of electricity) Borisov prefigured later intellectuals trying to make sense of Old Belief's place in the modern world.

Crummey also explores the social contexts of Old Belief. An essay on popular culture (pp. 17–27) argues that Old Belief "was clearly not a religion of

the illiterate" (p. 25) because "leaders struggled unceasingly to enforce the most rigorous standards of Orthodox worship" (p. 26). This confessionalization process sharply distinguished Old Belief from official Orthodoxy. An essay on religious radicalism (pp. 52–67) seeks to understand the apocalyptic mind-set of peasants who committed suicide in the face of persecution during the late 1660s. It is a fascinating account of women and men who "extended their rigorous asceticism to its ultimate end—they stopped eating altogether" (p. 59). Crummey's findings suggest that preachers on the fringes of Old Belief advocated suicide to escape the world of Antichrist.

Without Crummey's contributions, the study of Old Belief would not be as alive as it is today. One might call Crummey a "founding father" himself (comparable in stature to Denisov) of Old Believer studies. Crummey has continued and deepened earlier traditions of learning (that is, the scholarship of Pierre Pascal, Sergei Zenkovsky, and Michael Cherniavsky) and thus contributed greatly to all future scholarship on Old Belief. This volume is a tribute to Crummey's scholarly erudition and offers readers a uniquely thoughtful introduction to the current state of research in Old Believer studies.

*University of California, Riverside*

GEORG MICHELS

*La Diócesis de Pamplona en 1734, a través de la visita ad limina del Obispo Melchor Ángel Gutiérrez Vallejo.* By María Iranzu Rico Arrastia. [Colección Aspectos Jurídicos, 20.] (Pamplona: Universidad Pública de Navarra. 2010. Pp. 489. €30,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-497-69267-0.)

Since Pope Sixtus V mandated the first *ad limina* visits in 1585, bishops have regularly traveled to Rome to visit the tombs of Ss. Peter and Paul and to give the pope a report on the state of their dioceses. The documents generated with each *ad limina* visit are numerous, and the records at the Vatican Archives, spanning more than four centuries, are indispensable to study the evolution of the *ad limina* visits, church organization, and religious practices within dioceses.

This book provides a detailed description of the *ad limina* visit of the bishop of Pamplona in 1734 and includes transcriptions of all the *ad limina* documents from that visit. María Iranzu Rico Arrastia does not analyze the documents here; rather, she provides a primer on how to read and interpret these sources. She posits that understanding how and why the documentation was generated in Rome and Pamplona will help historians move beyond the formalism and the repetitive nature of the documentation and thereby gain fresh insights into early-modern society from these sources.

The book is divided into five chapters and includes lengthy appendices. Chapter 1 defines an *ad limina* visit and briefly gives the context for the visit of 1734. Chapter 2 identifies repositories in Rome and Pamplona with docu-



mentation on *ad limina* visits. Chapter 3 describes the different types of documentation generated in Rome and Pamplona. Chapter 4 develops more fully the historical context of the visit, examining the career of Bishop Melchor Ángel Gutiérrez Vallejo, his efforts to prepare for the *ad limina* visit despite illness, and the role of local clergy in preparing the documents as well as in impeding the visitation process by claiming exemption from episcopal oversight. Chapter 5 describes the documents in the appendices. Rico Arrastia's commentary on the written report and a unique catalog describing the 927 parishes in the diocese is particularly helpful. Here, she hints at different ways the documentation might be used for church history, demographic history, or social history. For example, she notes that the clustering of parishes named San Román in the archpresbyterate of Yerri might shed light on popular devotion in that region. Disappointingly, because it is a primer, the book only alludes to such lines of investigation but never takes them up. Rico Arrastia also points out the documents' shortcomings, most notably numerical errors in the documents sent to Rome. With this grounding, the reader is ready to undertake his or her own investigation of the sources.

The appendices consist of tables and documents. Rico Arrastia has painstakingly created seventy-two pages of useful tables from the documentation. These tables include names of the parishes within the diocese; identification of parishes dependent on chapters, religious orders, monasteries, or other ecclesiastical bodies; locations of monasteries, convents, and confraternities; plus several tables on the population of the parishes. The seventeen documents of the *ad limina* visit total 240 pages of text. Most of the documents are in Latin, but a few are in Castilian.

Rico Arrastia must be commended for providing scholars with an easy-to-follow description of the documentation and making available the documents of the most thorough *ad limina* visit from early-modern Pamplona. This book will be a useful starting place for all historians planning to consult *ad limina* records for their own research.

*Saint Anselm College*

SEAN T. PERRONE

*Enlightened Monks: The German Benedictines, 1740–1803.* By Ulrich L. Lehner. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 266. \$99.00. ISBN 978-0-199-59512-9).

Ulrich Lehner has written a book that anyone with an interest in eighteenth-century Catholicism and the more general phenomenon of religious Enlightenment will want to read. Focused on the roughly 150 monasteries (composed of some 3500–4000 professed monks) in the German-speaking Benedictine communities of southern and Middle Germany, Austria, and Switzerland over the course of the eighteenth century, the book draws on extensive primary research in local and regional archives as well as the very

best of contemporary scholarship in German and English. Lehner is nothing if not a thorough and industrious scholar, and the wealth of information he has amassed alone makes this book a valuable resource. But he is also a fluid writer, with an eye for piquant details and arresting stories, ensuring that the narrative is enlivened along the way by a great number of vivid and sensitive portraits of individuals, like the "Catholic Werther" (p. 118), Nonnosus Gschall, whose theological struggles and depressive illness led to his self-inflicted demise; the scholar and notorious convert to Protestantism Gregorius Rothfischer; and the Scottish Benedictine Andrew Gordon, whose residence at the Abbey in Regensburg and keen interest in contemporary philosophy (above all, the thought of Christian Wolff) made him a central eighteenth-century intermediary between the Anglophone and German worlds.

Lehner organizes his study around a series of "challenges" that beset the Benedictines in the age of Enlightenment. These ranged from the need to grapple with new philosophies, theologies, and understandings of history and natural law to responses to cultural and "lifestyle" changes common to many parts of eighteenth-century Europe. Thus, Lehner traces how changing conceptions of leisure time and the introduction of new luxury items like coffee, tea, and tobacco led some monks to demand greater freedom and independence in which to play cards or billiards or smoke. So, too, did evolving understandings of personal privacy and self-expression lead to conflicts over space and appearance. Did monks have a right to privacy in their cells? Might they even lock their doors? And could they abandon the traditional tonsure in favor of something a little more dashing? By the end of the eighteenth century, Lehner observes somewhat amusingly, "hair emancipators" (p. 41) were a feature of nearly every Benedictine community in the German-speaking world.

The attention to such changes in lifestyle and comportment, although certainly interesting in themselves, threatens at times to expand the notion of Enlightenment so broadly as to render it virtually synonymous with eighteenth-century culture as a whole. Yet Lehner's overriding aim is to show that the Benedictines cannot be sealed off hermetically from the rest of eighteenth-century culture, including the culture of the Enlightenment. In this he succeeds admirably, showing not only how the attitudes of Benedictine monks tracked with wider conceptions of personal liberty that affected their thinking about discipline and punishment, freedom of movement and thought, and the relationship between rulers (abbots) and ruled but also, more specifically, how the order participated directly in the cultural practices and debates of the Enlightenment in a more restricted sense. Through scholarly exchanges and correspondence as well as university teaching, book collecting, travel, and the performance of scientific experiments, enlightened Benedictines showed themselves remarkably receptive to many of the central developments of Enlightenment culture, reading John Locke and Immanuel Kant, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Christian Wolff, and even Johann Gottlieb

Fichte. Yet Lehner is well aware, too, that this receptivity was apt to provoke a reaction: "The more the Enlightenment shaped all parts of society, the stronger the support for the anti-Enlightenment grew" (p. 7). With the demise of the German Reichskirche in the wake of Napoleon's armies and the dissolution of the monasteries, light gave way to darkness of many, somber shades.

Florida State University

DARRIN M. McMAHON

*The Mixed Multitude: Jacob Frank and the Frankist Movement, 1755-1816.*

By Paweł Maciejko. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. xiii, 360. \$65.00. ISBN 978-0-812-24315-4.)

This fascinating book tells the tangled story that began in 1756 when Jacob Frank, a charismatic Ottoman Jew, returned to his native Poland and turned the world of east European Jewry topsy turvy. He proclaimed himself the bearer of a new, eccentric variant of Sabbatianism, a seventeenth-century antinomian and messianic strain within Judaism that taught salvation through faith alone, coupled with flagrant ritual violation of the laws of *halakha*, rather than their observance. Inevitably, Sabbatians and traditional Jews came into fierce conflict, each faction abusing the other as the *erev rav*, the "mixed multitude" of the Hebrew Bible who threatened the purity of Judaism from within.

As related here by Paweł Maciejko, a lecturer in Jewish Thought at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Frank quickly attracted adherents, notice, and controversy in Poland. Faced with competing pressures from the Catholic Church that was eager for Jewish converts and the rabbinic leadership that was bent on purging these undesirables from the fold of Jewry, Frank and his followers received baptism as Catholics in 1759, the culmination of a bizarre but discernible chain of religious logic. By the next year, Frank found himself confined to lengthy virtual imprisonment in Częstochowa by decree of Polish church authorities, dismayed by the lurid and heretical rites of the Frankists as well as the discovery that their leader had accepted Islam before his arrival in Poland. If anything, the aura of martyrdom merely swelled the ranks of his followers to the tens of thousands. Freed by the Russians in 1772 at the time of the first partition of Poland, Frank and his considerable entourage moved on to the Habsburg Empire and finally Offenbach am Main, constructing a cultic adoration of his daughter as a semi-divine being modeled on a peculiar understanding of the Virgin Mary and living out his days in ostentatious splendor. After his death in 1791, his movement lingered on for several decades, with greater decorum but decreasing visibility, before fading out, as neither mainstream Christians nor Jews in Poland regarded it as a legitimate or reputable branch of their own tradition.

Maciejko has based his account on an impressive amount of archival research in Poland, the Holy See, and four other countries. In addition, he has

done careful reading of the published work of other scholars and is not shy to take issue with conventional wisdom on the subject. Above all, he stresses that Frankism should not be regarded as simply a new form of Sabbatianism, but as a doctrine *sui generis* cobbled together by its inventor; the strength of Frank's undeniable religious appeal, which persuaded thousands to regard him as a messiah rather than a mere charlatan, was not consistent defense of clearly stated convictions, but his originality and flexibility in adapting his creed to suit different audiences and circumstances. One suspects that the debates over Frankism have not ended, but for now, *The Mixed Multitude* should stand as the authoritative work on the subject.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

NEAL PEASE

### Late Modern European

*Religionen und Katholizismus, Bildung und Geschichtsdidaktik, Arbeiterbewegung: Ausgewählte Aufsätze.* By Michael Klöcker. [Beiträge zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte, Vol. 21.] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 2011. Pp. 629. \$137.95. ISBN 978-3-631-61714-4.)

This edition collects some of the most important works produced during a forty-year career that began with a lectureship in Cologne's Teachers College (*Pedagogische Hochschule*) and that continues with a professorship in history and history education at the University of Cologne since Cologne's teachers college has been integrated into the university. This helps explain the broad range of Michael Klöcker's publications, which stretch from history education and the Rhenish labor movement to the particularities of Rhenish Catholicism. With the exception of a lengthy introduction by series editor Christoph Weber, all essays included were published previously in other journals, reference works, or proceedings. The essays typify the solid archival research of someone who has conducted primarily regional research as a means to offer a more differentiated view of larger scholarly issues. An excellent example of this is Klöcker's article on the question of Catholic parity—or, rather, imparity—in academic appointments at the University of Cologne during the Weimar years.

Klöcker's work addresses Rhenish history from the Napoleonic occupation to the present. In particular, he focuses on the development of the Catholic laity. The Rhineland is a region with a comparatively large Catholic middle class (especially compared to Bavaria and Silesia), which historically took the initiative in developing lay associations of all types. Klöcker's work reveals the transformation of Germany's laity from one loyal to the hierarchy and observant of the Church's teachings to one that largely sees religious ritual as a consumer good and where the magisterium has lost much of its authority. Klöcker questions how Catholicism will fare in a postmodern pluralistic society. He sees contemporary German Catholicism facing a crisis



moment where it can welcome either a new antimodernism or a new *aggiornamento* (pp. 335–36).

Given Klöcker's analyses of the particularly Rhenish qualities of Cologne's Catholicism, one need not guess where his sympathies lie. He identifies a Rhenish-Catholic mentality that is undogmatic, strong-willed, and critical of authority (p. 467). For example, for years before and after World War I, archbishop and clergy would mount an intense campaign against carnival celebrations. Beginning right after Christmas, every Sunday homily would include an admonition that Catholics should go on retreat rather than anticipate Lent with little intention of later observing Lenten self-discipline (p. 417). Klöcker drily notes that the hierarchical appeals remained ineffective. Similarly, Klöcker helps explain Adenauer's political flexibility and pragmatism by pointing to his Rhenish origins.

Of particular interest is an article on the definition of German political Catholicism, which was originally published in 1971. Klöcker's argument that political Catholicism should be defined more broadly and inclusively was novel then; now it is commonplace. Just how much of a shift this represents can be understood by the fact that no one less than E. W. Böckenförde, one of the institutional Church's fiercest critics, recommended the article for publication.

Also included in the volume are several contributions made by Klöcker in other areas. For example, he offers an interesting comparison of economic concepts and relevant moral teachings of the three monotheistic religions. In several other articles, Klöcker summarizes the state of the field such as in a 2005 article on National Socialism as a religion or as in two articles, from 1980 and 2003 respectively, on the state of history education in Germany.

Overall, although the individual articles might be useful primarily to scholars of modern Rhenish Catholicism, the collection as a whole not only reflects forty years of scholarly engagement but also reflects forty years of German Catholic historiography.

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MARTIN MENKE

*The Pope's Soldiers: A Military History of the Modern Vatican.* By David Alvarez. [Modern War Studies.] (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2011. Pp. xiii, 429. \$34.95. ISBN 978-0-700-61770-8.)

Serious readers of church history are well aware of military episodes in its long chronicle, among the most dramatic being the subjection of central Italy by the fire-breathing Pope Julius II and the participation of papal galleys at Lepanto with the blessing of the saintly Pope Pius V. Less well known are the years during and after the French Revolution, when the defense of

the pope's temporal power required a military option. That story is no less fascinating.

Years ago, this was a book I had dreamed about writing. Fortunately, David Alvarez got there first and did a much better job than I would have done. His research was very extensive, as demonstrated by forty-five pages of helpful notes and bibliography. Although he brings his narrative up to the Swiss Guards of the present day, the heart of his story takes place between 1796 and 1870. During that period, there were six distinct military campaigns, culminating in the definitive loss of the Papal States and Italy's unification. By that point, the Papal States had built, per capita, one of the largest armies in Europe and, judged by its performance, one of the best motivated.

The saga begins when France's Revolutionary Republic invaded Italy, at the expense of what Alvarez calls the "worst army in Europe" (p. 1), a largely ceremonial force hampered by curial penny-pinching and skirmishing among careerists. From that very low point, there were serious attempts to build the pathetic militia into a credible force which might at least deter outside powers from invasion. By the pontificate of Pius IX, even the skeptics saw the need to field a reliable military. Optimistic cardinals who favored diplomacy learned the hard way that even the friendliest major powers were unwilling or unable to protect the Patrimony of Peter.

After a surprisingly brave performance in 1848, the army began active recruiting and training of native Italian troops, as well as numerous foreign volunteers. Potential adversaries learned that the old papal army, whose primary skill had once been the ability to run away, had now grown to include dedicated troops who were willing to sell their lives dearly for a cause in which they believed. The Castelfidardo campaign of 1860 was a tragic loss of an army not yet trained and equipped to carry out its task. But those defeated volunteers, including Irish and German recruits, showed a sort of courage not common in anyone's army. The final chapters in the *Risorgimento* came in 1867, when Papal Zouaves mauled Giuseppe Garibaldi's much larger force at Mentana, and the final defense of Rome in 1870. General Hermann Kanzler's troops demonstrated that they were willing and able to continue resistance until the last, if Pius IX had wished it. Later chapters cover the evolution of a credible army into peacetime units of Gendarmes, Swiss, Palatine, and Noble Guards. Defending the autonomy of the Vatican during World War II was indeed a military issue, with very high stakes for Pius XII to retain his voice.

Many parts of this fine book read like an adventure novel. The author might have added more maps to support his fast-moving narrative, which includes many place names. But overall, the book will stand up as a beacon of the final and enthralling finale of the Papal States.

*Were the Popes against the Jews? Tracking the Myths, Confronting the Ideologues.* By Justus George Lawler. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2012. Pp. xviii, 387. \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-802-86629-5.)

Historian David Kertzer contributed constructively to our understanding of one of the most infamous events in Catholic-Jewish history with his *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara* (New York, 1997). That incident, which took place during the waning days of the Papal States in the pontificate of Pius IX, ranks only slightly behind the Dreyfus affair in Jewish memory as a precursor of the tragic events of the mid-twentieth century. Kertzer's more recent effort, *The Popes against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism* (New York, 2001), however, was a much more cursory swing through history that, in essence, cobbled together all the negatives it could find, exaggerated some facts, and ignored many others in what amounted to a polemical indictment of the papacy as responsible for the rise of racial antisemitism (which it opposed) and therefore for the Holocaust itself. Justus George Lawler's study, as its title indicates, takes on the serious methodological flaws not only in Kertzer's book but also in others of the genre such as those by Daniel Goldhagen and John Cornwell. Lawler is both correct and effective in surfacing and debunking the antipapal ideology that lies behind such studies.

Lawler analyzes the sleight-of-hand rhetoric in which Kertzer engages to draw his readers into unwarranted conclusions and, where appropriate, supplies necessary historical context and interpretation. Kertzer, for example, presumes that the Jesuit journal *La Civiltà Cattolica* is on the same level of presenting the official views of the Holy See as *L'Osservatore Romano* and that all other Jesuit publications around the world mirror every article in it. Although it is true that there were a handful of anti-Jewish articles in *La Civiltà Cattolica* at the turn of the twentieth century, the Jesuit publications of France, England, and the United States such as *America* had a quite different and more positive approach when dealing with Jewish concerns. Lawler quite helpfully rejects such misleading generalizations of Kertzer's through analysis and example.

Although Lawler's book will be of interest to historians of the papacy and its dealings with the Jews from the nineteenth through the mid-twentieth century, it has its own serious flaws with regard to the history of Catholic-Jewish relations over the centuries and especially from World War II to the present. He cites Rosemary Radford Ruether's deeply flawed *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1974) as "pioneering and still indispensable" (p. 306), for example, when in fact its simplistic equation of the anti-Judaic polemics of the later strata of the New Testament with the antisemitism of the Nazis ignored both the intervening historical developments over the centuries and the distinction that must be made between religious disputation and modern racism. Likewise on the

same page he equates Ss. John Chrysostom and Augustine as making essentially the same “inevitably negative” judgment on Jews and Judaism, despite the fact that the book he cites—Paula Frederiksen’s excellent *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New York, 2008)—argues, and proves, the opposite.

Lawler similarly reprints on pages 288–97 his own 1965 negative review of the truly pioneering and still indispensable study of Edward Flannery, *The Anguish of the Jews* (New York, 1965), despite its substantially revised second edition (New York, 1985), of which he is seemingly unaware. He seems likewise to be unaware of the numerous official statements of the Holy See, the popes, and the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, as well as those of other bishops’ conferences, issued since the Second Vatican Council, which have significantly and carefully developed church teaching on Judaism and the Church’s relationship with the Jewish people.

*Saint Leo University*

EUGENE J. FISHER

*A People of One Book: The Bible and the Victorians.* By Timothy Larsen. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 326. \$55.00. ISBN 978-0-199-57009-6.)

In recent years, Timothy Larsen has published studies of Jesus’s preaching (*The Sermon on the Mount through the Centuries* with Jeffrey P. Greenman and Stephen R. Spencer, Grand Rapids, MI, 2007), religion and politics (*Friends of Religious Equality*, Waynesboro, GA, 2007), “fundamentalism and feminism” (*Christabel Pankhurst*, Rochester, NY, 2002), and nineteenth-century conversions from doubt to faith (*Crisis of Doubt*, New York, 2006). This project is an examination of Victorian “biblicism,” of the ways in which the scriptures permeated the thought and work of people of many denominations—and, somewhat paradoxically, of people who professed no faith at all.

Larsen takes roughly the same approach in each of the ten chapters in the book. In the title, he names a religious tradition and identifies the man or woman whom he sees as “a fitting representative” (p. 12) of that tradition: E. B. Pusey of Anglo-Catholicism, Mary Carpenter of Unitarianism, and of course C. H. Spurgeon of Baptists and “Orthodox Old Dissent” (three others—Spiritualism, Judaism, and the Plymouth Brethren—could not be included in the study proper, but are briefly surveyed in the conclusion). That person’s commitment to the scriptures is then the primary—but not necessarily the only—focus of the chapter itself, as Larsen often also provides a biographical sketch, discussions of another important people, or an “excursus” into “denominational history” (pp. 104, 138).

In many cases, Larsen helps us to see familiar people in unfamiliar ways. For the purposes of this study, for example, Florence Nightingale, Charles Bradlaugh, and T. H. Huxley are not significant, respectively, for their nursing



during the Crimean War, the lawsuit that permitted an avowed atheist to take his seat in Parliament in the 1880s, or scientific lectures and work as “Darwin’s bulldog.” Rather, Larsen portrays them respectively as a liberal preacher and author of the apologetic work *Suggestions for Thought to the Searchers after Truths*; a man who once taught Sunday School and whose “first freethinking work” followed all of the conventions of Victorian “biblical commentary” (p. 71); and someone who advocated the study of the scriptures while protesting, in the style of “an Old Testament prophet” (p. 206), what he saw as the idolatry—and specifically the “bibliolatry” (p. 207)—that characterized Victorian Christendom.

What is *not* consistent is the way in which Larsen has organized the study. He tells us in the introduction that “the order of the chapters is simply the order in which they were researched” (p. 7). This leads to a somewhat disjointed sequence: we read about Anglicans in chapters 1, 5, and 9; Roman Catholics in chapter 2; Methodists, Unitarians, and Quakers in chapters 4, 6, and 7; Spurgeon in chapter 10; and atheists and agnostics in chapters 3 and 8. This organizational scheme also makes it difficult to smoothly segue from one topic to the next; most of the chapters seem to come to a rather abrupt end. These may be rough edges, but they are not fatal flaws. Although *A People of One Book* cannot be given an unqualified endorsement here, it is nonetheless a worthwhile project by a prolific and insightful scholar. Many of us have probably grown skeptical of the promotional language on dust jackets, but, in this case, the claim that the book is a story of religious “diversity” told through a “series of lively case studies” is not far off the mark.

Marshall University

ROBERT H. ELLISON

*L'Archivio “Erik Peterson” all’Università di Torino. Saggi critici e Inventario.* Edited by Adele Monaci Castagno. [Collana di Studi del Centro di Scienze Religiose, 1.] (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso. 2010. Pp. viii, 247. Paperback. ISBN 978-8-876-94260-0.)

In the English-speaking world, the German patristics scholar, exegete, and theologian Erik Peterson (1890–1960) is known principally to specialists in the study of early Christianity and ancient religion, particularly to those with interests in liturgy, asceticism, martyrdom, and apocryphal literature. Some of his most important contributions were reprinted a year before his death, under the title *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Freiburg, 1959). More recently he has become somewhat familiar to writers on political theology, thanks to his classic monograph *Monotheismus als politisches Problem* (Leipzig, 1935), which notoriously denied the possibility of any such thing as a Christian political theology, and that on the basis of the orthodox Nicene doctrine of the Trinity and of St. Augustine’s eschatological desacralization of empire. His intimate friendship with the controversial Catholic legal scholar (and sometime National Socialist) Carl Schmitt has also brought his name and work into wider circulation.

Superbly trained in the historical methods that dominated German Protestant scholarship in the teens and twenties, Peterson nevertheless cultivated a stiffly independent theological consciousness that eventually drove him out of the Protestant world altogether. His conversion to Catholicism in 1930 led him to resign his professorship at Bonn and to move to Rome, where he married, raised a large family in near penury, and searched vainly for a suitable academic appointment in Rome and elsewhere (including an offer in 1942 of a new chair in patristics at The Catholic University of America—which he turned down, to his regret, and which was then offered to Johannes Quasten). His intensely eschatological Christianity, his austere reluctance to write “big-picture” history or systematic theology, his rather angular personality, and his anomalous status as a historically-minded lay theologian in a Catholic church that still regarded theology as a neo-Scholastic and clerical enterprise ensured he would remain the “stranger in the world” that he believed was the authentic Christian condition *in via*.

After his death, Peterson’s papers, including his near-legendary card index of hundreds of thousands of notes from a lifetime of reading ancient sources, came into the possession of the University of Turin, thanks especially to the efforts of the late Franco Bolgiani. The present volume from the university’s Center for Religious Studies presents the learned world with a thorough inventory of Peterson’s *Nachlass*. Of special interest will be his correspondence with a who’s who of European theological and scholarly life over nearly half a century, including Karl Barth and Adolf von Harnack, as well as notables from the Catholic world such as Jacques Maritain; Cardinal Yves Congar, O.P.; Cardinal Henri de Lubac, S.J.; Cardinal Jean Daniélou, S.J.; and Hans Urs von Balthasar.

The book includes essays introducing Peterson and explaining the tortuous history of the Peterson archive. Most noteworthy is the contribution of the indefatigable Barbara Nichtweiß, who, in the two decades since she published her massive intellectual biography of Peterson (*Erik Peterson: Neue Sicht auf Leben und Werk* [Freiburg, 1992]), has done so much to rescue his legacy from obscurity. Her realization of the extent of Peterson’s unpublished lectures, conferences, and letters prompted her to revise drastically the limited scope of her initial research project (p. 37). Along with the help of an ecumenical and interdisciplinary team of scholars, she has supervised the publication of a new edition of Peterson’s works that reprints older publications but also includes much newly edited material from the archives. *Erik Peterson: Ausgewählte Schriften* (Würzburg, 1994–) now comprises thirteen volumes either already published or in preparation. Her paper in the present volume has an instructive review of Peterson’s relation to the cultural and religious world of his time, along with insightful suggestions about the ongoing reception of his work, whose relevance lies not in spite of, but precisely because of, its principled challenge to the world as it is.

The book is recommended for research libraries and for scholars interested in twentieth-century intellectual history and the renewal of contemporary theology.

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MICHAEL HOLLERICH

*The Modernist as Philosopher: Selected Writings of Marcel Hébert.* Translated by C. J. T. Talar and Elizabeth Emery. Introduced and edited by C. J. T. Talar. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2011. Pp. x, 254. \$64.95. ISBN 978-0-8132-1879-3.)

The papal condemnation of Roman Catholic modernism in 1907, the establishment of vigilance committees to ferret out suspected modernists, and the promulgation of the oath against “modernism” (in scare quotes to signal that the reality of the phenomenon was quite other than the Vatican’s depiction of it) did far more damage to the Church than the modernists ever did. Having driven many of its best thinkers out of the Church or underground, the official Church failed to engage the intellectual movements of the time. World War I interrupted the offensive against modernism and allowed everyone to take a deep breath—e.g., Pope Benedict XV dismantled Monsignor Umberto Bagnigni’s secretive *Sodalitium Pianum* (or *La Sapinière*), named after Pope Pius X—and to begin more soberly to appraise modern thought and the Catholic Church’s posture toward it.

Since the progressive opening of Vatican archives (now open through the pontificate of Pius XI), published works have been appearing based on these archival materials, works that afford an “insider’s” view of events previously known largely only from the outside. At the same time, it has become “safe” to give wider exposure to modernist works that are little known because history had passed them by.

C. J. T. Talar has been a foremost contributor to this latter effort. In the present volume, he and Elizabeth Emery make available in accurate and graceful translation some of the most important contributions of Marcel Hébert (1851–1916), a modernist philosopher in tune with the development of modern thought. Hébert, writes Talar in his superb introduction, “felt the insufficiency of Scholasticism to speak to minds formed by modernity, to formulate an adequate response to the philosophical legacy of Kant” (p. 3), whom church authorities regarded as the principal enemy of Catholic teaching. Indeed, the neo-Scholastic manualists regarded Kant and most other non-Scholastics as enemies to be dismissed without trying to discover why they were non-Scholastics and what truth their systems might contain that could help the Church dialogue with modern thought. This is precisely what Hébert attempted to do, especially with American and Anglo-Saxon pragmatism, which was attracting great interest among European thinkers. His effort took him outside the Church.

The first half of the Hébert collection covers the period when he was still a priest in good standing and was most "symbolist." The second half covers 1908, by which time he had left the Church and was engaging pragmatism, but from a surprisingly "conservative" perspective: out of his symbolist belief in ideals and their unchanging eternalist character, he argued that pragmatism downplayed primacy of thought for "primacy of action" and ended in a Platonist or Berkeleyan idealism (pp. 170–71).

One great value of publishing translations of Hébert's works is that they allow readers to assess his thought and judge for themselves the accuracy of neo-Scholastic characterizations of it. Hébert was indeed a "symbolist," but to know what this means requires reading him on symbol and its function in religion. This collection enables readers to give context, depth, and nuance to Hébert's thought and to see how, had he found hospitality within Roman Catholicism, he might have been part of the effort to accommodate the truths of non-Scholastic thought well in advance of *les nouveaux théologiens*, who in their turn faced ecclesiastical censure.

This text is highly recommended for graduate courses to demonstrate that, rather than proscribe those who disagree with us, it is far healthier to create a hospitable environment in which to engage what seems "other" and so possibly to "baptize" it into the Church's mission to preach the gospel to the whole world.

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DAVID G. SCHULTENOVER, S.J.

*L'inconscient au paradis: Comment les catholiques ont reçu la psychoanalyse (1920-1965).* By Agnès Desmazières. (Paris: Éditions Payot & Rivages. 2011. Pp. 270. €21,50 paperback. ISBN 978-2-228-90666-1.)

In this significant work Agnes Desmazières traces the ways in which some of the leading mid-twentieth century Catholic European intellectuals and professionals struggled to find a place in Catholic thought for the emerging psychological constructs about the unconscious. Written in the style of a European monograph, the author guides the reader through a terrain of cultural clashes as Catholic scholars encountered theories of the unconscious, most notably expressed by Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis and Carl Jung's "depth psychology." Desmazières's frequent use of subheadings proves invaluable as she presents a series of controversies that illuminate the seeking of Catholics proponents for a foothold for the unconscious.

The book's historical overview offers a who's who of mid-twentieth-century Catholic European intellectuals. Desmazières, for example, mentions the contributions by such clerical leaders as Louis Beirnaert (French Jesuit psychoanalyst), Bruno de Jésus Marie (French Carmelite psychoanalyst/theologian), Agostino Gemelli (Italian Franciscan psychologist), André Godin



(Belgian Jesuit psychoanalyst), Grégoire Lemerrier (Benedictine abbot), Marc Oraison (priest/physician/theologian), Albert Plé (French Dominican psychologist/theologian), and Victor White (British Dominican theologian).

Desmazières also mentions the influence of lay Catholic thinkers such as Rudolf Allers (Austrian philosopher), Marcy Choisy (French novelist and psychoanalyst), Roland Dalbiez (French philosopher), Joseph Nuttin (Belgian psychologist), and Anna A.A. Terruwe (Dutch psychiatrist). In addition, important North American contributions to the discussion by Leo Bartemeier (American psychoanalyst), Noël Mailloux (French Canadian Dominican, psychoanalyst), and Gregory Zilboorg (Russian American psychoanalyst) are referenced.

For the purposes of revealing the Church's ambivalence toward psychoanalysis, Desmazières discusses the influence of Gemelli in various parts of her text. The founder of Sacred Heart University in Milan, Gemelli wielded considerable influence with Popes Pius XI and Pius XII. His Thomistic training made him suspicious of both the scientism of Italian medical materialism and the reductionism of Freud's theories.

Not surprisingly, Pius XII figures prominently in the debates that the Church had with psychoanalysis. Desmazières describes the pontiff as someone sympathetic to depth psychology, an approach to the unconscious less hostile to religion than orthodox psychoanalysis. The pope was no doubt aware of the important distinction developed by Dalbiez between psychoanalytical theory and its methods.

Desmazières also considers the Church's suspicions toward some of the works of Choisy, Oraison, Terruwe, and White. Her recounting of such criticisms reminds one of the authoritarian spirit that pervaded the Church throughout the era.

Desmazières deems significant the 1953 International Congress of Psychotherapy in Rome where Pius XII declared his support of psychotherapy. Among other notable events, the author notes the beginning of psychological testing for religious candidates by Plé. Building upon the work of the American priest-psychologists Thomas Verner Moore and William Bier, Plé promoted psychological testing for aspirants to religious life and helped to engender psychological supports for religious. Plé's influence led to the incorporation of psychological training for theological students. Aspects of such training were psychoanalytically oriented, which in effect represented a significant step toward accepting psychoanalytical processes by the Catholic magisterium.

In some places, more detail would have been welcomed about how moral theological principles clashed with Freud's psychoanalytical theories and Jung's analytic constructs. Also desirable would have been some appreciation

of how psychoanalysis evolved through the decades and thus made it more palatable for Catholic tastes.

Overall, this book represents an important contribution to the historical literature of the Church's relationship with the unconscious. One hopes that Desmaizières's presentation will one day be available to an English-reading audience. Indeed, given the present-day controversies over clergy sexual abuse, historical accounts such as those offered in this book add valuable perspectives of how the Church has promoted and prevented a greater understanding of the forces residing in the unconscious.

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C. KEVIN GILLESPIE, S.J.

*I "Fogli di Udienza" del Cardinale Eugenio Pacelli Segretario di Stato. Vol. I* (1930). Edited by Sergio Pagano, Marcel Chappin, and Giovanni Coco. [Collectanea Archivi Vaticani, 72.] (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2010. Pp. xxv, 590. €45,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-885-04266-7.)

The long-awaited publication of part of the notations made by then-cardinal Eugenio Pacelli following his meetings with Pope Pius XI in almost a decade of service as secretary of state (1930–39) sheds considerable light on the pope and his chief minister, particularly on their personal and political relationship. In an introductory preface to the volume (pp. vii–ix), the current secretary of state, Tarcisio Bertone, alludes to the wide range of subjects and issues raised in the 1956 audiences that gave rise to the 2627 pages produced by Pacelli during his secretarial tenure. These documents are carefully edited and put into historical perspective by Bishop Sergio Pagano, prefect of the Secret Vatican Archive; the Jesuit Father Marcel Chappin; and the lay historian Giovanni Coco. Their role is crucial, for many of Pacelli's reports and notations are short, sketchy, and provide little background, so that even the specialist would not necessarily be familiar with the issues raised without access to a broader range of documents. Fortunately, the editors have provided copious notes that in most cases are far longer than Pacelli's observations. Indeed, in a number of instances this editorial commentary is more interesting and informative than Pacelli's report.

Pagano's presentation of the volume (pp. xi–xxv) continues the introduction by focusing upon the nature of the *fogli* that did not take the form of a diary but rather served as a summation of a series of sometimes daily discussions. The talks summed up by Pacelli have been divided into two categories by the editors: pontifical discussions and private ones. The first were either Pacelli's personal talks with Pius XI or the pope's talks with various dignitaries in his presence. The private talks described were those Pacelli held with various political figures or church dignitaries. During 1930, his first year as secretary of state, Pacelli reported on eighty pontifical audiences and twenty-four private ones—or, more accurately, these are the reports that have

been preserved (pp. xiv–xv). Precisely why they were written remains uncertain. Nor do we know why important and controversial issues such as Nazi racism and antisemitism or fascist totalitarianism—which must have been discussed—are largely ignored in Pacelli's *fogli*. Why was there no mention of *Mit brennender Sorge* in all of 1937 also remains a mystery. Likewise, the failure to discuss the Nazi pogroms and *Kristallnacht* in November 1938 is disappointing and limits their historical usefulness. On the other hand, we must remember that Pacelli did not draft these *fogli* for publication and kept them in his possession until his death.

The reports in the first volume, which run from February 12, 1930, to December 30, 1930 (pp. 147–383), offer no startling revelations, but they do provide interesting information and insights on a number of less controversial subjects. The volume also contains a large and useful biographical section (pp. 389–508) that provides vital information on the various individuals cited in the documents. It is particularly important in identifying lesser-known figures more than those who are well known. Thus in the first page of this informative directory (p. 389) the entry on Stanislaw Adamski will prove to be more needed by most readers than the one on the more important and widely known Konrad Adenauer. The biography is followed by a list of abbreviations employed by the editorial team (pp. 509–11), which leads to a fairly comprehensive bibliography of works (pp. 511–27) that are largely Italian but includes some English, French, and German studies. Finally, there are three indices: the first provides archival sources; the second includes other names, places and institutions; and the third lists newspapers and periodicals (pp. 529–91).

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*Reason Fulfilled by Revelation: The 1930s Christian Philosophy Debates in France.* Edited and translated by Gregory B. Sadler. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2011. Pp. x, 336. \$64.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21721-5.)

Reflection on the relationship between faith and reason is a significant indicator of the vitality of the Christian intellectual tradition. The robust debates that occurred in France in the interwar period over the possibility and nature of Christian philosophy are an extraordinary chapter in this tradition that makes this volume most welcome. Sadler has judiciously selected and translated twelve contributions to these debates that are grouped in three distinct phases that took place between 1931 and 1936. Sadler's introductory essay (96 pp.) is a salutary aid both for understanding the multiple historical contexts of the debates and for sketching a thematic outline of the basic positions that were expounded. The chronologically arranged bibliography, spanning 1927–2010, is a boon for further multilanguage research pertaining to the original debates and its subsequent echoes and expansions. Finally, there is a combined onomastic and topical index.

The major interlocutors included the secular rationalists Emile Bréhier and Léon Brunschvicg who viewed Christian philosophy as an impossibility. Bréhier contended that "one can no more speak of a Christian philosophy than of a Christian mathematics or a Christian physics" (p. 127). In response to these secular philosophers who ignited and then receded from the debates, there was a variety of positions espoused by Catholic thinkers, many of whom were influenced by the Thomistic revival sparked by Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879). Furthermore, it is not insignificant in accounting for the vibrancy of these debates that several of the Catholic participants were laymen who were trained in secular academies.

Ironically, neo-Scholastic philosophers such as Fernand Van Steenberghen also rejected the term *Christian philosophy* for calling into question philosophy's rightful autonomy. In contrast, lay Catholic philosophers Étienne Gilson and Jacques Maritain both defended the just prerogatives of philosophical reason and argued for the legitimacy of Christian philosophy, both as an historical reality and as a theoretical desideratum. Gilson's 1931–32 Gifford lectures published as *The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy* (London, 1936) made a compelling case, *pace* Bréhier, that revelation had been historically generative of reason.

Overall, Sadler highlights the position of Catholic lay philosopher Maurice Blondel by including four of his compositions. In contrast to the Scholastic thinkers, Blondel sought to overcome modern philosophy's self-sufficient rationalism by using the modern method of immanence. Blondel's "philosophy of action," originally expounded in his magnum opus *L'Action* (Paris, 1893) and reworked in a spate of publications that appeared in the 1930s, elaborated a philosophy of insufficiency that through a dialectical ascent concludes to the exigency of a supernatural fulfillment that the human spirit is powerless to effect on its own. Blondel adopted the term *Catholic philosophy* to distinguish his approach from the others. According to Blondel, the relationship between reason and faith, philosophy and revelation, nature and grace, is not an extrinsicist *placage*, or sheer juxtaposition, but the philosophical quest as expounded in his "integral philosophy" establishes an "empty space" that is oriented to the supernatural fulfillment offered by Christian revelation. Although Blondel's critics argued that he confused the natural and the supernatural orders, Blondel insisted on an interpenetration without confusion that respected philosophy's autonomy and the gratuity of supernatural fulfillment.

The volume also includes pieces by Gabriel Marcel, to whom Sadler attributes a fourth Catholic position; Etienne Borne; Antonin Sertillanges; Bruno de Solages; and Léon Noël. They offer rejoinders and nuanced appreciations of the primary positions described above. Of particular interest are the efforts to reconcile the positions of Blondel and Gilson such as de Solages's piece. Not included in the volume is the previously translated essay "On Christian



Philosophy" by Henri de Lubac (see *Communio*, 19 [1992]: 478–505) that also argues for a mediating position.

*Loyola University of Chicago*

PETER J. BERNARDI, S.J.

*Die Katholiken und das Dritte Reich: Kontroversen und Debatten.* Edited by Karl-Joseph Hummel and Michael Kißener. 2nd edition. (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh. 2010. Pp. 318. €19,90 paperback. ISBN 978-3-506-77071-4.)

*Die katholische Kirche im Dritten Reich. Eine Einführung.* Edited by Christoph Kösters and Mark Edward Ruff. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 2011. Pp 220. €19,95. ISBN 978-3-451-30700-3.)

After Germany's defeat in 1945, German Catholics were strongly criticized for failing to mobilize resistance against the Nazi regime. In the 1950s and 1960s they were even more bitterly criticized for their failure to prevent or protest the persecution and mass murder of the Jews. In response, German Catholic historians formed the Commission for Contemporary History and published a large number of documentary and narrative volumes. The tone was largely defensive. Now, eighty years after the Nazi rise to power, the time has come for a summary of where the current debate stands. The two books here under review, presumably sponsored by rival publishers, have remarkably similar titles and are collections of essays on very similar topics. No fewer than four scholars are to be found in both books, with inevitable recapitulations and repetitions. All are, in fact, engaged in defending German Catholicism from the kind of recurrent moralistic and anachronistic judgments such as those by Daniel Goldhagen or John Cornwell. But they are aware that such sweeping attacks have to be met with scholarly integrity, based on historically accurate analyses, which these books seek to provide. The dilemma for these historians is that the standards of assessment have been drastically raised. Making a convincing case for the Catholic political choices during the Nazi era is no easy task even in the hands of these experienced scholars.

For instance, in their elucidation of the background of the 1933 Concordat, both Matthias Stickler in the first of these books and Heinz Hürten and Rudolf Morsey in the second repeat their long-held views that this was essentially a defensive measure, but say nothing about the widespread support for the new regime by most Catholics. Morsey states that the latest research has conclusively proved that there was no connection between the collapse of the Catholic Centre Party and the signing of the Concordat a month later, thus refuting the earlier canard of a quid pro quo. He claims that the Concordat provided an effective barrier against Nazi infiltration, but ignores the fact that the Catholic hierarchy clung to its supposed safeguards even after the Nazi anti-Catholic campaign was glaringly obvious. The bishops have never admitted making a mistake.

In both books Michael Kißener examines the polemical arguments about whether Catholics can be seen as part of the anti-Nazi resistance. On the one hand, numerous priests were imprisoned for trying to oppose Nazi encroachments and persecution. On the other hand, other critics assert that the church leaders were only interested in preserving their own milieu and made no efforts to resist the regime's more virulent crimes. The heroism of the few does not compensate for the complicity of the majority.

In both books Christoph Kösters and Thomas Brechenmacher take issue with criticisms of the German bishops and the pope. They see such critics as engaging in unwarranted expectations or wishful thinking about whether these leaders could or could not have done more to stop the Nazi crimes. The need now is to be more aware of the historical factors conditioning their responses to the unprecedented circumstances they had to face.

In her chapter in the first of these books, Annette Mertens takes issue with Gordon Zahn's contention that the Catholic bishops had misled their followers to support the Nazi criminal war effort with religiously-based justifications. She points rather to the staunchly nationalistic and anti-Communist views of most Catholics that had led them to support Hitler in the first place. No bishop was prepared to challenge such views. Indeed, most of them shared the same attitudes. A more justified censure would be to point to the hierarchy's failure to recognize that their earlier teachings about the conduct of war no longer applied.

In the second book, Mark Ruff's excellent chapter on the Catholic Church and denazification after 1945 shows that the church leaders never accepted any notion of collective guilt. They opposed the sweeping measures taken by the American military government that deprived all Nazi Party members of their livelihoods. The imposition by a foreign power of a set of rules with retrospective penalties was rightly seen as unjust. The Catholic clergy saw it as their pastoral duty to support their parishioners, whatever their past. The bishops were afraid that denazification would lead to further radical measures against the Church, especially in the Soviet-occupied zone. In Ruff's view, their vigorous action was a means of regaining support and credibility for a new beginning.

In both books, the final insightful essay by Karl-Josef Hummel deals with questions of guilt—national, institutional, as well as personal. It was several years before German Catholics were prepared to face up to their history. The striking changes of recent decades have made the task of coming to terms with their own past easier. New historical sources have enabled a more balanced approach rather than one looking for scapegoats. But the importance of the issues can still arouse polemical debates. It is still too soon to say that a consensus has been reached.

«*Cronache Sociali*», 1947–1951. *Edizione anastatica integrale*. Edited by Alberto Melloni. 2 vols. (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose. 2007. Pp. cii, 1104; 1105–1983, appendix v, with a DVD. €120,00. ISBN 978-8-890-11073-3.)

Giuseppe Dossetti (1913–96)—member of the antifascist resistance, politician, canon lawyer, priest, *peritus* at Second Vatican Council, founder of a religious order, and monk—was one of the most important “public Catholics” in Italy between World War II and the end of the century. In 1945, Dossetti became vice-secretary of the Christian Democratic Party (Democrazia Cristiana), the pivotal center of the political system immediately after the war. In 1953, he founded the “Istituto per le scienze religiose” in Bologna with Giuseppe Alberigo and Paolo Prodi, and served as the closest adviser of Cardinal Giacomo Lercaro, archbishop of Bologna, from the Second Vatican Council until early 1968, when Lercaro had to resign under pressure from Rome for his criticism of the Vietnam War.

More than fifteen years after his death, Dossetti still is an inspiring figure for many Italian Catholics, including those who are politically active. To understand Dossetti's contribution to Italian Catholicism and Italian politics, it is necessary to go back to the journal he founded, *Cronache Sociali*. In the long introduction (pp. XIII–XLIV), the editor, Alberto Melloni (now director of the study center founded by Dossetti and based in Bologna), reconstructs the prehistory of *Cronache Sociali* and Dossetti's engagement in the reconstruction of Italian politics. This history begins in 1942, when Dossetti met with colleagues from the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan. The introduction follows step by step the short life of the journal, from its inception in 1947 (after the ousting of the leftists from Alcide De Gasperi's administration at the outset of the cold war) to its closing in 1951 (when Dossetti decided to withdraw from the leadership of the Christian Democratic Party as well as direct political engagement and return to historical-theological research).

The editorial of the first issue of the journal, published on May 30, 1947, announced the mission of *Cronache Sociali*:

We do not want to escape from a commitment to give social and political assessments, and indeed we make that commitment. But we do not interpret this commitment as restricted to the analysis of petty politics, but rather concerned in finding the connections between politics and the living substance of the problems of contemporary man. This research and evaluation is now, in our opinion, the true and greater politics, a *human politics*. (n.p., emphasis in original)

During those four and a half years, *Cronache Sociali* tried to capture and transmit to politically minded Italian Catholics the movements and ideas coming from Europe, especially from France and Germany; this approach made *Cronache Sociali* a kind of Italian equivalent (although short-lived) of

Emmanuel Mounier's Paris-based journal *Esprit* or Walter Dirks's Frankfurt periodical *Frankfurter Hefte*. The sections of the journal included "national politics," "chronicles from Parliament," "international affairs," "economy," "life of political parties," "workers unions," "culture," and "sociology." Contributors to *Cronache Sociali* included Vittorio Bachelet (a major leader of Catholic Action in Italy), philosopher Augusto Del Noce, Giorgio La Pira (mayor of Florence), patrologist Giuseppe Lazzati, Emmanuel Mounier, and David Maria Turollo. Their articles offer a very interesting window into post-World War II Italy and especially the politically and theologically "progressive" Christian Democratic Party that was therefore critical of De Gasperi's caution toward domestic politics and foreign policy, especially in matters pertaining to the United States.

The last issue of *Cronache Sociali*, published on October 31, 1951, opened with an editorial that was harshly critical of De Gasperi's political action to restore Italian political life:

At this moment, given the actual functioning of the executive branch, it would be inaccurate to characterize the Italian Republic as a "parliamentary democracy" (given the special autonomy claimed by the executive before the Parliament) or as a "parliamentary popular democracy" (as it is in Great Britain). For now, we have to stop with this negative characterization . . . while we wait for a real restoration of a parliamentary democracy. (n.p.)

The journal closed not only because of Dossetti's exit from politics but also because of the growing tensions within its editorial staff.

The chronological index, subject index, and author index facilitate consultation of the articles. The two bulky volumes plus a DVD reprint all the articles published by the journal that tried to open new frontiers for a reform of Italy, especially in the relationship among government, the economy, and Catholic culture.

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MASSIMO FAGGIOLI

### American

*A History of the Catholic Church in the American South, 1513-1900.* By James M. Woods. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 498. \$69.95. ISBN 978-0-813-03532-1.)

Citing James O'Toole's *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* (Cambridge, MA, 2008) as a recent example of Catholic historians who "have tended to overlook their own denomination within the South" (p. xiii), James Woods sets out to provide a concise, well-documented overview of Southern Catholicism through 1900. Woods's South extends beyond the eleven



Confederate states to include Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Southern Catholicism forms "a tapestry of faith. . . a rich heritage of Roman Catholicism that had been present in the southern region since the sixteenth century" (p. xv).

Part I, "The Colonial Context, 1513-1763," explores Catholic origins in Spanish Florida, Spanish Texas, French Lower Louisiana, and the English Colonies. Part II, "American Republicanism and European Decline, 1763-1845," examines Southern Catholics in the new American republic, church and state as European empires erode, and the Church in the expanding South. Part III, "Resistance, Rebellion, Reconstruction and Regionalism, 1845-1900," concludes with a chapter on growth, expansion, and the limited role of Catholic immigrants compared to the North.

Woods, who has written extensively on Arkansas Catholicism, weaves his tapestry from modern scholarship, census data, and original documents into a readable narrative. The growth of the local church is interspersed with numerous thumbnail sketches of the early bishops; of clergy such as Jeremiah O'Neill (a priest of Savannah), Thomas O'Reilly (a Georgia priest who served at the notorious Andersonville prison camp), and Abram Ryan (priest-poet of the Confederacy); of religious men and women such as St. Katharine Drexel of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Mercy Sister Austin Carroll, and Capuchin Father Antonio de Sedella of New Orleans; and of laity such as Charles Carroll, Daniel Rudd (whose life is traced after the five national Congresses of Colored Catholics), and William Joseph Gaston (called "the most highly respected Catholic in antebellum North Carolina," p. 247).

Woods's narrative is enriched with frequent, interesting details such as Bishop Dionisio Resino's 1709 appointment as La Florida's first resident bishop and his rapid departure, the state-by-state expansion of religious freedoms in the early Southern colonies, the beginnings of Georgetown University, the 1850 and 1860 status of Irish immigrants in the South, the fate of the three Maryland Catholics associated with John Wilkes Booth, and the Little Rock diocesan archives document explaining Bishop Edward Fitzgerald's vote against papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council. He also delves beneath the chronological narrative with analysis such as the negative impact of the Spanish colonial practice of conscripted Indian labor on the early missionary endeavor.

The author provides present-day landmarks for early locations and events. The 1597 Guale Indian revolt against the Spanish began in the village of Tolomato, "on the Georgia mainland near present-day Harris Neck near Sapedo Island" (p. 12).

Modern scholarship is cited throughout the volume: Diana Meyers on the role of women in seventeenth-century Maryland; Carl Brasseaux on Acadian religious practices; Clyde Crews concerning Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget's

reputation for tireless apostolic work and unfailing graciousness; and Thomas Spalding's assessment of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, among many others.

The 1195 footnotes and forty-page bibliography of secondary sources provide a comprehensive window through which to view more than eight decades of scholarship on the Catholic South, beginning with the 1920s works by Claude Vogel, Peter Guilday, and Lawrence Hill, in addition to a few earlier, familiar volumes by John Gilmary Shea, Benedict Webb, Francis Parkman, Kate M. Rowland, and Reuben Gold Thwaites. Local historians will note some needed additions. The related articles in *The American Catholic Parish: A History from 1850 to the Present*, edited by Jay Dolan (New York, 1987), come to mind.

In such a vast overview, often relying on the scholarship of others, some errors understandably appear. For example, the Catholic Church did not disappear in Natchez after the Spanish withdrawal; St. Bernard Civil and Religious Parish, home to Canary Islanders, is below New Orleans, not between New Orleans and Baton Rouge; Flaget was the third, not the second, Catholic bishop in the South; and Salvatore Pizzati built St. Joseph School on Tulane Avenue in New Orleans rather than the church. These do not detract from the book's overall reliability.

Woods has written a comprehensive, well-documented, and interesting overview of the Catholic experience in the South through 1900. He has succeeded well in his objective of providing a solid resource on early Southern Catholicism.

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CHARLES E. NOLAN

*Making War and Minting Christians: Masculinity, Religion, and Colonialism in Early New England.* By R. Todd Romero. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 255. \$80.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-1-558-49887-7; \$26.95 paperback, ISBN 978-1-558-49888-4.)

In 1629 the Massachusetts Bay Company chose as its seal the now-famous drawing of a New England Native standing in a barren wilderness clutching a bow and arrow and saying, "Come over and help us." Lesser known, perhaps, is an Indian peace medal from 1676 that similarly depicts a New England Native standing alone in a barren wilderness holding a bow and arrow, but the 1676 Native is speechless, has long hair, and two perfectly round breasts. It is precisely the meaning of this gendered transformation that R. Todd Romero wishes us to consider in *Making War and Minting Christians*. These images represent English perceptions of Indians as increasingly un-manly over the course of the seventeenth century, to be sure, but they also signal another change wrought by colonialism, warfare, and evangelization: the removal of the very things that allowed Indian men to live out either English

or Indian masculine ideals in terms of subsistence, community leadership, and spiritual values.

This book is largely structured around Native and Anglo-American understandings of masculinity, religion, and warfare between 1620 and 1676. Although Native and English societies “shared some cultural ground” on these issues, “they rarely recognized such commonalities, often focusing instead on differences” (p. 20). Drawing from a seemingly exhaustive and close reading of English print sources, a number of material objects, and a variety of Indian oral traditions, Romero argues that “Native and Anglo-American conceptions of masculinity unfolded in counterpoint over the course of the seventeenth century and were central to the development of colonialism” (p. 7). To make his case, Romero draws from an impressive number of episodes and exchanges that illustrate the various colonial and Native approaches to the issues at hand. Natives demonstrated masculinity through strenuous physical games like hubbub, particular modes of speech-making, hunting, and warfare. For English colonists, manliness was demonstrated through patriarchy, particular kinds of labor (like farming), and warfare. Colonial officials sought to bend Native gender roles—particularly related to masculinity—to a thoroughly European ideal, even as they praised the few ways in which Indian masculine ideals already met English standards. Through colonial legislation and especially through the evangelization process and the resultant praying towns, John Eliot and other English missionaries and leaders tried to reshape Indian men and boys by curbing Indian games, encouraging them to grow gardens instead of fishing and hunting, cutting their hair short, attending church, observing the Sabbath, praying, accepting Christianity, wearing English clothes, providing spiritual leadership in their households, and fighting more like English men. “Manliness remained an important measure of the success of missionary efforts and colonization,” Romero observes, because, in the words of the English minister Thomas Shepard, “it was necessary for the English to ‘*make* men’ of the Indians before they could ‘*make* them Christians’” (p. 74, emphasis in original). Ultimately, however, this project failed, and Indian men—especially praying Indian men—found that by the 1680s they had been stripped of the resources necessary (like land) to live as men by either English or Indian standards.

As a whole, this book is a nuanced and lively rereading of a time period that can often feel well traveled. As Romero convincingly shows, gendered language appeared everywhere, from the opening moments of English colonization of New England through King Philip’s War and even beyond (that Cotton Mather devoted a whole treatise to the topic of “Manly Christianity” in 1711 is just one such nugget). And there can be no doubt that Romero is right that Europeans constantly measured Indian cultures against their own (including manliness) and found them lacking. But in other cases the encounters that Romero proposes as “obviously gendered” (p. 5) are not so self-evi-

dent or convincing such as the opening few pages describing Giovanni de Verrazano's journey in 1524 or the 1622 exchange between the Narragansett sachem Canonicus and the Plymouth settlers that involved a snakeskin full of arrows (the snakeskin was returned with powder and shot). Although readers will be convinced that notions of manliness were important elements of these encounters and contestations, it is not always clear what these gendered exchanges meant to seventeenth-century participants, how these ideas about manliness were central to the development of English colonialism, or that gender was the "primary means of understanding the developing colonial world and its various peoples" (p. 20). It also would have been helpful to contextualize, even if briefly, this gendered New England language within the larger literature of New World colonization (as in the opening chapters of Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs* [Chapel Hill, NC, 1996]).

Nonetheless, there is much to learn from Romero's careful and detailed analysis, and readers who have interest in gender history, masculinity, Native American history, and colonial America will surely find this to be an informative and delightful read.

*Brown University*

LINFORD D. FISHER

*Papist Patriots: The Making of an American Catholic Identity.* By Maura Jane Farrelly. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2012. Pp. xi, 305. \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-19-975771-8.)

Every so often a book comes along that presents a dramatically different interpretation of known historical facts in a way that is, well, convincing. This is one of those books. Maura Jane Farrelly confronts one of hoariest historiographical issues in the study of American Catholicism: Can one be a good Catholic and simultaneously a good American? It was an issue that rose to the forefront of American religious scholarship in the nineteenth century, given a historiographical predisposition (at the time) to see Protestantism, Puritanism in particular, as giving rise to American democracy. After all, given the perfect fit seen to exist between Protestantism and American democracy, it only made sense to ask if Catholics could be good Americans—and the answer, of course, was usually "no." Although it is common to suggest that such a blatant anti-Catholic bias is no longer in evidence, the question (in my view) continues to shape work of many Catholic writers (like Jay Dolan, quoted on the back cover of Farrelly's book) who still seem concerned with demonstrating that good Catholics *can* be good Americans.

Farrelly begins by pointing out that pre-existing scholarly attempts to address the good Catholic/good American issue have focused on Catholics (mainly Irish American and Italian American Catholics) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She argues that we need to leap-frog over these groups



and confront a question about the Colonial period—why was it that Maryland Catholics were such staunch supporters of the American Revolution despite the fact that so many of their Revolutionary compatriots were virulently anti-Catholic? The answer to *that* question lies in how Catholics in the late-eighteenth century perceived the earliest days of the Maryland colony. Basically, those early days were seen as a Golden Age in which religious toleration had been the norm. Farrelly is careful to note that there was not really as much toleration in the early Maryland colony as later generations of Maryland Catholics likely imagined, but also that it did not matter. What mattered was only that for Catholics in the late 1700s, their Catholic forebears had once lived in a tolerant society that was distinctively “American,” not “British,” and that this Golden Age had been brought to an end by Britain. The only way to restore that Golden Age, then, was to sever ties with Britain and once again develop a distinctively American society founded on toleration. Farrelly, of course, fleshes all this out with a detailed consideration of life in Maryland in the centuries before the Revolution, but this is her core argument, and for her it explains the strong support that Maryland Catholics provided the Revolution. It also explains, Farrelly argues, why Catholic leaders like John Carroll, archbishop of Baltimore, tried to obtain more independence from Rome for the American Church.

The book is based on Farrelly’s 2002 PhD dissertation for Emory University, and there are sections that should likely have been excised or revised by her editor. The relevance of an early section on Catholicism in pre-Reformation England, for example, is unclear and in any event does not really take account of the revisionist and postrevisionist scholarship over the last fifteen years that establishes, far more clearly than Farrelly allows, that English Catholicism was thriving on the eve of the Reformation. There are also a few (but only a few) sections where discussion of the genealogical connections amongst the political leaders who shaped life in Maryland is simply mind-numbing and adds little to her core argument.

Still, these are minor flaws in a book that will become a standard reference work on the history and historiography of American Catholicism.

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MICHAEL CARROLL

*Religious Liberties: Anti-Catholicism and Liberal Democracy in Nineteenth-Century U.S. Literature and Culture.* By Elizabeth Fenton. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xii, 178. \$65.00. ISBN 978-0-195-38409-3.)

Few scholars of anti-Catholicism have tried to understand the role of religious discrimination in shaping a uniquely American liberalism. In *Religious Liberties*, Elizabeth Fenton shows how “U.S. conceptions of religious pluralism and its corresponding ‘right of conscience’ . . . drew their force from anti-

Catholicism" (p. 1). From the Quebec Act of 1774 to Reconstruction, with a brief afterword on the role of anti-Catholicism in the politics of the 1960s, Fenton shows how popular American writers from Thomas Paine to Mark Twain exploited the ideology of a tyrannical—and thus inherently antide-mocratic—Catholicism that functioned to construct an American political consensus, positioning "Protestantism as the guarantor of religious liberty" (p. 18).

To preserve political representation and "deliberative democracy," defined as "a political mode that promotes a public sphere in which citizens engage in rational debate with one another" (p. 12), religious freedom had to be restricted if not fully denied, "sacrificing democracy in the name of deliberation" (p. 63). This revealed the paradox of deliberative democracy. Anti-Catholicism was used, Fenton argues, as a negative contrast to the freedoms inherent in a Protestant political establishment, revealing how deliberative and representative democracy was also "fraught with tension and uncertainty" (p. 84). Regardless of Catholicism's effort to participate in "representative governance," especially given the political reform efforts of Pope Pius IX in Italy or the revolutionary accomplishments of Haitian Catholics, a politically driven Protestantism could never recognize the possibility that non-Protestant could participate in a religiously plural society.

Research on this topic is limited, especially in the number of historians engaged in it, making it somewhat disjointed. Fenton admits that "anti-Catholicism did not fade from public discussion of democracy and difference at the close of the nineteenth century . . . [but] persisted well into the twentieth century" (p. 143). Yet close to a century is missing from Fenton's discussion of postbellum America in the last chapter and the anti-Catholicism of the 1960s in the afterword. The question remains: if anti-Catholicism has been a key element in creating a Protestant political establishment, how has it influenced religious tolerance today? Have the contemporary Catholic sex scandals been informed by earlier anti-Catholicism? Although anti-Catholicism has had a long history, it seems to be an erratic—perhaps latent—phenomenon. Scholars need to continue to explore the reasons for such historical gaps and also the conditions that give rise to such phenomena.

The selection of literary works, which speaks to the author's comprehensiveness, may also raise questions. Readers may wonder about the selection of anti-Catholic works. For instance, Fenton does well in uncovering publications largely unknown in the contemporary context, such as George Bourne's *Lorette* (New York, 1833), but neglects more familiar works such as Maria Monk's *Aufful Disclosures* (New York, 1836), Rebecca Reed's *Six Months in a Convent* (Boston, 1835), or Jemima Thompson Luke's *The Female Jesuit* (New York, 1851)—the latter a story about a Catholic girl who converted to Catholicism but could never truly break the chains of popery, a narrative that would have worked well in chapter 3.

Notwithstanding these observations, Fenton has offered a much-needed study of anti-Catholicism in particular and the limits of representative democracy in general. Religious tolerance is central to America's national identity, but, as Fenton has shown, such a commitment has required intolerance. This bespeaks a sobering but important question. Can humans create truly tolerant societies?

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RYAN MCILHENNY

*All the Way to Heaven: The Selected Letters of Dorothy Day.* Edited by Robert Ellsberg. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2010. Pp. xxiii, 456. \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-874-62010-0.)

Although Dorothy Day's *The Long Loneliness* (New York, 1952) has served as an autobiography, she stated that she had intended it to focus only on what had led her to God. For a more comprehensive portrait of Day's life and spirituality, one may turn to an outpouring of primary source anthologies and histories published since her death in 1980. One of the essential works is *All the Way to Heaven*, a collection of her selected letters, edited by Robert Ellsberg. Scholar, editor, and personal friend of Day, Ellsberg has produced an accessible and informative volume that will serve the needs of casual reader and serious researcher.

This well-designed volume begins with the editor's revealing introduction to Day as a letter writer. Each of the book's six chronological sections is organized around a broad theme. Ellsberg has written a brief introduction to each part and throughout the volume provides notes for historical context and identification. An index of personal names and book titles concludes the volume.

The letters date from the 1920s to several months before her death. Ironically, the anthology begins with a letter to Margaret Sanger that expresses Day's regret that the Birth Control League was unable to "afford a regular publicity director" (p. 3). Other early letters discuss Day's publication agenda and document the evolution of her relationship with her domestic partner, Forster Batterham. These colorful letters explore her social, emotional, and religious worlds. In particular, the graphic letters to him expose the dimensions of her emotional torment over the nature of their relationship after her conversion. The love letters convey the story of a struggle between equally stubborn partners and outline her turmoil as she alternately tried to convince him to marry or to distance themselves from their powerful allure.

Following Peter Maurin's chaste entry into Day's life in 1932, her letters begin to reflect a remarkable spiritual and emotional maturity as she faced the challenges of leading the Catholic Worker movement and parenting a

daughter whose interests seem so different from those of an already famous mother. Many of the longer letters display the literary realism that Day earlier acknowledged as her style. Rich in detail about life and the Catholic Worker, these letters explored tenets of her spirituality for which her devotees now remember her. In a 1934 letter she wrote of "spiritual hospitality" and how "all those little frittering things which take up one's time are quite as important, may time more so in the sight of God, than answering letters or keeping one's files up to date" (p. 59), an insight that mirrored her devotion to St. Thérèse of Lisieux and underscored her distaste for turnstile charity. Other deeply personal letters document Day's relationship with her daughter and her anxiety for Tamar's spiritual, emotional, and material well-being.

The bulk of the letters focuses on matters pertaining to the Catholic Worker movement and its spiritual underpinnings. In these, Day sometimes dreamt of new initiatives such as a retreat center for alcoholic priests and a women's bakery, which went unrealized.

This collection of letters, most of them previously unpublished, reveals a spiritually grounded and witty woman who daily addressed thorny human problems under the scrutiny of admirers and ready critics alike. The careful reader will be rewarded with rich insight into the life and spirituality of the last century's most significant American Catholic layperson whose tremendous spiritual legacy has yet to be fully appreciated. This excellent volume should become an indispensable source for researchers as well as a spiritual classic.

*University of St. Thomas*

ANNE KLEJMENT

### Latin American

*Making a New World: Founding Capitalism in the Bajío and Spanish North America.* By John Tutino. (Durham: Duke University Press. 2011. Pp. ix, 699. \$99.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-822-34974-7; \$29.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-822-34989-1.)

Despite the intense specialization that has fashioned historical research over the last four decades, which has often produced monographs narrow in scope and timid in conceptual reach, historians still relish big history that is empirically sound, theoretically innovative, and lyrically rendered. For historians of colonial Mexico, John Tutino's long-awaited book on the foundations of early-modern capitalism in Spanish North America is precisely the kind of big history that shifts the paradigm to such a degree that historians in other fields—particularly world historians—will take notice and revisit the conventional wisdom that has shaped the direction of their own research. Tutino's book is that good.



The author argues that the world became whole in the sixteenth century just about the time Hernán Cortés had toppled the Aztec confederation and Ming China developed a ferocious appetite for silver. Trade expansion linked Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas, while European colonization of the Western Hemisphere, coupled with the rise of the African slave trade, initiated a global dynamic that facilitated capitalism. American silver—especially that which was mined in the Bajío region of Mexico, what Spaniards called New Spain—was key to global trade between 1550 and 1810; the vast quantities of the metal fashioned a protean capitalist society in Spanish North America composed of merchants, entrepreneurs, investors, miners, ranchers, and farmers—an ethnically and racially diverse lot, to be sure—most of whom looked to the Catholic Church for sanctifying power and grace. As Tutino makes quite clear in his tome, Catholicism provided an ample arena where religious piety comingled with debate and dissent, paving various pathways for these social groups to adapt, modify, alter, or discard what disrupted production, exchange, and social relations. In short, Tutino's colonial Mexico is the corrective to an older Weberian model that explained change from an Anglo-Protestant-capitalist perspective.

Tutino's work also complements quite nicely a larger body of knowledge that shows us that the Spanish colonial enterprise functioned primarily as a judicial mediator, one that sought to resolve disputes and soften the impact of colonialism on the indigenous and racially mixed populations, with an eye toward fostering equity and the common good among local communities and, in the process, maximize the revenues that come from stable commercial relationships. Moreover, Tutino mined the archives in Mexico City and the libraries at the University of Texas–Austin, and Washington State University, Pullman, to uncover a wide-range of primary source materials that speak to the commercial, political, social, and religious relationships that shaped, and were shaped by, early-modern capitalism. Those relationships took place in the breadbasket and mining center of New Spain—the Bajío—the most economically active and entrepreneurially savvy region of the colony where Spaniards, Indians, and *castas* created an economic engine that allowed capitalism to roar loudly in North America. The crisis in the larger Atlantic world following Napoleon's rise to power, however, and the way it played out in Mexico, particularly in the Bajío, would unleash a violent movement for independence from Spain that would transform the most capitalist society in the Western Hemisphere into an insecure, inward-looking region devoid of entrepreneurial spirit and handsome profit margins.

Tutino's book is indeed big history at its best. Compelling and provocative, thoughtful and well written, *Making a New World* is required reading for Mexicanists and world historians alike. Authors of world history textbooks will find themselves revising subsequent editions of their texts after reading Tutino's persuasive arguments about the rise of early-modern capitalism and the role played by Spanish North America in its maturation, not to mention

the Catholic dimensions of that process. Graduate students should review the author's footnotes to see how he used certain primary sources to demonstrate a larger conceptual point. Tutino's big history should give us pause to appreciate both the forest and the trees.

*University of Arizona*

MICHAEL M. BRESCIA

*Mujeres consagradas en el Buenos Aires colonial.* By Alicia Fraschina. [Temas de historia.] (Buenos Aires: Eudeba [Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires]. 2010. Pp. 325. \$16.00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-502-31750-2.)

In this day and age, when one thinks of Buenos Aires, images of a cosmopolitan city, referred to by some as the Paris of South America, come to mind. Yet, during much of the colonial period, Buenos Aires was considered a dusty town located on the outermost fringe of the Iberian Empire. This reality quickly comes to the fore when one studies the foundation of religious communities in colonial Latin America. Places like Mexico City and Lima had collectively built dozens of convents by the end of the 1600s, whereas Buenos Aires did not have any convents during that time period and established only two in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Alicia Fraschina's *Mujeres consagradas en el Buenos Aires colonial* sheds light on the unique situation of religious women in Buenos Aires during the colonial period. Her work, the outcome of her PhD dissertation from the University of Buenos Aires (2007), is based on years of meticulous archival research. The book offers information on the only two convents established in Buenos Aires during the late 1700s, and it also provides a comprehensive overview of *beaterios* (houses for religious laywomen) and *beatas* (religious laywomen) in the capital of Argentina. In particular, Fraschina hones in on the fascinating case of María Antonia de San José, a *beata* who considered herself a Jesuit and became one of the Jesuits' biggest advocates after their expulsion from the Spanish Empire in 1767.

In addition to an introduction and conclusion, Fraschina has divided her book into nine chapters. Chapter 1 examines the first *beatas* in the city, and chapter 2 addresses the foundation of the only two convents: one for calced Dominicans and the other for strict disalced Capuchins. Chapters 3 through 6 explore life within these convents, touching on a variety of topics such as the novitiate, daily routines, hierarchical structures, education, medical care, religious festivals, and death within the cloister. Each of the three chapters begins with an impressive historical overview of these topics in Europe and the rest of Latin America and then relates each one back to the two convents in Buenos Aires.

Chapters 7 through 9 shed light on Spain's Bourbon reforms of the late 1700s and their effects on religious women in Buenos Aires. The last chapters

contextualize the expulsion of the Jesuits from the New World and analyze the life and letters of the Jesuit *beata* María Antonia de San José. Most notably, she founded a *beaterio* in Buenos Aires and a *Casa de Ejercicios*, a type of ten-day religious retreat for both men and women to follow Saint Ignatius of Loyola's Spiritual Exercises.

*Mujeres consagradas en el Buenos Aires colonial* will appeal to two sub-groups of scholars. The first will be anyone interested in women religious during the colonial period, and the second will be those who study the expulsion of the Jesuits, especially from the Southern cone. The only small issue is that it does not include an appendix transcribing some of the actual works written by these women, specifically the letters penned by the *beata* María Antonia. There are, however, three useful appendices outlining the prominent citizens who supported the religious communities and the nuns and family members associated with the two convents. The bibliography is very comprehensive and will not disappoint scholars interested in the unique situation of religious women of colonial Buenos Aires.

*College of Charleston*

SARAH E. OWENS

*The Rise of Charismatic Catholicism in Latin America.* By Edward L. Cleary. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2011. Pp. xiv, 309. \$74.95. ISBN 978-0-813-03608-3.)

This book offers a clear and straightforward assessment of a not very well understood phenomenon: the rise of the Catholic charismatic movement in Latin America since the 1970s. This book shows that charismatic Catholicism has its own unique history and origins, partly as a competitive alternative in the religious marketplace of the late-twentieth century, and partly spurred by lay activism in the Church and vigorous community involvement in the movement itself as well as by exceptional individual leaders such as Father Marcelo Rossi in Brazil. As Edward L. Cleary points out in the introduction, "[t]o the surprise of many observers, the fastest growing movement in the Catholic Church in Latin America is the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR)" (p. 1).

Cleary's analysis and account are largely from sociological and political-science perspectives. He draws in this book on several decades of research as one of the major practitioners of religious studies of Latin America as well as his own personal contact and interviews with members and leaders of the CCR. The result is a well-documented, broad survey of a movement with more than 70 million members in Latin America. He shows that Charismatic Catholicism has some general broad defining characteristics: an emphasis on community action, personal spiritual awakening, prayer groups, a dedication to a religious life beyond the simple Mass, Bible study, and spiritual baptism beyond sacramental baptism. In his view, the CCR has been instrumental in

revitalizing the Catholic Church in Latin America, which he viewed as insufficiently instructed in basic tenets of the Catholic faith.

Cleary sees the growth of the CCR as largely the result of rational choice, a response to the spectacular growth of the Pentecostal Protestant movement in Latin America. Given the success in bringing former Catholics into the Protestant Pentecostal fold, the CCR had to compete in the open marketplace of ideas for Catholics to remain Catholic and to participate in a revitalized Church, open to lay participation.

Following the introduction come individual chapters on countries where the CCR has been especially successful: Bolivia, Colombia, Brazil, and Mexico. There are other chapters as well on the Caribbean, Central America, and Guatemala. Time and again, Cleary sees the emergence of the CCR in these individual countries as a successful response to the growing competition from various Protestant movements. For example, in the case of Brazil "[c]ompetition with non-Catholic religious groups, particularly the Pentecostals, seemed more like war than brotherly rivalries. But this competition has generated a vibrancy that is exceptional" (p. 130). Although the CCR does not place as heavy an emphasis on speaking in tongues as does the Pentecostal movement, it falls squarely in the tradition of charismatic religion, spirited preaching, vigorous and enthusiastic worship, and a heavy reliance on music in ritual—in the case of Brazil one of the CCR's leading figures, Rossi, also became a pop music star. Cleary also sees the CCR as explicitly global. Charismatics have adapted various "outside influences" resulting in "local adaptations" (p. 131). In a case like Mexico, it became one of the major "exporters" of the CCR to the United States.

The book on the whole offers a broad, comprehensive treatment of the rise, personalities, and traits of the CCR. Some questions are left unresolved. For example, in the introduction, Cleary points out that CCR has generally been viewed as a conservative response to liberation theology, but asks the reader to consider whether his analysis offers a dichotomy between liberation theology liberalism and CCR conservatism. However, the reader is left puzzled as to the answer provided by the book. Theology tends to take a back seat to largely structural issues. For example, Cleary shows that the CCR, like Pentecostalism, focuses on a kind of spiritual baptism apart from any formal infant sacramental baptism. Isn't this what the Catholic Church long considered Anabaptism and therefore a heretical rejection of the sacrament of baptism?

In any case, this book is an excellent primer on a largely misunderstood phenomenon in Latin American religion. It will have broad appeal for students of Latin America and religious sociology.



### African

*Coptic Christianity in Ottoman Egypt.* By Febe Armanios. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 254. \$74.00. ISBN 978-0-199-74484-8.)

This book explores the religious beliefs as identifying parameters of the Coptic Christian community in Ottoman Egypt (1516–1798), mostly through using unexploited church archives. It is a new research field, since the history of the Copts during this intermediary period—although a pivotal one in the shaping of modern Egypt—has scarcely been studied. In the decades following the Ottoman conquest, a sense of misfortune triggered an outpouring of religious piety among all Egyptians, Muslims as well as Christians. The author tries to examine how the Copts coped with this trend, exploring the ways in which they used religion to define their identity.

Due to the fragmentary nature of sources, the book can only be a string of “snapshots” of Coptic religious life under Ottoman rule. The first chapter provides a general look on how the conquest affected the management of the community, and mainly how the lay elite (the *archons*), as a result of their links with the new rulers and of their growing wealth, supplanted the clerical leadership, even the previously almost absolute authority of the Patriarch. The second chapter investigates the popularity of the martyr Salib (d. 1512), who perished for publicly defaming the Prophet of Islam. Significantly, the martyrdom—a text of dynamic “communal remembrance” from the late Mamluk and early Ottoman periods—carefully avoids anti-Islamic controversy. The popularity of a more ancient martyr is scrutinized in the third chapter: St. Dimyana, whose cult as a beneficent miracle-worker was centered on springtime festivities in the Nile Delta and reveals complex conceptions of the female ascetic ideal. Chapter 4 focuses on the modalities of the annual Coptic pilgrimage from Cairo to Jerusalem through the lens of eighteenth-century sources. This devout practice was connected to an antique Christian tradition but also exposed commonalities with the annual Moslem pilgrimage to Mecca. It emphasized how lay and clerical elites collaborated to ensure a Coptic presence in the Holy City. The last and fifth chapter analyzes some sermons produced by Coptic higher clergymen (especially Patriarch Yu’annis XVIII [1769–96] and Bishop Yusab [r. 1791–1826]), who were reacting against the aggressions of the “heretical” Catholic missionary enterprises. The Coptic hierarchy responded by scorning all the heterodox practices, which were proliferating as a consequence of intermarriage, socialization, or outright conversion.

Throughout the book, Febe Armanios shows how popular religion was the glue that held Coptic believers together. She challenges some scholars such as Bernard Heyberger and Molly Greene who tend to view religion as a minor marker of identity among Ottoman dhimmis and the Christians as essentially sharing the religious mentality of their Muslim neighbors. On the contrary,

says the author, religion served as a conduit for articulating those irreducible characteristics that shaped the distinct identity of the Copts. Thus, her work improves our understanding of the Ottoman period. However, a greater acknowledgment would have been welcome of the pacific coexistence between the different religious communities and its effect on Egyptian society, at a time when conflicts between Protestants and Catholics in Europe caused hundreds of thousands of deaths. Very interestingly, Armanios also demonstrates that the resurgence of the patriarch's authority in the second part of the nineteenth century and the resultant opposition of the lay elite reflected well-established trends from the eighteenth century. In this way, the author's remarkable study contributes to clarify the complexity of Muslim-Christian relations and of the internal dynamics of the Coptic community not only in the Ottoman period but also in contemporary Egypt.

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CHRISTIAN CANNUYER

*Domesticating a Religious Import: The Jesuits and the Inculturation of the Catholic Church in Zimbabwe, 1879-1980.* By Nicholas M. Creary. (New York: Fordham University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 339. \$45.00. ISBN 978-0-823-23334-2.)

Nicholas Creary's book on the Jesuit mission during Zimbabwe's colonial period addresses an ecclesiastical audience as much as an audience of historians. An Africanist historian with a background of two years as a Jesuit novice, Creary writes with a strong belief in the potential of the Church to become inculturated—that is, adapted to the particularities of local cultures. The term *inculturation* was popularized by Pedro Arrupe, the superior general of the Jesuit Order from 1965 to 1983. Drawing upon Arrupe's language, Creary writes with the conviction that "catholicity . . . allows for local cultures to influence the church universal by taking elements of broader Christian culture and incorporating them into their respective cultural contexts, while simultaneously offering their respective symbols to enrich the Christian context" (pp. 248-49).

While documenting the popularity of Catholicism among the VaShona people of Zimbabwe, Creary writes with disappointment about the attitudes of Jesuit leaders, who tended to be suspicious of grassroots religious innovations. Such innovations included the incorporation of marriage payments into church practices; the adaptation of ancestral veneration into Catholic ritual; and the use of Mwari, a deity with shrines throughout the region, as a legitimate name for God within Catholic liturgy. For Jesuits, problems of inculturation were crucially shaped by canon lawmaking. The book concentrates on debates among the Jesuit leadership of Chishawasha Mission, the oldest Catholic mission in Zimbabwe, about the legitimacy of religious innovations under terms of canon law. In addition, Creary incorporates perspectives of

members of the lay Catholic Association as well as of Mariannhill missionaries who established convents for women during the 1920s, a time when the colonial government was making efforts to uphold local patriarchal authority.

Creary's intent to study "the efforts of African Christians to shed the European influences of an imported Christianity and transform it into an African religious experience" (p. 17) is carried out most effectively in a chapter concerning controversies over *kurova guva*, rites of honoring ancestors. These rites were banned for Catholic adherents in the 1890s by Jesuit missionaries, whose collective memory had been shaped by controversies during the eighteenth century between Jesuits and Dominicans over comparable Chinese rituals. Creary documents ongoing debates among Zimbabwean Catholics over the value and significance of ancestral veneration. In the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council, African Catholic priests argued that *kurova guva* fulfills the commandment to honor one's father and mother, and received permission from Rome to incorporate the rite into liturgy under the term *kuchenura munhu* (to purify the person). Yet in 2007, the Southern African Catholics Bishops' Conference issued statements opposing the rite on grounds that it is performed out of fear of ancestral curses. Creary disputes this latter position, arguing that it overlooks commonalities between *kuchenura munhu* and prayers to saints, and represents a step backward from inculturation. Local ambivalence about ancestral demands is clearly a significant component of popular Catholicism in Zimbabwe; yet the implications of this issue are obscured by the text's emphasis on the degree to which the Church has been inculturated.

Owing to the atmosphere of fear associated with political violence in Zimbabwe since 2000, Creary was unable to conduct oral interviews that might have enriched descriptions of popular religious practices such as pilgrimages to the shrine of Bernard Mizeki, an Anglican martyr revered by Zimbabwean Christians of many denominations. In addition, the focus on inculturation glosses over Catholic responses to colonial and postcolonial violence. What this book has to offer instead is a detailed account of how the Jesuits' own commitments to defining church law shaped their assessments of the cultural practices of their parishioners.

Northern Kentucky University

FREDERICK KLAITS

### Far Eastern

*Mission to Tibet: The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.* Translated by Michael J. Sweet. Edited by Leonard Zwilling. (Boston: Wisdom Publications. 2010. Pp. xxvi, 795. \$34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-861-71676-0.)

Among the small number of Westerners who visited Tibet in the eighteenth century and before, most fascinating was Ippolito Desideri (1684–

1733). This Italian Jesuit lived in Lhasa for about five years and was, by all accounts, the first Westerner to learn Tibetan and understand deeply Tibetan culture and religion. His *Historical Notices of Tibet*, which he wrote and rewrote (in Italian) but never published in his lifetime, is a full account of his experiences, including his slow and arduous journey to India, Nepal, and finally Tibet; his years in those places; as well as his journey home after prematurely leaving Lhasa due to internal missionary disputes. It is a mix of travelogue, history, cultural anthropology, and political analysis; a monument of missionary scholarship; and an early contribution to the study of religions. As such, this new edition and translation will interest a wide range of scholars.

The long book III, "Of the Unique Religion Observed in Tibet," well illustrates Desideri's approach to scholarship. In it, Desideri seeks after the origins of the Tibetan religion and also the mechanisms of power and tradition by which it took root among Tibetans and continued to flourish among them. Throughout, he is the model scholar, committed to accuracy regarding the people to whom he has been sent. He was attentive and subtle; for Desideri, religion was a complex reality, inextricably intertwined with social and political realities, and possessed of a long and complicated history. Explaining a religion, Desideri knew, is more than spinning tales and wished-for scenarios, and requires arduous research. He rejects the widespread but fanciful theories about Tibet and the newly discovered Buddhism, and stayed as close as possible to the facts as he could discover them. Toward the end of part 3, he confesses his own errors in earlier letters he had written and likewise criticizes European scholars—including Athanasius Kircher, S.J. (1601–80), author of the famed *China Illustrata* (Amsterdam, 1667)—for wholesale fabrications or, more charitably, for gullibly accepting convenient and entertaining rumors about the East. At the end of the entire treatise, Desideri devotes three important chapters to his plea for "the learning required by missionaries to the Indies" (p. 555).

Yet Desideri, ever the missionary, does not approve of the religion he is studying so carefully, for he judges it to be full of errors—notably two. First, he describes at length the Tibetan view of metempsychosis (rebirth), including the role of good and bad actions, and the facts of the heavens and hells to which the dead temporarily progress before returning to earth. He insists that the Tibetans really believe in rebirth, even as he finds it to be an incredible position to hold. Second, he describes Tibetan atheism and stoutly insists that the Tibetans do not believe in a creator. Nor are they polytheists who merely have a confused idea of God, failing to see the one in the many. Even the saints (konchoks) Tibetans venerate are not true deities but only revered ancestors, kings, and teachers. So, too, their rites, although busy with invocations of various beings, do not support the view that the invoked beings are gods in the Western sense. At best one can find, Desideri suggests, obscure and scattered hints at the mystery of the Trinity.



Desideri is among the foremost of those missionaries insisting on the need for accurate and deep knowledge of the newly discovered religions and cultures. In the Jesuit context, his great work can be compared only to works such as the *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (Seville, 1590) of José Acosta and the *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains Comparées aux Mœurs Des Premiers Temps* (Paris, 1724) of Joseph François Lafitau. On another level, the *History* is valuable, too, for its intimate insights into a man who combined a hard-won objectivity with a seemingly unalterable faith conviction.

Michael J. Sweet and Leonard Zwilling should be commended for their splendid presentation of the text, their edition and translation, their abundant notes, and their outstanding introduction to Desideri and his book.

Harvard University

FRANCIS X. CLOONEY, S.J.

*Church Militant: Bishop Kung and Catholic Resistance in Communist Shanghai.* By Paul P. Mariani. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 282. \$39.95. ISBN 978-0-674-06153-8.)

This book is the gripping blow-by-blow narrative of the tragic six-year conflict between the Chinese Communist Party and the Shanghai Roman Catholic community in the 1950s. Mariani has skillfully portrayed the militancy of Shanghai Catholics who—together with their bishop, Ignatius Kung (Gong) Pinmei—preferred martyrdom and long prison sentences to co-option into renouncing their allegiance to the pope and the universal Church.

After a detailed introduction retracing the deep roots of the Catholic presence in Shanghai, the author takes us through the successive phases of the conflict. Chapter 1, “The Lines Are Drawn,” retraces the mounting tension between the two sides soon after the entrance of the People’s Liberation Army in Shanghai in May 1949. Chapter 2, “Targeted Attacks,” discusses how in June 1951, the Communist Party began to strike against three main targets: Archbishop Anthony Riberi, the pope’s representative and a staunch opponent of any organization aimed at separating Catholics from the Vatican; the Catholic Central Bureau, the central coordinating and publishing arm of the Church; and the Legion of Mary, the lay movement disseminating the bureau’s publications and encouraging Catholics to remain faithful to the pope. The chapter describes the constant pressures put on legionaries by the Communists to resign and denounce the legion as a secret counter-revolutionary organization. It ends with the 1951 Chinese takeover of Catholic schools, especially Aurora University, and the failure of the Communist Party to turn many students against the Church and their former professors.

Chapter 3, “Arrests and Expulsions,” reveals the Communist Party’s early attempts and failures to create divisions between the foreign and Chinese clergy as well as among the Chinese clergy. From the night of June 15, 1952, onward, the government therefore resorted to systematic arrests and incarcer-

ations of leading clergymen and sisters, especially those most influential with the Catholic youth. By July 1954, most foreign clergy and sisters had been expelled, and their Chinese counterparts had been placed under house arrest or in prison for refusing to confess they had been working with “imperialists.”

Chapter 4, “Assault,” narrates the massive roundup of September 8 and 9, 1955, when Kung; several dozen priests, sisters, and seminarians; and at least 300 leading Chinese Catholics were arrested. Denunciations and indoctrination sessions lasted for months and even years. The chapter also reveals how some of those arrested in 1952 as well as during this latest assault cracked under pressure. Mariani describes in particular the case of Monsignor Fernand Lacretelle, whose confession after some 550 hours of interrogation between June 1953 and July 1954 accused the bishop of being an imperialist and implicated several priests by name. He writes also, but without details, about the confession made by Jin Luxian, the present government-recognized bishop of Shanghai.

Chapter 5, “Final Operations,” relates the March 1960 trial of Kung and thirteen Chinese priests who were found guilty of high treason. Their sentence ranged from life in prison for Kung to five years for two of the co-defendants who were said to have “showed some repentance” (p. 195).

The book ends with a twenty-seven-page epilogue on the Catholic Church in China since the Cultural Revolution. This last section should be read with caution because the author’s handling of sources and description of the Church’s developments during the past fifty-five years is somewhat questionable. Mariani excels in portraying Kung and many priests and Catholic laypersons of the so-called “underground church” as heroic faith witnesses and therefore great figures of the Chinese church. Yet when he describes the other half of that divided church, there seems to be a definitive mistrust for those so-called “official” or “patriotic” people. Moreover, as this reviewer knows Jin personally and has had long conversations with him, it appears that some of the bishop’s quotes are not put in their proper context.

This caveat apart, this book, based on recently declassified Chinese sources, is a must to understand the deep faith of Shanghai Catholics, their perseverance, and their steadfastness in the midst of terrible ordeals.

## BRIEF NOTICES

Duffy, Eamon. *Ten Popes Who Shook the World*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. 151. \$25.00. ISBN 978-0-300-17688-9)

This short, illustrated volume of captivating essays began as a series of BBC radio programs in 2007. Eamon Duffy starts by declaring, “The papacy is an institution that matters, whether or not one is a religious believer” (p. 9), and moves easily from Walter Ullmann’s determinism—even as Duffy tells a more decentralized, messy tale—to Thomas Hobbes’s dismissal of the papacy as “not other than the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned on the grave thereof” (p. 17). There follows quite a pleasant read with all sorts of jewels—very few church historians could get away with calling Roman polytheism’s acceptance of other faiths “a sort of symbolic scalp-collecting” (p. 35) or the Holy Roman Emperor “God’s policeman” (p. 62) without losing perspective and *gravitas*. Why these ten and not others? Duffy states that he did not try to choose the “ten ‘best’ nor even the ten most influential. . . . [E]ach of the men discussed here encapsulates one important aspect of the world’s most ancient and durable religious institution” (p. 24). Much of his accessibility and appeal lies in the ability to take what can be an insider’s history and place each pope on a broader canvas, rendering compelling even familiar stories. The first six essays (on Peter, Leo I, Gregory I, Gregory VII, Innocent III, and Paul III) function in this way as episodes in a Western civilization survey course. Some might then find it abrupt to jump between Paul III, the surprising sixteenth-century reformer, to four popes of the nineteenth to twenty-first centuries: Pio Nono, Pius XII, John XXIII, and John Paul II. Duffy captures well John Paul II’s essential paradoxes, which in a sense define the church’s intramural struggles and efforts to remain a witness to the world today. CHRISTOPHER M. BELLITTO (*Kean University*)

Frazee, Charles. *Christian Churches of the Eastern Mediterranean*. (Placentia, CA: The Author. 2010. Pp. xi, 371. \$18.99 paperback. ISBN 978-1-456-32954-9.)

Over the years there have been many attempts to group and classify the many and varied Eastern churches to facilitate a grasp of the wider picture. In the past the most common method was to classify these churches according to their liturgical rites. More recently, it has become common to group them according to the four communions to which these churches belong.

Charles Frazee, professor emeritus of history at California State University, Fullerton, has opted for a geographical approach and produced a book about the churches of the eastern Mediterranean. The bulk of the book covers the history of the four ancient eastern patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem and the various divisions that grew up

within them. But he also includes chapters on the Assyrian Church of the East and the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Frazee has published extensively on the churches in this region, especially on Orthodoxy in Greece, and writes with confidence and accuracy. In view of this background, it is surprising, however, that he provides so little information on contemporary developments in the Orthodox Church of Greece. He also has a tendency to apply the term *autocephalous* in an undifferentiated way to Eastern churches throughout their history when in fact the term has had a variety of meanings over the centuries. And he does not seem to have a clear understanding of the nature and authority of the so-called "Balamand Document" produced by the Catholic-Orthodox international dialogue on the question of uniatism in 1993.

Nevertheless, Frazee has produced a very useful overview of the churches in this region, bringing together an enormous amount of research into a coherent and highly readable narrative. It will serve as a valuable introduction to the churches of the lands where Christianity originated and where its future prospects are often perilous at best. RONALD G. ROBERSON, C.S.P. (*Secretariat for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops*)

Tanner, Marie. *Jerusalem on the Hill: Rome and the Vision of St. Peter's in the Renaissance*. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers. 2010. Pp. 288. \$174.00. ISBN 978-1-905-37549-3.)

Marie Tanner seeks the intellectual roots of the building of the new St. Peter's in the cultural history of the Renaissance in this richly illustrated volume. Italian architects and men of letters sought a historically regional inspiration in the Etruscan heritage, but they cross referenced their study of ancient remains with images of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. One conduit for humanistic ideas about Etruscan architecture was the Basilica of Maxentius in Rome, which was confused by scholars with the nearby Temple of Peace. Humanists also studied remains of other Roman buildings, especially the Pantheon, baths, and mausoleums. The architects' frequent emphasis on central plans (Greek crosses and circular structures, often with domes), also tied these architectural studies to the Holy Sepulcher site in Jerusalem. They annexed the triumph of Titus, depicted in his triumphal arch on the edge of the Roman Forum, to Christianity, seeing the Roman ruler as an avenger of Christ's Passion. These learned influences can be found in the early designs for the new St. Peter's, although a more conservative approach dominated much later, providing the church with a longer nave. The result was not a Greek cross but a more traditional Latin cross, now hidden behind Gian Lorenzo Bernini's colonnade.

Tanner ties the efforts of Pope Julius II (r. 1503–13) and his architect, Donato Bramante, to an earlier generation of humanistic architectural efforts,



that of Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55). Nicholas employed the humanist Leon Battista Alberti, one of the scholars most interested in Etruscan influences and Roman remains; and he started important works at the Vatican, including a new choir for old St. Peter's. The pontiff apparently saw Rome as his own new Jerusalem. Tanner looks at the designs of churches attributed to Alberti and drawings by Bramante and others not usually available to the interested reader. Many of these sites were in cities tied to Pope Nicholas's Italic League, intended to bring peace to Italy and act against external foes like the French and the Ottoman Turks.

The reader should be aware of certain aspects of Tanner's book. The argument is not always presented in a linear fashion, with important topics raised late in the volume or repeated. Beginning with the discussions of Pope Nicholas's plans might be advisable, since Pope Julius and Bramante may have been drawing inspiration from earlier ideas for the Vatican site. Alberti's influence in Rome is not always accepted by everyone, and it has been inferred where documents are vague or lacking. The humanist's attitude toward Nicholas is itself a topic of debate, especially since his *Momus* reads like a critique of papal ambitions. It is apparent, however, that Alberti looked for Etruscan remains and drew inspiration from them. Other scholars, such as Gianozzo Manetti, had different scholarly interests that focused on Jerusalem or Rome. These interests came together in pontificates half of a century apart, leading in the second period to the drafting of ambitious designs for St. Peter's, some of them executed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

THOMAS M. IZBICKI (*Rutgers University*)

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

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### Conferences and Celebrations

The millennium of the founding of the Holy Hermitage of Camaldoli was celebrated at the monastery on June 19.

An international conference on “Egidio da Viterbo, cardinale agostiniano, tra Roma e l’Europa del Rinascimento” will be held in Viterbo on September 22–23, 2012, and in Rome on September 26–28. The following American scholars will present papers: Daniel Nodds (Baylor University) on “Il dono dello Spirito santo e l’Amore divino: l’encomio letterario di Egidio a conclusione del suo ‘Commentarium’”; John Monfasani (University at Albany, SUNY) on “Giles of Viterbo and the Errors of Aristotle”; Nelson H. Minnich (The Catholic University of America) on “Egidio Antonini da Viterbo, the Reform of the Religious Orders, and Lateran V”; Ingrid D. Rowland (University of Notre Dame) on “Egidio da Viterbo, il Neoplatonismo e Giordano Bruno”; Brian P. Copenhaver (University of California at Los Angeles) on “Piety and Pornorthography in Papal Rome: Egidio’s Book on the Hebrew Letters”; and Meredith J. Gill (University of Maryland–College Park) on “Egidio da Viterbo, his Augustine, and the Reformation of the Arts.” Further information may be obtained from the *Segreteria* of the conference at [rremail@fastwebnet.it](mailto:rremail@fastwebnet.it).

The four-day symposium “Reform and Renewal: Vatican II after Fifty Years” will be held at The Catholic University of America on September 26–29, 2012. Cardinal William Levada, prefect emeritus of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, will deliver the keynote address on the first evening. There will be lectures and workshops on the principal pronouncements of the Council. The preliminary program and general information may be obtained at <http://trs.cua.edu/vaticanII>.

The Pontifical Committee for Historical Sciences, in collaboration with the Centro Studi e Ricerche “Concilio Vaticano II” of the Pontifical Lateran University, will present an international conference on the Second Vatican Council that pertains to the archives of the Council Fathers; it will be held in Vatican City on October 3–5, 2012. Representatives of more than twenty countries, regions, and organizations will report on their respective documentary holdings; Tricia T. Pyne (Associated Archives of St. Mary’s Seminary and University, Baltimore) and Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J. (University of Virginia), will present a survey of papers in the United States.

### Causes of Saints

Cardinal Timothy Dolan, archbishop of New York, announced on Easter Sunday, April 8, that Pope Benedict XVI, following the unanimous recommendation of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints in a decree on March 7, had approved the conferral of the title "Venerable" on Father Félix Varela y Morales, whose "heroic virtues" had been recognized in the decree. The postulator of the cause is Brother Roberto Meoli, F.S.C. Venerable Varela was born in Havana on November 20, 1788, and was ordained a priest at age twenty-three. A year later he was appointed professor of philosophy, physics, and ethics in the seminary of the capital. He had already distinguished himself, as noted by the Archdiocese of Miami, as "a man of culture and profound learning" and had written a textbook on philosophy. He instituted the first physics and chemistry laboratory in Cuba. In 1821 he was elected a representative (*diputado*) of Cuba in the Spanish Cortes at Madrid. Among the laws he proposed were one to abolish slavery and another to grant self-rule to the Spanish colonies in the Americas. After the restoration of royal absolutism he had to leave Spain, and, unable to return to Cuba, he went into exile in 1823 and then worked for thirty years in the Diocese (later Archdiocese) of New York, where he became vicar general and patron of the Irish immigrants. He died on February 25, 1853, in St. Augustine, Florida. His remains were later moved to the Aula Magna of the University of Havana, where they remain today. In 1981 the government of Cuba created the *Orden Félix Varela* as the greatest distinction of the country.

The causes of Mother Riccarda Beauchamp Hambrough (1887-1966) and Sister Katherine Flanagan (1892-1941), both Bridgettines, have been submitted by the Archdiocese of Westminster to the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. Mother Riccarda was the mother general of the Bridgettine Order in Rome during World War II and saved the lives of at least sixty Jews by hiding them in the motherhouse. Sister Katherine labored at opening Bridgettine convents; she was the first prioress of new convents in Iver Heath, Buckinghamshire, in Lugano, Switzerland, and in Vadstena, Sweden.

### Publications

The international symposium "*Varia et immensa mutatio* 1310: Percorsi nei cantieri architetturici e pittorici della Basilica di Sant'Antonio in Padova" was held in that city on May 20, 2010. The proceedings have now been published in fascicle 2-3 of volume LI (2011) of *Il Santo* (pp. 307-536). Each article in Italian is followed by a summary in English. There are forty-one color plates in appendix 1 and thirty-seven in appendix 2.

"Priests in the Catholic Community" is the theme of the fall 2011 issue (vol. 29) of the *U.S. Catholic Historian*. It is articulated in four articles: "'To Work in the Field of the Lord': Roots of the Crisis in Priestly Identity," by

Leslie Woodcock Tentler (pp. 1-18); "Research on Catholic Priests in the United States since the Council: Modeling the Dialogue between Theology and Social Science," by Bryan T. Froehle (pp. 19-46); "Bishop P. Francis Murphy Proposes the Ordination of Women Priests," by Christopher J. Kauffman (pp. 47-66); and "The Other Ministerial Priesthood: The Prophetic Ministries of Religious Clergy," by Paul J. Philibert, O.P. (pp. 67-86).

*The Australian Catholic Record* presents "Models of Christian Living" in its issue for October 2011 (vol. 88, no. 4): Anne Hunt, "Immortal Diamonds: The Lives of the Saints as Locus Theologicus" (pp. 387-400); Moira O'Sullivan, "Mary Aikenhead: Inspiration for Now, a Woman for All Seasons" (pp. 401-11); Christine E. Burke, "Mary Ward (1585-1645): 'Half women are not for these times'" (pp. 412-21); Pauline Smoothy, "Mother Mary Vincent Whitty: Woman of Mercy" (pp. 422-32); Stephen Utick, "Charles O'Neill, the Engineer of Charity" (pp. 433-46); and Clara Geoghegan, "Caroline Chisholm—A Prophetic Voice in Church and Society" (pp. 447-61).

For the 200th (and 201st) number (vol. LVII, May-December 2011) of *Itinerarium*, the periodical of the Portuguese Province of the Franciscan Order, the editors have published several articles under the heading "Os Franciscanos e a República," as follows: "A controvérsia modernista entre Franciscanos e Jesuítas nas vésperas da revolução republicana," by José Eduardo Franco (pp. 209-21); "Os Franciscanos de Varatojo e Montariol em torno da *Voz de Santo Antonio*," by Álvaro Cruz da Silva, O.F.M. (pp. 223-45); "A «Voz de Santo Antonio». Génese e extinção," by Manuel Pereira Gonçalves, O.F.M. (pp. 247-61); "A República, fonte de alívio para a família franciscana? O valor do salvo conduto. *Elementos de enquadramento de questões de imprensa e pregação em Montariol*," by Antonio de Sousa Araújo, O.F.M. (pp. 263-72); and "Os Franciscanos e a República em Portugal—Testemunhos," by Henrique Pinto Rema, O.F.M. (pp. 373-542), which is followed by a "Suplemento documental" (pp. 543-602).

### Personal Notices

Cardinal Raffaele Farina, S.D.B., has retired from the office of archivist and librarian of the Holy Roman Church, having reached the age limit. He has been succeeded by Archbishop Jean-Louis Brugues, O.P., formerly secretary of the Congregation for Catholic Education.

Agostino Borromeo (University of Rome "La Sapienza"), David D'Avray (University College London), and Nelson H. Minnich (The Catholic University of America) have been reappointed to the Pontifical Committee for Historical Sciences for another five-year term. For the first time "correspondents" of the committee have been appointed; among the twelve whose names were announced at the plenary meeting in May are the following four Americans: Paul F. Grendler (emeritus, University of Toronto, and Chapel Hill, NC); John W. O'Malley, S.J. (Georgetown University); Kenneth Pennington (The Catholic



University of America); and Tricia T. Pyne (Associated Archives of St. Mary's Seminary and University, Baltimore).

Amanda Bresie, a doctoral student in Texas Christian University, has been appointed editor of *Texas Catholic Historian*, the newsletter of the Texas Catholic Historical Society.

Alan J. Watt, a minister in the Southwestern Texas Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, was presented with the 2012 Foik Award of the Texas Catholic Historical Society at its annual meeting on March 2 in Houston for his book *Farm Workers and the Churches: The Movement in California and Texas*, which was published by Texas A&M University Press in 2010.

Jared Wicks, S.J., has been appointed senior priest and scholar in residence in the Pontifical College Josephinum in Columbus, Ohio. Besides interacting with the professors and students of theology, Father Wicks will continue the study, writing, and ecumenical work in which he has been engaged since he retired from the Pontifical Gregorian University.

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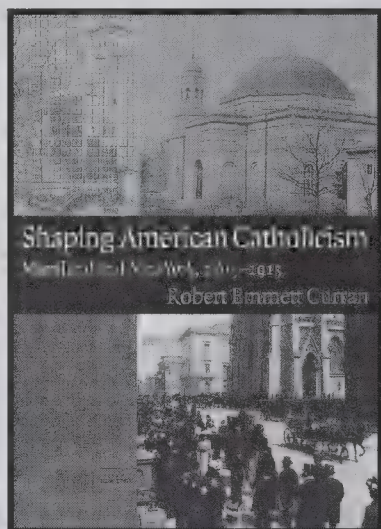
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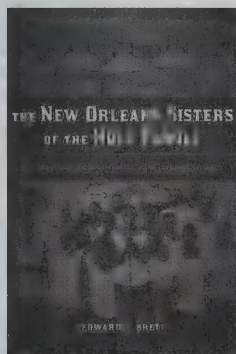


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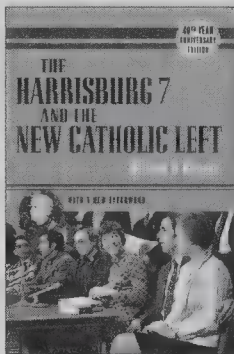
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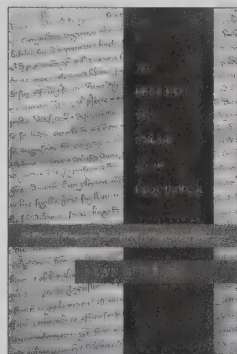


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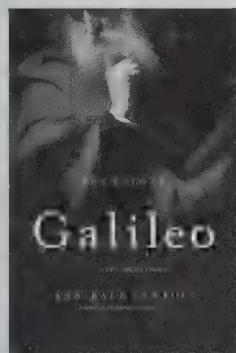


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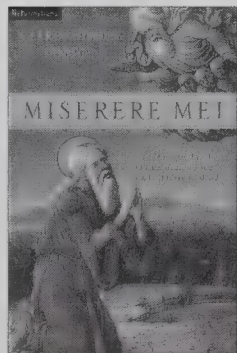
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## LANFRANC OF BEC'S VERSION OF DECRETALS IN A CANONISTIC CONTEXT

BY

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*During the eleventh century canon law collections, generated for different purposes but including the same texts, were used in the reform of the Church. The author presents a comparative study of important texts in collections such as the Collectio Lanfranci, an abridged version of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals used in the reform of the English Church. A close study of the manuscripts provides insight into Lanfranc of Bec's legal thinking and his position as ruler.*

**Keywords:** canonical collections; Collectio Lanfranci; Lanfranc of Bec; Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals

Recent research has emphasized both the extreme importance of canon law during the eleventh century and the complexity of its dissemination. During this period the increasing interest in canon law resulted not only in the creation of new collections but also the wider dissemination of earlier ones.

Among the old collections that were copied in this period, the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals have a preeminent place. One of the condensed versions of these decretals, made in the second half of the

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eleventh century and widely disseminated in England during the first thirty years of the twelfth century, is the *Collectio Lanfranci*. The *Collectio* is divided into two parts. The first contains decretals, most of them condensed and corresponding to parts 1 and 3 of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. The second reproduces the councils, mostly in full, but the Greek councils (except Ephesus) are taken from the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, probably via an ancient version related not only to Pseudo-Isidore but also to the *Hispana Gallica* and the *Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis*.<sup>1</sup>

Two propositions advanced by Zachary Brooke remain unchallenged. First, the process of reform of the Church in England resembled what occurred in the rest of Europe, although it was based on the False Decretals.<sup>2</sup> Second, this was possible because the abridgement of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals made or used by Lanfranc does not omit anything substantial and because the latter provided much of the material used by the collections of the so-called Gregorian Reform or Revolution.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See a complete study in Nicolás Álvarez de las Asturias, *La "Collectio Lanfranci." Origine e influenza di una collezione della Chiesa Anglo-Normanna* (Milan, 2008). See also Nicolás Álvarez de las Asturias, "The Greek Councils of the *Collectio Lanfranci*," *Proceedings of the XIII<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, in press.

<sup>2</sup>"But still it is a fact of the greatest importance that, in the process of reorganising the Church in England and of reviving in it the study of ecclesiastical law, the book that he [Lanfranc] had to his hand for the purpose was a copy of the famous False Decretals, which were deliberately designed to exalt papal authority to the utmost and were the chief source of the new canonical collections on the Continent." Zachary N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to the Reign of John* (Cambridge, UK, 1931; repr. Cambridge, UK, 1989). See also Mark Philpott, "Lanfranc's Canonical Collection and the *Law of the Church*," in *Lanfranco di Pavia e l'Europa del secolo XI, nel IX centenario della morte (1089-1989)*, ed. Giulio D'Onofrio (Rome, 1993), pp. 131-47. For a general account on the English Church in this period, see Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154. A History of the Anglo-Norman Church* (London, 1979). For Lanfranc, see also Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978).

<sup>3</sup>"This abridgment, however, so far as I have been able to judge from my study of the manuscript, does not alter in the least the character of the collection. The object of the person who made the abridgment seems to have been to leave out what was otiose or of little importance, so as to retain in a smaller compass the real pith of the collection, all the more important papal decisions." Brooke, *English Church*, p. 61. On the importance of Pseudo-Isidore for the Gregorian Reform, see John Gilchrist, "Gregory VII and the Juristic Sources of His Ideology," *Studia Gratiana*, 12 (1972), 3-37. Regarding the meaning of the term *revolution* as applied to this period, see Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), pp. 18-23.



Subsequent research has produced further evidence for the significance of this collection for the English Church after the Norman Conquest, especially in Lanfranc's use of it in government matters. This use is reflected in conciliar records, Lanfranc's letters, the account of the process against Bishop William of Durham, and the marginal notes in what is believed to be Lanfranc's manuscript of the *Collectio*.<sup>4</sup> In addition, there is more support for the view that Lanfranc undertook the work of abridgement himself, probably during his time as prior of Bec.<sup>5</sup> These materials make it easier to approach the question of Lanfranc's conception of canon law in his role as archbishop.

It seems a surprising assertion that a reform based almost exclusively on Pseudo-Isidore had results similar to others that were based on canonical collections that differed from Pseudo-Isidore. The difficulties of the Gregorian reformers with some aspects of Pseudo-Isidore are well known,<sup>6</sup> as are those they had with Burchard's *Decretum*.<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, it is true that Burchard and subsequent reformers (including Ivo of Chartres) drew heavily on Pseudo-Isidorian material. It served as a principal source for the *auctoritates* of the first millennium, although each reformer adapted this material according to his

<sup>4</sup>A study of the texts quoted from the *Collectio Lanfranci* in some English Councils can be seen in Christopher N. L. Brooke, "Archbishop Lanfranc, the English Bishops, and the Council of London of 1075," *Studia Gratiana*, 12 (1967), 40-59; on the quotations in his letters, see Lanfranc, *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1979). On the trial of William of Durham, see Mark Philpott, "The «De iniusta uexacione Willelmi episcopi primi» and Canon Law in Anglo-Norman Durham," in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, ed. David Rollason (Woodbridge, UK, 1994), pp. 125-37 and Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, "The Enigma of Archbishop Lanfranc," *Haskins Society Journal*, 6 (1995), 129-52. On the "a" marks, see Brooke, *English Church*, pp. 68-72 and Michael Gullick, "Lanfranc and the Oldest Manuscript of the *Collectio Lanfranci*," in *Bishops, Texts and the Use of Canon Law around 1100. Essays in Honour of Martin Brett*, ed. Bruce C. Brasington and Kathleen G. Cushing (Aldershot, UK, 2008), pp. 79-89.

<sup>5</sup>See also as a summary of the bibliography on the *Collectio's* authorship, Álvarez de las Asturias, *La Collectio Lanfranci*, pp. 60-71.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Horst Fuhrmann, "Über die Reformgeist der 74-Titel-Sammlung," in *Festschrift für Heinrich Hempel zum 70. Geburtstag am 9. September 1971* (Göttingen, 1971-72), II:1101-20 and Peter Landau, "Die Anklagemöglichkeit Untergeordneter vom *Dictatus pape* zum Dekret Gratians," in *Ministerium Iustitiae. Festschrift für Heribert Heinemann zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres*, ed. Andre Gabriels and Heinrich J. F. Reinhardt (Essen, 1985), pp. 373-83.

<sup>7</sup>See Detlev Jasper, "Burchards Dekret in der Sicht der Gregorianer," in *Bischof Burchard von Worms 1000-1025*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann (Mainz, 2000), pp. 167-98.

own interests. A comparison of the use of this common stock in Lanfranc's collection with the use by others of the same material may help to shed light on this mystery. A study of Lanfranc's use of his collection may also offer some clues to the substantial harmony between the reform of the Church in England and that on the Continent.

First, it is necessary to discuss the comparative method used in this article. The use of Pseudo-Isidore in the *Collectio Lanfranci* is compared to that in five canonical collections that differ in structure and method of composition. These are the *Decretum* of Burchard, the collections of Anselm of Lucca and Cardinal Deusdedit, the *Collectio Tripartita A*, and the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres. These five—unlike Lanfranc's collection—rework the *auctoritates* to varying degrees. With the exception of the *Tripartita* all are systematic, redistributing their materials by topic. There are several reasons for choosing these rather than others. All five significantly influenced the legal organization of the Church of their time, just as Lanfranc's did in England. Moreover, they have recently been studied in detail.<sup>8</sup> Burchard's *Decretum* was chosen as an episcopal collection and one of the main, immediate sources for most of the collections of the subsequent period. Anselm of Lucca and Deusdedit are taken as strictly Gregorian collections very close in time to the dissemination and use of the *Collectio Lanfranci* in England.<sup>9</sup> The *Tripartita* is known as the main,

<sup>8</sup>On Burchard's *Decretum*, see Harmut Hoffmann and Rudolf Pokorný, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms: Textstufen—Frühe Verbreitung—Vorlagen*, [MGH, Hilfsmittel, 12], (Munich, 1991) and Greta Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000: The Decretum of Burchard of Worms* (Aldershot, UK, 2009). On the *Collectio Anselmi Luccensis*, see Kathleen G. Cushing, *Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution: The Canonistic Work of Anselm of Lucca* (Oxford, 1998); for its textual tradition, see Linda Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis Canonum. Selected Canon Law Collections before 1140*, [MGH Hilfsmittel 21], (Hannover, 2005), pp. 139–48, 157–58. On Deusdedit, see especially Uta-Renate Blumenthal, "History and Tradition in Eleventh-Century Rome," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 79 (1993), 185–96 and Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis*, pp. 160–63. On the *Tripartita*, see Martin Brett, prefatory note to the online provisional edition, <http://knowledgeforge.net/ivo/tripartita.html> (last entry June 9, 2010) and Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis*, pp. 187–90. On Ivo's *Decretum*, and more generally on his work and the collections closely related to him (including the *Tripartita*), see Christof Rolker, *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres* (Cambridge, UK, 2010). A partial list of the surviving manuscripts of each collection along with a bibliography of critical work on the manuscripts until 1999 can be consulted in Lotte Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140)* (Washington, DC, 1999).

<sup>9</sup>According to Stickler's classical classification, both collections should be considered as "strictly gregorian." See Alphons M. Stickler, *Historia Iuris Canonici. I. Historia Fontium* (Rome, 1951), pp. 160–74. A solid objection to the term *Gregorian* for this

formal source of Ivo's *Decretum* together with Burchard and, for that reason, is studied here. Finally, Ivo's *Decretum*, although citing Pseudo-Isidore only as it was transmitted through intermediate collections, is the most original and extensive work of a bishop of the generation after Lanfranc, who had probably been Lanfranc's pupil for some years.<sup>10</sup>

Probably the biggest difference between Lanfranc's collection and most of the others is that the latter takes many Pseudo-Isidorian texts from intermediate sources. Lanfranc, in contrast, draws on them directly. This makes any comparison more difficult, but it still seems worthwhile, as the focus here is on the reformers' selection of passages—that is, those they considered important—and their use of them.

A sample of texts has been selected, based on three criteria: (a) they belong to the first part of Pseudo-Isidore, which is the most original part of the Pseudo-Isidore materials and contains most of the forged decretals; (b) they are texts used significantly by the collections studied here and reflect some substantial aspect of canon law; and (c) they are texts that can be substantiated as used by Lanfranc.

Following these criteria, two different parts of the decretals will be examined. First, the diverse reception of the three epistles of Pseudo-Anacletus and the reception of the second decretal of Pseudo-Eusebius will be discussed.<sup>11</sup> Whereas Pseudo-Anacletus is of great importance as a synthesis of the main contents of Pseudo-Isidore's ideal vision of the Church, the second letter of Pseudo-Eusebius is the only text in the first part of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals quoted by Lanfranc in his letters.

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movement of reform can be found in Ovidio Capitani, "Esiste un' età gregoriana? Considerazioni sulle tendenze di una storiografia medievistica," *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, I (1965), 454–81. Anselm's collection is dated, in its earliest surviving form, to 1083 and Deusdedit's to 1087.

<sup>10</sup>A summary of the bibliography on the relationship between Lanfranc and Ivo as well as the influence of Lanfranc on Ivo's conception of canon law can be found in Álvarez de las Asturias, *La Collectio Lanfranci*, pp. 110–11 and Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 90–91; the latter is more skeptical about the relationship between Lanfranc and Ivo.

<sup>11</sup>Locating the Pseudo-Anacletus texts in the different collections has been possible thanks to references given by Karl Schon in his provisional edition of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals (<http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de> [last entry May 27, 2010]). For locating the Pseudo-Eusebius texts Fuhrmann's indexes have been used. See Horst Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen*, [MGH, Schriften, 24/3], (Stuttgart, 1974).

As the *Collectio Lanfranci* has not yet been published, citations are provided from Lanfranc's manuscript.<sup>12</sup> For Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, although the references are made to the printed edition of Hinschius, Karl-Georg Schon's more accurate, online provisional version is used.<sup>13</sup> For Burchard, Anselm, and Deusdedit, the printed editions have been used (although Anselm is only partial)<sup>14</sup> and for the *Tripartita* and Ivo's *Decretum*, the draft editions prepared by Brett and Brasington and accessible online.<sup>15</sup> Not all the editions have the same value and faithfully represent collections with a complicated textual history (such as the defective editions in Anselm's and Deusdedit's collections,<sup>16</sup> as well as those in Burchard, whose work had an extraordinary diffusion in the eleventh century in condensed versions). Nevertheless, it would be an exaggerated criticism to deny any value to the information obtained by such an unequal comparison. Until a complete edition of these important collections can be accomplished, such information should be regarded as valid.

<sup>12</sup>Cambridge University, Library of Trinity College B.16.44 (hereafter referred to as Ca). The reasons for considering Ca as the *Ur-manuskript* can be seen in Álvarez de las Asturias, *La Collectio Lanfranci*, pp. 4-7, 74-76. A paleographical study of the manuscript in Michael Gullick, "The English-Owned Manuscripts of the *Collectio Lanfranci* (s.xi/xii)," in *The Legacy of M. R. James*, ed. Lynda Dennison (Donington, UK, 2001), pp. 99-117.

<sup>13</sup>See *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. Paul Hinschius (1863; repr. Aalen, 1963) and Schon's provisional edition. A good synthesis of the weaknesses of Hinschius's edition can be seen in Horst Fuhrmann, "The Pseudo-Isidorian Forgeries," in *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Detlev Jasper and Horst Fuhrmann (Washington, DC, 2001), pp. 153-59.

<sup>14</sup>See Burchard of Worms, *Decretorum Libri XX: editio princeps*, ed. Gerard Fransen and Theo Kölzer (Aalen, 1992). Anselm of Lucca, *Anselmi episcopi Lucensis Collectio canonum una cum collectione minore*, ed. Friedrich Thaner (1915; repr. Aalen, 1965), a composite edition that should be used with Fowler-Magerl's *Clavis* for the various versions, and the *Incipit-explicit* analysis of the missing books XII and XIII of the A version in Cushing, *Papacy*, pp. 179-200. The comparison is made with the earliest form, the so-called A text. Deusdedit, *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, ed. Victor Wolf von Glanvell (1905; repr. Aalen, 1967).

<sup>15</sup>See Ivo, *Decretum*, <http://project.knowledgeforge.net/ivo/decretum.html> (last entry May 27, 2010) and Ivo, *Tripartita*, <http://knowledgeforge.net/ivo/tripartita.html> (last entry June 9, 2010).

<sup>16</sup>The canonical collection of Anselm of Lucca has such a complicated textual history that it is even difficult to refer to it as a single collection. See, as an example, the direction taken in Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis*, pp. 139-48, 157-58. Regarding Deusdedit, see Uta-Renate Blumenthal, "Reflections on the Influence of the *Collectio Canonum* of Cardinal Deusdedit," in *Mélanges en l'honneur d'Anne Lefebvre-Teillard*, ed. Bernard D'Alteroche, Florence Demoulin-Auzary, Olivier Descamps, and Frank Roumy (Paris, 2009), pp. 135-47.



## 1. The Pseudo-Anacletus Decretals

The three decretals falsely attributed to Pope Anacletus are the second group of papal documents in Pseudo-Isidore, occupying twenty-one pages in Hinschius's edition.<sup>17</sup> These letters contain many of the central arguments for ecclesiastical reform promoted by the forgers.<sup>18</sup> From a doctrinal point of view, there is clarification of the hierarchical structure of the Church, based primarily on the distinction between the priesthood and episcopate, with the importance of the sees (whether metropolitan or primatial) taking second place; also present is the centrality of the Roman See for its divine origin. From the procedural point of view, requirements are established for trials of sacred ministers, aimed at ensuring their immunity, and a procedural hierarchy of instances is consolidated, with the Roman See as the universal and final court of appeal.<sup>19</sup>

On these subjects, the Pseudo-Anacletus *corpus* is an excellent summary of the main themes of this reform, which were of exceptional importance in the later development of canon law.<sup>20</sup> Reflecting on the question of the extent to which these doctrines are traditional or represent a break with previous theology and canon law falls outside the scope of this article. It is enough to state that Hinschius's *apparatus fontium* establishes the traditional character of their main claims. Pseudo-Isidore offers, in this sense, a particular reading of that tradition that provides a more certain and consistent interpretation of

<sup>17</sup>See Hinschius's edition, pp. 66–87.

<sup>18</sup>See Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, "Ein Blick in Pseudosisdors Werkstatt. Studien zum Entstehungsprozess der falschen Dekretalen," *Francia*, 28 (2001), 37–60.

<sup>19</sup>It is now widely accepted that the main object of the Pseudo-Isidorian program was not to exalt the central role of the Roman pontiff; rather, treatment of the pope's role was a means for restoring the autonomy of the diocesan bishops, who were under attack by their immediate superiors or powerful laymen. Nevertheless, it also seems evident that the role of the Roman pontiff takes a more prominent place in this collection than preceding collections, albeit indirectly. On Pseudo-Isidore's doctrine on the institutional structure of the Church, see Agostino Marchetto, *Episcopato e Primato pontificio nelle decretali pseudo-isidoriane. Ricerca storico-giuridica* (Rome, 1971) and Fernando Yarza, *El Obispo en la organización eclesiástica de las Decretales pseudoisidorianas* (Pamplona, 1985).

<sup>20</sup>On the subsequent influence of Pseudo-Isidore, Fuhrmann's work still is the main reference. See Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung*, [MGH, Schriften, 24/1–3], (Stuttgart, 1972–74). On the continuity of Pseudo-Isidorian doctrines in current canon law, see Agostino Marchetto, "Lo Pseudo-Isidoro e il nuovo CIC della Chiesa Latina," in *Chiesa e Papato nella Storia e nel Diritto. 25 anni di studi critici*, ed. Agostino Marchetto (Vatican City, 2002), pp. 92–104.

canon law than others because of its emphasis and systematic approach.

Lanfranc's key actions concerning the text of Pseudo-Isidore fall under four main areas: (a) shortening the text; (b) introducing an original *capitulation*; (c) including original textual variants; and (d) adding marginal annotations, primarily by "a" marks (probable abbreviation of *attende*). Of these four actions, there can be no doubt that the first two are the most significant; in general, the textual variants do not affect the sense of the decretals.

The work of abridgement in the three decretals of Pseudo-Anacletus is extensive and careful. Compared to that conducted in other letters in the collection, it can be observed that there are extensive omissions in mid-text, whereas in many others they only occur at the beginning or end. This suggests that the material was selected with unusually close attention to its relevance.

This impression of careful reading is confirmed by the study of Lanfranc's original *capitulatio*. The summaries are perfectly adapted to the content and their mere enumeration indicates his efforts to capture accurately the major aspects of Pseudo-Isidorian doctrine. Thus, the *prima Pseudo-Anacleti* is divided into four chapters under the following headings: "de iis qui sacerdotes accusant," "ut episcopus Deo sacrificans testes secum habeat," "de peregrinis et provincialibus iudiciis," and "ut oppressus iudicio secularium appellet iudicium sacerdotum et de maioribus causis ad sedem apostolicam referendis." They emphasize the major procedural content of this decretal without ignoring its secondary liturgical character, as reflected in the second *capitulum*.

The *secunda Anacleti* is also divided into four chapters, which summarize its contents as follows: "de ordinationibus episcoporum et omnium clericorum"; "de accusationibus episcoporum"; "quod minus quam a tribus episcopus non debeat ordinari"; and "in quibus civitatibus primates, in quibus metropolitani esse debent." Again, the procedural and liturgical contents of the decretal are emphasized, as well as a central aspect of the Pseudo-Isidore's ecclesiastical organization: the relationship between primates and the rest of the episcopal hierarchy. This *capitulum* will be revisited later.

Finally, Lanfranc divides the *tertia Anacleti* into five chapters, with the following titles: "de bipertito ordine sacerdotum," "de constitutione sive ordinatione episcoporum et presbiterorum," "de discretione

episcoporum et civitatum,” “ut difficiliores causae ad sedem apostolicam referantur,” and “non admittendos ad accusationem sive ad testimonium qui antea inimici fuerant et de extraneo iudicio.” Here Lanfranc underlines the importance of the question of the Church’s hierarchical organization as the main content of this decretal, without forgetting its procedural aspect.

The value of the *capitulatio* as a guide to Lanfranc’s purpose in the work of abridgement is increased if compared with the quite different *capitulations* found in the Pseudo-Isidore Class A2 manuscripts or in Eton College Manuscript 97, otherwise closely related to the *Collectio Lanfranci*.<sup>21</sup> From this analysis, probably the most striking feature is what might be called Lanfranc’s “contextualization for the present.” This is particularly evident in the *capitulatio* evident in the second and third letters of Anacletus regarding the question of patriarchates and the hierarchy of sees.

It is well known that Pseudo-Isidore identifies the Eastern patriarchs with Western primates, presaging the future Western conception of patriarchates. It seems clear that the patriarchs concerned the Pseudo-Isidorian compilers only to the extent that they are identified with primates.<sup>22</sup> The question of the hierarchy of sees and the primacy of Rome, so important in the history of the Church, was no *quaestio disputata* for Pseudo-Isidore or in the time and the ideological context of Lanfranc. But although the *capitulatio* of the Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts is faithful to their content and incorporates the issue of patriarchates and sees, Lanfranc does not. Thus,

<sup>21</sup>On A2 manuscripts, see Hinschius, *Decretales*, pp. xli-lii. A list with all its *capitula* can be seen in <http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/html/000.htm> (last entry May 27, 2010). On the relation between the manuscript Eton College 97 and the *Collectio Lanfranci*, see Álvarez de las Asturias, *La “Collectio Lanfranci,”* pp. 24–30, which includes a description of the Eton manuscript by its *incipit-explicit* (cf. Álvarez de las Asturias, *La “Collectio Lanfranci,”* pp. 128–260). Also on this codex, cf. Joachim Richter, “Stufen pseudoisidorischer Verfälschung: Untersuchungen zum Konzilsteil der pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Kanonistische Abteilung* [hereafter *ZRG Kan. Abt.*], 64 (1978), 1–72 and Nicolás Álvarez de las Asturias, “On the So-Called Second Version of the Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis,” *ZRG Kan. Abt.*, 93 (2007), 34–44.

<sup>22</sup>On this question, see Horst Fuhrmann, “Studien zur Geschichte mittelalterlicher Patriarchate,” 1–3, *ZRG Kan. Abt.*, 39 (1953), 1122–76; *ZRG Kan. Abt.*, 40 (1954) 1–84; *ZRG Kan. Abt.*, 41 (1955), 95–183, and more recently, Nicolás Álvarez de las Asturias, “Patriarca de Occidente: razones históricas para la renuncia a un título,” *Revista Española de Teología*, 66 (2006), 431–63, esp. 441–44.

whereas the Class A2 manuscripts headed the second letter of Anacletus "de episcopis, primatibus et patriarchis eorumque ministerio," Lanfranc summarizes the content according to the pressing concerns of his time: "In which cities there should be primates or metropolitans."<sup>23</sup> Also in the third letter, the four chapters of class A2's descriptive content (chapter XXVIII, "Quod unus sit ordo episcoporum. Item de primatibus et patriarchis, de archiepiscopis et metropolitans;" chapter XXX, "Quod Romana ecclesia ab ipso domino salvatore nostro primatum obtinuerit, et quod eam beatissimi Petrus et Paulus suo martyrio consecrarunt ideoque et prima sedes dicenda;" chapter XXXI, "De secunda sede Alexandrinae ecclesiae;" chapter XXXII, "De tertia sede Antiochiae ecclesiae") are summarized by Lanfranc into one clearly shaped by his own time and place: "On the difference of bishops and cities."<sup>24</sup> Similarly, the doctrinal statements of chapter XXXIV ("That more difficult cases should be referred to the apex of the Apostolic See, so that they may be determined by an apostolic judgment, by the authority of which See all churches are governed")<sup>25</sup> are reduced in the *Collectio* only to the practically oriented "that more difficult cases are to be referred to the Holy See."<sup>26</sup>

Finally, if the *capitulatio* tells us so much of Prior Lanfranc's interests, the marginal notes provide a further interpretative key to the value of the copied text for him. Only three "a" marks appear in Anacletus's forgeries, one in each decretal. Gullick's precise paleographical study suggests that these early marginalia were inserted in Bec, since they are in the hand of the main scribe.<sup>27</sup> If so, then the annotations should be interpreted as an aspect of Lanfranc's teaching and may have served as a guide for better understanding the main contents of the collection. They would indicate the direction of his thought well before he exercised formal authority in the wider Church. Naturally, when the book was brought to England, these "a" marks also would have been useful, as they called attention to passages that had acquired a new and urgent bearing for Lanfranc as ruler of the Church in England.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup>"in quibus civitatibus primates, in quibus metropolitani esse debent."

<sup>24</sup>"de discretionem episcoporum et civitatum."

<sup>25</sup>"Ut difficiliores causae ad apicem Romanae sedis referantur, ut apostolico terminentur iudicio, cuius sedis auctoritate omnes ecclesiae reguntur."

<sup>26</sup>"ut causae ad Sedem difficiliores Apostolicam referantur."

<sup>27</sup>See Gullick, "The Oldest," esp. pp. 79-80, 82n8.

<sup>28</sup>A general account on the role of Lanfranc in the reform of the Church in England can be seen in Herbert E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc. Scholar, Monk and Archbishop*



The first marked text refers to the requirements for a legitimate accusation in the Church, one main theme of the *prima Anacleti*, which was to have considerable, if problematic, importance for Lanfranc's actions against bishops Odo of Bayeux and William of St. Carilef and, more generally, for some decisions by English councils regarding the deposition of bishops.<sup>29</sup>

The second and third of the marked texts also are significant. In the *secunda Anacleti*, Lanfranc retained a passage that states the powers of the primates as judges for the bishops of their territory, while safeguarding the prerogatives of the Apostolic See.<sup>30</sup> It seems clear that in quoting this text, Lanfranc underscores an essential element of the Pseudo-Isidorian program, which established primates as a defense for bishops against metropolitans, thus limiting the metropolitans' prerogatives.<sup>31</sup> Similarly close to the purposes of the false decretals is his emphasis in the *tertia Anacleti* on a fragment regarding the foundation of Roman primacy.<sup>32</sup>

From this analysis it can be concluded that Lanfranc's treatment of the three Pseudo-Anacletus decretals is designed to delineate their main contents more clearly, as might be expected of a noted master in the liberal arts.<sup>33</sup> As those aspects also are characteristics of the

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(Oxford, 2003), pp. 120–43. On the importance of the *Collectio* in his activities as archbishop of Canterbury, see also Álvarez de las Asturias, *La "Collectio Lanfranci"*, pp. 107–10 and the bibliography therein.

<sup>29</sup>"Accusandi vel testificandi licentia denegetur, his qui christianae religionis et nominis dignitatem et suae legis vel sui propositi normam aut regulariter prohibita neglexerint" (Ca 20).

<sup>30</sup>"Primates tamen, ut praefixum est, et tunc et nunc habere iussae sunt, ad quos post sedem apostolicam summa negotia convenient, ut ibidem, quibus necesse fuerit, releventur et iuste restituantur, et hi, qui iniuste opprimuntur, iuste reformatur atque fulciantur, episcoporumque causae et summorum negotiorum iudicia salva apostolicae sedis auctoritate iustissime terminentur" (Ca 22).

<sup>31</sup>Nevertheless, on other occasions, texts that Lanfranc signs with "a" also exalt the role of metropolitans. See the conclusion of Philpott, "Lanfranc's Canonical Collection," p. 137, that Lanfranc, in doing so, goes against the original thought of the Pseudo-Isidorians.

<sup>32</sup>"Adhibita est etiam societas in eadem Romana urbe beatissimi apostoli Pauli vasis electionis, qui uno die unoque tempore gloriosa morte cum Petro sub principe Nerone agonizans coronatus est, et ambo sanctam Romanam ecclesiam consecrarunt, aliisque omnibus urbibus in universo mundo eam sua praesentia atque venerando triumpho praetulerunt" (Ca 22).

<sup>33</sup>Whether or not Lanfranc was himself the compiler, he would have approved of the principles on which it was made: by the elimination of nearly all the pastoral

Pseudo-Isidorian program on the institutional structure of the Church and its procedural guarantees, they also were very useful to Lanfranc when he had to deal with the reform of the English Church.

The three decretals attributed to Anacletus also were widely quoted by other canonical collections of extraordinary importance both in themselves and in the process of evolution of canon law. As previously mentioned, four of the five collections studied are systematic in nature. It is interesting, therefore, not only to count the number of times they quoted a text but also to note the context in which it is quoted and the real weight that the citation has in the construction of the typical "thinking" of each collection.<sup>34</sup> It also is interesting to see the extent to which the quotation of texts in these collections corresponds to the themes reflected in the *Collectio Lanfranci*.

Burchard's *Decretum* is chronologically earlier than the abridgement of Lanfranc. It includes eleven fragments from Pseudo-Anacletus. Of these, six are in book I (the ecclesiastical hierarchy), two in book II (the life of the sacred ministers), two in book III (liturgical matters), and one in book XI (criminal matters). The preponderance of texts referring to the question of the Church's institutional structure is obvious.

Five of these eleven texts cannot be found in the *Collectio Lanfranci*; two other texts are only partial versions.<sup>35</sup> The first obvious conclusion is that Burchard found other topics in Pseudo-Anacletus that interested him more than they would Lanfranc, with Lanfranc possibly regarding them as secondary to the central theme of these decretals or as more developed in other parts of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. For instance, Burchard II.154 concerns the obligation for priests to teach (I Anacletus), and II.5 is an exegetical explanation on the term *priest* (II Anacletus)—subjects that were ignored by Lanfranc.

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material in the Decretals Pseudo-Isidore has been greatly reduced in bulk without loss of the legal essentials. We seem to see the hand that cut down those unmanageable Carolingian commentaries on the Pauline Epistles." Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, p. 139.

<sup>34</sup>Obviously, the question of "ideology" will be answered differently in each collection. Whereas there is a clear intention behind the choices of Burchard, Anselm, and Deusdedit, the *Tripartita* seems to be only a repository of texts, and Ivo's *Decretum* is best interpreted as a witness of "as many as possible solutions for each single case" (cf. Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 301–02).

<sup>35</sup>See appendices A, B, and C.

In other cases, the texts omitted by Lanfranc and quoted by Burchard relate to topics of interest for both. In that sense, it is initially surprising that the text from Anacletus that Burchard placed at the beginning of book I was omitted in Lanfranc's abridgement. However, almost identical statements to those in Burchard I.1 can be found in the *Tertia Anacleti* and marked with a sign "a" in the *Collectio Lanfranci*.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, the prohibition of the faithful correcting bishops for moral failings, quoted in Burchard I.136 and I.138 under the title "Episcopus a suis ovibus non reprehendendos nisi a fide erraverit" that is taken from the *Tertia Anacleti*, is not found in Lanfranc, but its sense is preserved in similar statements taken from the first two Pseudo-Anacletus decretals and even more clearly in the second decretal of Pseudo-Eusebius.

Finally, in some texts Burchard departs from Pseudo-Isidore considerably, usually by following his intermediate sources.<sup>37</sup>

The work of Anselm of Lucca on the twenty texts taken from Pseudo-Anacletus shares some characteristics with Burchard (abridgement and minor changes), but adds another very important element: chapter summaries for his texts, which are certainly original in books I and II.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, these fragments are distributed across books I (3), II (2), III (7), IV (1), VI (7), and VII (3). Of these, seven are not in Lanfranc,<sup>39</sup> and not all of them were taken directly from Pseudo-Isidore.<sup>40</sup>

The distribution of the Pseudo-Anacletus fragments in Anselm's collection is not surprising if the reader looks beyond the titles of the thirteen books into which the collection is divided. Indeed, Cushing has discussed how books I to III, not just book I, are essential for understanding the bishop of Lucca's vision of the Roman primacy.<sup>41</sup> If the

<sup>36</sup>See n32.

<sup>37</sup>These departures can be seen in appendices A, C, and D: in the modifications in I.152, at the beginning of III.71, in the additions to III.77 and XI.27, and in the reworking of XI.18. Of all of these, only the addition to XI.27 seems to have its origin in Burchard. At least, its origin cannot be definitively traced. See Hoffmann and Pokorny, *Das Dekret*, p. 220.

<sup>38</sup>See Cushing, *Papacy*, p. 68.

<sup>39</sup>See appendices A, B, and C.

<sup>40</sup>Anselm takes many Pseudo-Isidorian texts from the Collection in Seventy-Four Titles and from Burchard's *Decretum* (see Cushing, *Papacy*, pp. 72–74). Appendices A, B, and C list some similarities in the textual transmission of *auctoritates* between Burchard and Anselm.

<sup>41</sup>See Cushing, *Papacy*, pp. 73–74.

twelve fragments contained in the first three books are added to the seven of book VI (on bishops), it is clear that Anselm exploited the essentials of these three decretals throughout his canonical collection.

Cushing has analyzed the way in which Anselm took some of the Pseudo-Isidorian texts out of context to fit them into his distinctive ideology. Thus, the text of Pseudo-Anacletus cited as canon 4 of book II is isolated from the preceding paragraphs in which the forgers present earlier procedural steps for *causae maiores* (metropolitans and primates), thus leaving the Apostolic See as the single and unique instance.<sup>42</sup>

The collection of Cardinal Deusdedit includes twelve texts of Pseudo-Anacletus. Of these, three are contained in book I (*Privilegium auctoritatis eiusdem Romanae Ecclesiae*), four in book II (*De Romano clero*), two in book III (*De rebus ecclesiae*), and three in book IV (*De libertate ecclesiae et cleri et rerum eius*).

Four of the twelve texts used by Deusdedit do not appear in the *Collectio Lanfranci*, and a fifth only appears in part. These are the same passages as in Burchard (except Burchard I.1, which does not appear in Deusdedit), although some are condensed (as Deusdedit IV.305).<sup>43</sup>

Regarding the texts used for the foundation of Roman primacy, Deusdedit omits that copied by Burchard at the head of his book I, but added another from the *Tertia Anacleti*, the same one that Lanfranc signed with an "a" mark. He likely did so because of the continued references in this *auctoritas* to the Church of Rome, which was vital to Deusdedit's reformist ideology.<sup>44</sup>

The compiler of the *Collectio Tripartita* incorporates twenty-five texts from the three decretals of Anacletus. The *capitulatio* present in the manuscripts of the "second version" omits one for the text 22A, according to Brett's numeration. Of these twenty-five, only five cannot be found in Lanfranc's collection, and five others are only partial versions. At least six of the twenty-five have been reworked or abridged,

<sup>42</sup>See Cushing, *Papacy*, p. 150. Something similar could be said about the reworking of I.2 and I.66.

<sup>43</sup>See appendices A, B, and C.

<sup>44</sup>See Blumenthal, "History and Tradition," which deals with this question.



not necessarily by the compiler, as some recently discovered intermediate sources have revealed.<sup>45</sup>

As the *Tripartita* is a chronological collection, a comprehensive statement about its ideology may be impossible. Nor is the prologue of much help in this regard, since it was most probably written for another collection.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, it makes an interesting general statement regarding the importance of primitive (that is, forged) papal decretals as the first source of canon law.<sup>47</sup>

Finally, the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres incorporates fourteen texts of Anacletus decretals taken from Burchard or *Tripartita* A. Of these, ten are in book V (the Roman primacy and the hierarchical structure of the Church). Of the remaining four, three are in book VI (clerics) and one in book XIV (penal law). Ivo significantly begins book V with two *auctoritates* of Pseudo-Anacletus. With both of them, he seeks to show how the institutional structure of the Church is wider than the Roman primacy. In fact, by combining texts of the second and the third letter, he presents the role of the pope in the classical frame of the hierarchy of sees. Only after this general frame is presented does Ivo deal with the role of the Roman pontiff as universal judge.<sup>48</sup>

Of the fourteen, seven are passages entirely omitted by Lanfranc, and two others appear only partially in Ivo's version. As can be seen by the figures alone, Ivo found much more significant material in the Pseudo-Anacletus than Lanfranc, especially for the composition of the part relating to the Church's institutional structure that also includes *auctoritates* relating to procedural issues.

A number of these Pseudo-Isidorian texts in Ivo are therefore considerably condensed, as they were already present in his sources.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup>See appendices A, B, and C, as well as Martin Brett, "Urban II and the Collections Attributed to Ivo of Chartres," in *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law: San Diego, 21-27 August 1988*, ed. Stanley Chodorow, [Monumenta Iurisi Canonici, Subsidia 9], (Vatican City, 1992), pp. 27-46, esp. pp. 40-41 for the *Collectio Brugenis*.

<sup>46</sup>See Rolker, *Canon Law*, p. 102.

<sup>47</sup>An English translation of the prologue can be found in Robert Somerville and Bruce C. Brasington, *Prefaces to Canon Law Books in Latin Christianity. Selected Translations, 500-1245* (New Haven, 1998), pp. 131-32.

<sup>48</sup>As Rolker has pointed out, Ivo, even in his way of quoting the second letter, shows his different conception of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, when compared, for instance, with that of Burchard. See Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 193-94.

<sup>49</sup>See especially the abridgement made in V.239, as seen in TrA.1.2.22A-24 from a long text of the *tertia Anacleti*. For this and other cases, see appendices A, B, and C.

Finally, Ivo sometimes assembles passages from several excerpts of the *Tripartita* A in a single canon.

A comparison between the use of the Pseudo-Anacletus decretals by Lanfranc and the rest of the collections yields two conclusions. First, the use of texts is more varied and comprehensive in the other canonical collections than in Lanfranc's. In this sense, it seems that the canonical or stylistic concerns of the prior of Bec led him to bypass the wealth that was hidden inside the long sections omitted. Second, the other collections made similar use of these decretals, unlike Lanfranc's version. In this sense, Lanfranc's collection appears to stand apart in the circulation of texts over the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>50</sup>

## 2. The Second Decretal of Pseudo-Eusebius

Pseudo-Isidore attributed three decretals to Pope Eusebius, of which only the second appears in the *Collectio Lanfranci*, where it is drastically condensed.<sup>51</sup> Its main argument concerns the procedural guarantees to be observed in the trial of bishops. It shares with the *secunda Anacleti* the view that, in principle, the bishop should be prosecuted only for matters of faith, leaving the rest to God. The dec-

<sup>50</sup>Although a detailed study on the relations among these collections falls outside the scope of this article, it is necessary to remember that Burchard is considered one of the formal sources of the other collections discussed here, with the exception of the *Tripartita* (but see the four appendices for a possible qualification). On the relations between Burchard's and Anselm's collections, see Cushing, *Papacy*, pp. 73, 86; between those of Burchard and Deusdedit, see Stickler, *Historia*, p. 173; between Burchard's collection and Ivo's *Decretum*, see Rolker, *Canon Law*, pp. 109–12. On relations between Anselm of Lucca and Deusdedit, see Cushing, *Papacy*, pp. 95–102. Finally, it seems that Burchard is the origin of one relatively early addition to Lanfranc's manuscript Ca, the text *Quoniam quidam metropolitanorum fidem suam secundum-sui iudicio cedit* (with the inscription *Unde supra* in Ca 83), that corresponds to Burchard I.25. See Michael Gullick, "Lanfranc and the Oldest Manuscript of the *Collectio Lanfranci*," in *Bishops, Texts and the Use of Canon Law around 1100. Essays in Honour of Martin Brett*, ed. Bruce C. Brasington and Kathleen G. Cushing (Aldershot, UK, 2008), pp. 79–90, here p. 85.

<sup>51</sup>The three Pseudo-Eusebius decretals can be seen in Hinschius's edition, pp. 230–42, the second one on pp. 233–38. Lanfranc copies only the initial greeting and the last section of this decretal (pp. 237–38), which correspond with the *capitula* XI–XIV, according to class A2 manuscripts: "XI Quod oves suo pastori commissae non possint eum accusare; XII Quod exspoliatus vel expulsus non possit convocari ad causam nec diiudicari; XIII Quod in antiquis ecclesiae statutis decretum sit, ut, qui aliena invadit, omnia restituat cum multiplicatione; XIII Quod in legibus saeculi cautum sit, ut, qui rem subripit alienam, in undecuplum restituat."

retal also adds necessary elements to ensure the fairness of the trial: mainly, restoration to his see and restitution of his patrimony before the start of the trial. It also establishes the need to punish those who expel or steal from bishops before the latter are legitimately judged. The concerns of the decretal are obviously crucial to the interests of Pseudo-Isidore.

In the case of this decretal Lanfranc's abridgement appears truly successful, for its essential contents are preserved, as summarized in the single *capitulum*: "That sheep should neither reprimand nor accuse their shepherd and the bishops who have been deprived of their goods or expelled from a see and about those who invade others' property."<sup>52</sup>

This decretal was marginally annotated, probably at Bec, with an "a" mark that highlights one of its final statements on the need to punish those who steal from bishops. Years later, this underlined statement was useful to Lanfranc, as he mentioned it in his first letter to Bishop Herfast of Thetford, along with other *auctoritates* included in his collection.<sup>53</sup>

The great collections before and after Lanfranc's collection cited the Pseudo-Eusebius second decretal.<sup>54</sup> As they did with Pseudo-Anacletus, they attach importance here to some passages omitted by Lanfranc.

Burchard quotes three texts from this decretal, two in his book XI (sanctions) and one in the first (primacy and institutional structure of the Church). Book XI.27 included a last sentence omitted by Lanfranc.<sup>55</sup>

Anselm of Lucca uses the second decretal of Pseudo-Eusebius on three occasions. In the first two (III.34 and III.50), he has done a

<sup>52</sup>"quod oves pastorem suum nec reprehendere debeant nec accusare et de episcopis rebus expolatis aut a sede pulsus et de his qui aliena invadunt."

<sup>53</sup>"Est etiam in antiquis ecclesiae statutis decretum, ut, qui aliena invadit, non exeat impunitus, sed cum multiplicatione omnia restituat" (Ca 53). The quotation in Lanfranc's letter is not textual. See Lanfranc, *The Letters*, p. 108: "Qui aliena invadit non exibat impunitus."

<sup>54</sup>See all texts in appendices A, B, C, and D.

<sup>55</sup>The sentence omitted reads: "pacem et non damnum aut iniustitiam alicuius sectamini in invicem et in omnes." As previously stated, the origin of this sentence remains mysterious as Hoffman and Pokorny could not trace its provenance (see Hoffmann and Pokorny, *Das Dekret*, p. 220).

remarkable job of abridgement. The third (V.37) is most likely taken from Burchard. Finally, much of III.34 does not appear in Lanfranc's collection.

The collection of Cardinal Deusdedit includes only two texts of this decretal, both in book IV. The first of these (IV.38) quotes a text omitted by Lanfranc. The second is a notable abridgement of its Pseudo-Isidorian original.

The *Tripartita* only includes one passage from the second decretal of Pseudo-Eusebius, which has also been considerably abridged. Its entire content, with the exception of the last sentence, can be found in Lanfranc's condensed version.

Finally, Ivo uses in his *Decretum* three pieces of this decretal, one in book XIII (here from Burchard XI.27) and two in book V. Taken together, the content of these three fragments practically coincides with that contained in the condensed version made by Lanfranc (except the last sentence of XIII.37).<sup>56</sup>

In considering the use of the Pseudo-Eusebius second decretal across these collections, the most striking element is its inclusion of a sentence that is absent from all reported early Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts. Burchard first reports it, and it may have passed from there to more recent Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts and thus to Anselm of Lucca and the *Tripartita*. However, Ivo omits the sentence from his *Decretum*.<sup>57</sup>

The more uniform character of the argument of the *secunda Eusebii* is the most likely reason that the collections, including that of Lanfranc, made similar use of it. Yet here, too, it is clear that the *Collectio Lanfranci* is distinctive in the treatment of the text.

## Conclusions

Some provisional conclusions can be drawn from the comparative analysis of the treatment of the three Pseudo-Anacletus decretals and of the second of Pseudo-Eusebius in the *Collectio Lanfranci* and five other canonical collections.

<sup>56</sup>See appendices for all the texts in the different collections and a comparison with the *Collectio Lanfranci*.

<sup>57</sup>See details in appendix D.



The first is that Brooke's conclusion regarding the relative insignificance of the texts omitted by Lanfranc is acceptable. Indeed, although it has been shown that texts omitted in the *Collectio Lanfranci* are quoted by several canonical collections, sometimes in significant places, the ultimate meaning of the texts omitted by Lanfranc is found elsewhere via other Pseudo-Isidorian fragments in his *Collectio*. In this regard, it continues to be acceptable to claim that nothing of the essential substance of the Pseudo-Isidore program was deliberately omitted from the abridgement made by the prior of Bec.

Second, the comparison between the different collections shows the different uses of the same texts in every age and in each collection. As previously noted, the basic literature for understanding the concept of canon law is present in the collections studied. In Lanfranc's case, it seems clear that the *Collectio Lanfranci* remains faithful to the original meaning of the Pseudo-Isidorian program. This is understandable if it is assumed that the canonical collection is a product of Lanfranc's method of teaching and editing texts while he was prior of Bec. His aim would have been to provide a text for study, not to compile a practical handbook for reforming the Church. Thus he intended to produce a more accessible summary of the entire content and purpose of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.

Third, Lanfranc's work on his Pseudo-Isidorian original can only be understood from this perspective. In the light of the decretals studied, mere textual variants are not significant for understanding the mind of the author of the condensed version. But a different situation presents itself when both the work of abridgement and its original *capitulation* are considered.

In the decretals analyzed, it is clear that the version offered by Lanfranc is more coherent and unified than its Pseudo-Isidorian original. Indeed, the removed elements are repetitions, long scriptural excursus, and material collateral to the main theme of the decretal. These issues are nevertheless preserved in the *Collectio Lanfranci* because they appear more specifically in other decretals.

In comparing the *capitulatio* in Lanfranc's version with those found in some manuscripts of Pseudo-Isidore and Anselm of Lucca, Lanfranc's uniqueness can be seen very clearly. His aim is to highlight the "real" interest of the transmitted texts according to the scope of the Pseudo-Isidorian program. Therefore, Lanfranc's version omits the description of the content of the canons of tangential interest (e.g.,

issues related to the hierarchy in the East), but does not mold the texts into a reformist framework, as Anselm of Lucca does.

Fourth, Lanfranc's use of the decretals is unsurprising. The explicit citation of the second letter of Pseudo-Eusebius, together with similar statements from other decretals, shows his deep knowledge of the collection and his use of it as a source of legal maxims that underlie his legal reasoning. Certainly, there are no traces of original or creative reworking of Pseudo-Isidorian sources, but there are some indications of its use to sustain positions contrary to the original thrust of the decretals when he applies them to specific cases. The previously mentioned case against William of Durham is the most striking example. Here could be the clue for understanding the similar results of the reform in England and on the Continent. How the texts were used is more important than what texts were selected. In this sense a study of the "a" marks in Ca offers precious information on how Lanfranc exploited an abridged Pseudo-Isidore so textually faithful to its original.

Finally, the study reinforces the importance of Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals in the Gregorian Reform of the late-eleventh century. The work of the Pseudo Isidore appears once again, thanks to the *Collectio Lanfranci*, as a repository of texts to be used in programs of reform as diverse as those of Anselm, Deusdedit, Ivo, and Lanfranc, the latter using Pseudo-Isidorian materials as a basis for reform in the Church in England.

These uses of Pseudo-Isidore on the eve of the legal renaissance of the twelfth century shed light on the efforts of bishops and others to govern the Church with justice and equity—that is, as good shepherds.

## Appendix A. I Pseudo-Anacletus in some canonical collections.

Pseudo-Isidore	Burchard	Lanfranc	Anselm of Lucca	Deusdedit	Tripartita A	Ivo's <i>Decretum</i>
Audimus fratres quod—placabilitatis coronabis eum [H.III–VIII, 67–70]		Audivimus fratres quod—aut testimonio suscipiendus 1.4.1 [H.III–IV, 67–68]	Accusandi vel testificandi—recte agendum suscipiendus <sup>a</sup> III.10 [H.III–IV, 68] Nihil autem illo—noverca eruditionis est negligentia. VI.140 [H.VIII, 69]	Transgressores sponte legis—aut testimonio suscipiendus <sup>b</sup> IV.303 [H.IV, 68]	Accusandi vel testificandi—aut testimonio suscipiendus 1.2.1 [H.III–IV, 68] Scimus autem multos—Dominus Deus tuus <sup>c</sup> 1.2.2 [H.VII–IX, 69–70]	<i>Beatus</i> praedecessor noster—ab omnibus venerari. <sup>d</sup> V.237 [H.III–IV, 68, VII–VIII, 69, IX, 70]
Deo enim perfecte—eius praebeant sacrificio [H.IX–X, 70]	<i>Sacerdotes</i> quando sacrificant—dominus deus tuus. III.71 [H.IX, 70]	Episcopus autem deo—Romana tenet ecclesia 1.4.2 [H.X–XI, 70]	<i>Sacerdotes</i> quando Domino sacrificant—quam alios sacerdotes VII.120 [H.IX–X, 70]			
Episcopus deo sacrificans—praecepta custodit maiorum H.X–XI, 70–71	Peracta autem consecratione—Romana tenet ecclesia <sup>e</sup> III.77 [H.XI, 70]	Episcopus autem deo—Romana tenet ecclesia 1.4.2 [H.X–XI, 70]	Episcopus deo sacrificans—ecclesiasticis carere liminibus VI.126 [H.X–XI, 70]	In sollemnioribus quippe—prono stent vultu II.34 [H.X, 70]	Episcopus Deo sacrificans—eius praebeant sacrificio 1.2.3 [H.X, 70] Peracta autem consecratione—Romana tenet ecclesia 1.2.4 [H.XI, 70]	
Doceri ergo omnes—quem dedit nobis H.XII, 71–72	Doceri ergo omnes—episcopum vel sacerdotem II.154 [H.XII, 71]					Doceri ergo omnes—episcopum vel sacerdotem <sup>f</sup> VI.245 [H.XII, 71]

Note. H denotes *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. Paul Hinschius (1863; repr. Aalen, 1963). Roman numerals denote the *capitulum* given in margin by Hinschius (A2 class manuscripts). The numbers placed below each text are the *numera posita* in the collection (for the *Collectio Lanfranci* see Linda Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis Canonum*. Data base; for the other collections, editions are noted by the editor surnames cited in the footnotes. Noted in brackets is the text's place in Hinschius's edition.

Appendix A. continued

Pseudo-Isidore	Burchard	Lanfranc	Anselm of Lucca	Deusdedit	Tripartita A	Ivo's <i>Decretum</i>
Nam qui rancida— abstulerit, sacrilegium facit. H.XIV, 73	Qui abstulit inquit —abstulerit, sacrilegium facit. <sup>9</sup> XI.18 [H.XIV.73]			Qui abstulerit patri— abstulerit, sacrilegium facit. III.29 [H.XIV.73]	Qui rapit pecuniam proximi— decreverunt manere temporibus 1.2.5 [H.XIV-XV, 73]	Qui abstulit inquit— abstulerit, sacrile- gium facit. <sup>h</sup> XIV.88 [H.XIV.73]
Privilegia enim ecclesiarum—omnia saecula saeculorum H.XV-XVII, 73-75		Leges ecclesiae apostolica—iudicio terminari voluit 1.4.3 [H.XV-XVI, 73-74]  Omnis enim oppre- sus—aedificabo ecclesiam meam 1.4.4 [H.XVI-XVII, 74]	Privilegia enim ec- clesiarum—peregrina iudicia submovemus. IV.1 [H.XV, 73] Unaquaeque provin- cia tam—sedis decrevit auctoritas III.80 [H.XV, 73] Si difficiliore ortae— aedificabo ecclesiam meam II.4 [H.XVII, 74]	Privilegia ecclesia- rum et—auctoritate peregrinas submovemus. III.20 [H.XV, 73] Unaquaeque provin- cia XII—aedificabo ecclesiam meam I.59 [H.XV-XVII, 73-74] Omnis enim oppressus—voluerit appellet iudicium IV.304 [H.XVI, 74]	Leges ecclesiae apostolica— numquid ut iudices 1.2.6 [H.XV, 73] Unaquaeque enim provincia— apostolicae huius sedis 1.2.7 [H.XV, 73] Omnis enim oppre- sus—appellata fuerit referantur 1.2.8 [H.XVI-XVII, 74]	

<sup>a</sup>Abridged. See Thaner, 123.

<sup>b</sup>Add. Accusationes sacerdotum non nisi ab idoneis et probatissimis viris, qui et suspicionibus et sceleribus careant, fieri debent [ex Cod. Th.] See von Glanvell, 559.

<sup>c</sup>Scimus autem multos—gregibus ovium potest. Deo enim perfecte. Dominus Deus tuus. See Brett and Brasington.

<sup>d</sup>Taken from *TrA* 1.2.1-2.

<sup>e</sup>Add. et si hoc neglexerint, degradantur. See Fransen, 64vb.

<sup>f</sup>Taken from *BD*.II.154.

<sup>g</sup>Reworked. Add. *in finem*: et ut sacrilegus iudicandus. See Fransen, 148rb.

<sup>h</sup>Taken from *BD*.XI.18.



Appendix B. II Pseudo-Anacleus in some canonical collections.

Pseudo-Isidore	Burchard	Lanfranc	Anselm of Lucca	Deusedit	Tripartita A	Ivo's Decretum
Quoniam apostolicae sedis—et diaconi ordinantur [H.XVIII, 75–76]	Ordinationes episcoporum auctoritate—voto ordinatio celebratur I.15 [H.XVIII, 75]	Ordinationes episcoporum auctoritate—probatione sufficere potest 1.5.1 [H.XVIII, 75–76 nt 1]	Ordinationes episcoporum auctoritate—probatione sufficere potest VI.45 [H.XVIII, 75–76 nt 1]	Minus quam a—probatione sufficere potest <sup>e</sup> II.36 [H.XVIII, 75–76 nt 1]	Ordinationes episcoporum auctoritate—animus non desistant 1.2.9 [H.XVIII, 75] Porro et Ierosolimitarum—ieiunantes ordinationes celebrant 1.2.10 [H.XVIII, 75–76]	Ordinationes episcoporum auctoritate—voto ordinatio celebratur <sup>p</sup> V.69 [H.XVIII, 75]
Accusatio quoque eorum—subditos et reliqua HX.XIX–XXI, 76–78	Accusatio quoque eorum—cuius legatione funguntur. <sup>c</sup> 1.5.2 [H.XIX–XXI, 76–77]	Accusatio quoque episcoporum—autem deos discernit III.32 [H.XIX, 76] Si quis adversus—cuius legatione funguntur. III.36 [H.XX–XXI, 77]	Accusatio quoque eorum—pupillam oculi mei <sup>d</sup> 1.2.11 [H.XIX, 76] Si detractores quorumque—ne inmerito dicuntur <sup>e</sup> 1.2.12 [H.XIX–XX, 77] Sed si quis—spiritualibus populis concessisset <sup>f</sup> 1.2.13 [H.XX–XXI, 77–78]	Accusatio quoque eorum—spiritualibus populis concessisset <sup>h</sup> V.238 [H.XIX–XXI, 76–78]		

Note. H denotes *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. Paul Hinschius (1863; repr. Aalen, 1963). Roman numerals denote the *capitulatio* given in margin by Hinschius (A2 class manuscripts). The numbers placed below each text are the *numerica positio* in the collection (for the *Collectio Lanfranci* see Linda Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis Canonum. Data base*; for the other collections, editions are noted by the editor surnames cited in the footnotes. Noted in brackets is the text's place in Hinschius's edition.

Appendix B. continued

Pseudo-Isidore	Burchard	Lanfranc	Anselm of Lucca	Deusdedit	Tripartita A	Ivo's <i>Decretum</i>
Si enim sine— auctoritate ista fecerunt H.XXII, 78	Porro et Moysi— auctoritate ista fecerunt II.5 [H.XXII, 78]		Porro et Moysi— sapientiam presbyte- ri nominantur VII.84 [H.XXII, 78]	Porro et Moysi— sapientiam presbyte- ri nominantur II.35 [H.XXII, 78]		Porro et Moysi— auctoritate ista fecerunt VI.25 [H.XXII, 78]
In novo autem— dixisse supra sufficiat H.XXIV, 79	In novo autem— suae praedicationis adduxit I.1 [H.XXIV, 79]		In novo testamento —suae praedicationis adduxit I.1 [H.XXIV, 79]	In novo testamento —accepit a domino I.60 [H.XXIV, 79]	In novo autem— dispersi evangelium predicaverunt 1.2.14 [H.XXIV, 79] Ipsi quoque decedentibus— divisio est renovata <sup>h</sup> 1.2.15 [H.XXIV, 79; H.XXVI, 79]	In novo autem— supra dixisse sufficiat <sup>i</sup> V.1 [H.XXIV, 79] Electi ab <i>Apostolis</i> —supra dixisse sufficiat <sup>i</sup> VI.44 [H.XXIV, 79]
Provinciae autem multo—fidem tenentes consolidare H.XXVI, 79–80		Provinciae autem multo—sequuntur deteriores fiant 1.5.4 [H.XXVI, 79–80]	Licet singulae metropoles— pastores ignoreave- runt intellegentiam <sup>k</sup> VI.104 [H.XXVI, 78–80]		Provinciae autem multo—divisio est renovata 1.2.15 <i>in finem</i> [H.XXVI, 79] Et in capite— et non alii 1.2.16 [H.XXVI, 79] Relique vero metropo- litane—auctoritate iustissime terminantur 1.2.17 [H.XXVI, 79–80] Sane percussor ille— fidem tenentes consolidare 1.2.18 [H.XXVI, 80]	Provinciae autem multo—auctoritate iustissime terminantur <sup>j</sup> V.53 [H.XXVI, 79–80]

## Notes to Appendix B

<sup>a</sup>Minus quam a—nullatenus episcopus ordiuntur. *Quod ideo constituentes domino fieri iubetur, ne aliquid contra fidem ecclesiae unius tyrannica auctoritas moliretur et regula vel fides confunderetur credentium.* Reliqui vero sacerdotes—probatione sufficere potest.

<sup>b</sup>Taken from BD.1.15.

<sup>c</sup>Accusatio quoque eorum—autem deos discernit. Haec et alia—cuius legatione funguntur.

<sup>d</sup>Abridged: Accusatio quoque eorum—de templo sacerdotes. Nullus enim ut—quaerit super eum. Unde et Dominus—pupillam oculi mei. See Brett and Brasington.

<sup>e</sup>Abridged: Si detractores quorumque—vindicibus flammis exuruntur. Haec et alia—ne inmerito dicuntur. See Brett and Brasington.

<sup>f</sup>Abridged: Sed si quis—cuius legatione funguntur. ITEM. Electionem quoque, ut—spiritibus populis concessisset. See Brett and Brasington.

<sup>g</sup>Taken from TrA. 1.2.11–13.

<sup>h</sup>Ipsis quoque decedentibus—supra dixisse sufficiat. ITEM. Provinciae autem multo—divisio est renovata. See Brett and Brasington.

<sup>i</sup>Taken from TrA. 1.2.14–15 [Om last part].

<sup>j</sup>Taken partially from TrA. 1.2.15.

<sup>k</sup>Misattributed to Pope Pelagius. See Thaner, 320.

<sup>l</sup>Taken from TrA. 1.2.15–17.

## Appendix C. III Pseudo-Anacletus in some canonical collections.

Pseudo-Isidore	Burchard	Lafranc	Anselm of Lucca	Deusdedit	Tripartita A	Ivo's <i>Decretum</i>
Benedictus deus et —nec apostoli docuerunt [H.XVIII, 81–82]	Sacerdotum, fra- tres, ordo—nec apostoli docuerunt. I.4 [H.XVIII, 82]	De primatibus carissimi—nec apostoli docuerunt 1.6.0–2 [H.XVIII, 82]	Presbyter ad qualemcumque— vitae suae perdurandus VII.89		Episcopi apostolo- rum presbiteri— ecclesiae est praeficiendus 1.2.19 [H.XXVIII, 82]	Sacerdotum, fratres, ordo—nec apostoli docuerunt V.58 [H.XVIII, 82] Episcopi apostolo- rum presbiteri— constitute est praeficiendus V.98 [H.XVIII, 82]
Et apostolorum vero ordo—primates praedicatores acceperunt [H.XXIX, 82–83]		Episcoporum vero ordo—primates praedicatores acceperunt. 1.6.3/1 [H.XXIX, 82–83]	Illi autem, qui— primates praedico- res acceperunt. VI.102 [H.XXIX, 82– 83]	Illi autem, qui— primates praedico- res acceperunt. I.62 [H.XXIX, 82–83]		
Hae vero sacrosancta — domino disponente reguntur. [H.XXX–XXXIV, 83–84]		Hae vero sancta —domino dispo- nente reguntur. 1.6.3/2–4 [H.XXX– XXXIV, 83–84]	Sacrosancta Roma- na et—domino dis- ponente reguntur I.2 [H.XXX, 83; XXXIV, 84] Si quae causa— dictis testimoniis declaratur II.5 [H.XXXIV, 84] Hae vero sacro- sancta—domino disponente reguntur I.66 [H.XXX–XXXIV, 83–84]	Hae vero sacro- sancta—domino disponente reguntur I.61 [H.XXX–XXXIV, 83–84]	Prima sedes est— suo martyrio conse- crantur 1.2.20 [H.XXX, 83] Secunda autem sedes—venerabilis successit Abilius 1.2.21 [H.XXXI, 83] Tertia vero sedes— gentis exortum est 1.2.22 [H.XXXII, 83]	Prima sedes est— gentis exortum est V.2 [H.XXX–XXXII, 83]



## Appendix C. continued

Pseudo-Isidore	Burchard	Lanfranc	Anselm of Lucca	Deusdedit	Tripartita A	Ivo's <i>Decretum</i>
Accusatores autem et—ab ecclesia separentur H.XXXV–XXXIX, 84–86	Accusatores autem et—et non suspectus I.152 [H.XXXV, 84] Necesse enim est —ecclesia extor- res fiunt. I.138 [H.XXXVI, 85] Doctor autem vel —ab ecclesia separentur I.136 [H.XXXIX, 85]	Accusatores autem et—dei predicatur extendit 1.6.5 [H.XXXV, 84]	Accusatores esse et —et non suspectus. III.14 [H.XXXV, 84] Deferiores sunt qui—corrumpunt qui sequuntur III.11 [H.XXXVI– XXXVII, 85] Pro meritis plebis— in eo sanitas VI.123 [H.XXXVII, 85] Sententia Cham filii —sed deridenda monstravit III.37 [H.XXXVIII, 85] Doctor vel pastor— autem deos discernit VI.122 [H.XXXIX, 85]	Deferiores sunt qui —ecclesia extorres fiunt IV.305 [H.XXXVI, 85]	Accusatores et testes —se ulisci velint 1.2.22A [H.XXXV, 84] Inoffensus igitur accusatorum—autem deos diiudicat 1.2.23 [H.XXXV, 84; XXXVI, 85; XXXVIII– XXXIX, 85] Tam sacerdotes quam—ab ecclesia separentur 1.2.24 [XXXIX, 85]	Accusatores et testes—ab ecclesia separentur V.239 [H.XXXV– XXXIX, 84–85] Necesse est enim, —ecclesia extorres fiunt V.252 [H.XXXVI, 85] Doctor autem vel— ab ecclesia separentur V.250 [H.XXXIX, 85]

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## Notes to Appendix C

<sup>a</sup>Abridged: Sacerdotum fratres ordo—singulos titulos suos. Amplius quam isti—nec apostoli docuerunt. See Fransen, 11b–va.

<sup>b</sup>De primatibus carissimi—vel necessitate eorum? i. Sacerdotum fratres ordo—discipulorum locum tenent. ii. Episcopi autem non—nec apostoli docuerunt.

<sup>c</sup>Taken from BD.I.4.

<sup>d</sup>Taken from TrA.1.2.19.

<sup>e</sup>Sacrosanta Romana et—Petrus et reliqua. Item. Haec apostolica sedes—domino disponente reguntur. See Thaner, 7–8.

<sup>f</sup>Abridged. See Thaner, 34–35.

<sup>g</sup>Abridged. See von Glanvell, 63–64.

<sup>h</sup>Taken from TrA.1.2.20–22.

<sup>i</sup>Reworked. See Fransen, 211b

<sup>j</sup>Misattributed to Eusebius cap. 20. See Fransen, 19va.

<sup>k</sup>Abridged. See von Glanvell, 559.

<sup>l</sup>Abridged: Inoffensus igitur accusatorum—et non suspectus. *Et paulo inferius*. Deteriores quippe sunt—aliorum praediaque diripiunt. Sententia quippe Cham—autem deos diiudicat. See Brett and Brasington.

## Appendix D. Pseudo-Eusebius in some canonical collections.

Pseudo-Isidore	Burchard	Lanfranc	Anselm of Lucca	Deusdedit	Tripartita A	Ivo's <i>Decretum</i>
Errorum vestrum corrigite – fit et altior H.VIII–IX, 234–35			Errorum vestrum corrigite – quam terrena sectatur III.34/1 [H.VIII–IX, 234–35]			
Nam inimicum nimis – ex suspitione reprehendere H.X, 235–37			De occultis enim – ex suspitione reprehendere III.34/2 [H.X, 237]	De occultis cordis – ex suspitione repraeahendere. IV.38 [H.X, 237]		
Oves ergo quae – in dies aeternitatis H.XI–XIV, 237–38	Oves vero quae – recte repraeahendenda videantur <sup>a</sup> I.139 [H.XI, 237] Est etiam in – de fraudavi, reddo quadruplum XI.25 [H.XIII, 238] Et in legibus – et canonice poeniteat. <sup>b</sup> XI.27 [H.XIV, 238]	Oves quae pastori – absque sua damnatione 1.38 [H.XI–XIII, 237–38]	Oves ergo quae – recte repraeahendenda videantur. III.34/3 [H.XI, 237] Redintegranda sunt omnia – possit iam nudatus <sup>c</sup> III.50 [H.XII, 237–38; H.XI, 237]. In legibus saeculi – et canonice poeniteat <sup>d</sup> V.37 [H.XIV, 238]	<i>Episcopis oppressis prius oportet – multiplicatione omnia restituat<sup>e</sup> IV.328 [H.XI–XIII, 237–38]</i>	In scripturis vestris – et canonice poeniteat <sup>f</sup> 1.30.2 [H.XI–XIV, 237–38]	Oves vero quae – recte repraeahendenda videantur <sup>g</sup> V.253 [H.XI, 237] In scripturis vestris – multiplicatione omnia restituat <sup>h</sup> V.249 [H.XI–XIV, 237–38] Et in legibus – et canonice poeniteat. <sup>i</sup> XIII.37 H.XIV, 238]

Note. H denotes *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. Paul Hinschius (1863; repr. Aalen, 1963). Roman numerals denote the *capitulatio* given in margin by Hinschius (A2 class manuscripts). The numbers placed below each text are the *numera posita* in the collection (for the *Collectio Lanfranci* see Linda Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis Canonum. Data base*; for the other collections, editions are noted by the editor surnames cited in the footnotes. Noted in brackets is the text's place in Hinschius's edition.

## Notes to Appendix D

<sup>a</sup>Misattributed to Gaius. See Fransen, 19va.

<sup>b</sup>Ends with: Proinde si quis ecclesiasticas oblationes et quod Deo consecratum fuerit, rapuerit, vel consenserit facientibus ut sacrilegus diuidetur, et dampnum in quadruplum restituat et canonice poeniteat. *Om.* in Hinschius's and Schon's editions but present in that of Merlin (namely PL.130, 232–34). See Fransen, 149ra. Most probably, this sentence appeared first in Burchard and then in more recent Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts.

<sup>c</sup>Reworked: Redintegrande sunt omnia – synodum vocationem eorum. Prius ergo oportet—possit iam nudatus. See Thaner, p. 141.

<sup>d</sup>Abridged: In legibus saeculi – exerceantur absque dampnatione. Proinde si quis—et canonice poeniteat. See Thaner, pp. 245–46. See also n36.

<sup>e</sup>*Episcopis oppressis* prius oportet omnia—ad synodum vocarentur [H.XI abridged]. Qui aliena invadit—multiplicatione omnia restituat [H. XIII abridged]

<sup>f</sup>Abridged: In scripturis vestirs—primas possessori restituat. */dem.* Et in legibus—et canonice poeniteat. See Brett and Brasington. See also n36.

<sup>g</sup>Taken from BD.I.139.

<sup>h</sup>Taken from Tr.A. 1.30.2. *Om.* Proinde si quis—et canonice poeniteat.



# THE CATHOLIC SALEM: HOW THE DEVIL DESTROYED A SAINT'S PARISH (MATTAINCOURT, 1627-31)

BY

WILLIAM MONTER\*

*A virulent witch panic driven by many diabolically possessed parishioners of Mattaincourt in Lorraine caused about fifty deaths for witchcraft between 1627 and 1631. Sixty years before Salem, this episode constitutes the largest such tragedy yet found in Catholic Europe, where episodes of collective demonic possession were usually confined within female convents. Mattaincourt's parish curé, St. Pierre Fourier, was then supervising the approval for two reformed religious orders at Rome and was unable to control events in Mattaincourt; a wealthy benefactor was among those burned. Fourier resigned his benefice when the outbreak subsided. This episode was apparently unknown to Catholic authorities during the modern procedures for Fourier's beatification and canonization.*

**Keywords:** demonic possession; Lorraine; St. Pierre Fourier; witchcraft executions

The all-too-well known story of witchcraft in Salem Village had a direct ancestor a generation earlier, one acknowledged as such by authorities in Massachusetts, in the Swedish witch-panic that erupted at Mora in 1668 and continued for six years. The relatively recent Swedish experience was important in Massachusetts. Both outbreaks were fueled by accusations from large numbers of demonically afflicted children and adolescents testifying about the diabolical activities of their elders.<sup>1</sup> But since both Massachusetts and Sweden were solidly

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<sup>1</sup>William Monter, "Scandinavian Witchcraft in Anglo-American Perspective," in *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen (Oxford, 1990), pp. 425-34.

Protestant states, is it reasonable to consider that such major outbreaks of witch-hunting fueled by collective diabolical possession were specifically Protestant phenomena in this heavily confessional era?

At first glance, the history of collective demonic possession in seventeenth-century Catholic Europe supports this interpretation, for two main reasons. First, this history seems very different in the Catholic parts of western Europe and those in central Europe. Second, even in those parts of Catholic Europe where episodes of collective demonic possession coincide chronologically with statistical peaks of witch-hunting, there seem to be no direct links between these phenomena because of rigid social segregation between demonically afflicted groups of nuns and village peasants.

Such episodes seem most frequent during the first half of the seventeenth century and were certainly most highly publicized in various cloistered female religious communities scattered throughout western Europe, from modern Belgium to Spain and Italy. Both then and now, those in baroque France were the most famous. Some useful information about the last such French case can be found in Fumiaki Nakanishi's recent thesis on Louviers, but the trial and death of Urbain Grandier at Loudun in the early 1630s remains the best-known paradigmatic example.<sup>2</sup> However, Catholicism in Germanophone central Europe seems not to have shared in this phenomenon. Erik Midelfort has pointed out that the spread and prevalence of recorded instances of demonic possession in Germany from 1490 to 1650 is centered in northern Lutheran regions and involved men about as often as women. As Midelfort remarks, this "is not a picture that is congruent with the history of witch-hunting, the most severe outbreaks of which occurred . . . especially in Catholic ecclesiastical territories." Moreover, he notes that "only a tiny number [of episodes of demonic possession] were published concerning outbreaks in the great lands of the Counter-Reformation, Bavaria and Austria."<sup>3</sup>

Even in Catholic parts of western Europe such well-publicized episodes of collective demonic possession in convents had no direct

<sup>2</sup>Fumiaki Nakanishi, *L'affaire de Louviers: Sorcières et possédées au milieu du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Lille, 2007); on Grandier, see the useful introduction and bibliography by Robert Rapley, "Loudun Nuns," in *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*, ed. Richard Golden, 4 vols. (Santa Barbara, CA, 2006), III:669–72.

<sup>3</sup>H. C. Erik Midelfort, *A History of Madness in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Stanford, 1999), pp. 59–66, here pp. 61–62.

connection to witch hunts. Although their chronology overlays with the statistical peak of witch trials in the villages of rural Europe, a radical disjunct separates the former from the latter. After Trent, cloistered nuns were completely segregated both literally and socially from peasant communities, and their spectacular urban episodes of collective demonic possession never triggered any local witch hunts. Most public exorcisms, especially those in Francophone Europe, targeted only one or two prominent male scapegoats, usually but not always clerical.

The combination of these reasons—the vast confessional differences between western and central Europe and the rigid claustration of communities of demonically possessed nuns—explains why no one has yet discovered a Catholic parallel to such later seventeenth-century Protestant communities as Mora or Salem Village—some place where collective demonic possession among ordinary Catholic children and adolescents drove a major seventeenth-century witch hunt. Nevertheless, well before these Protestant examples, exactly this type of regional witch panic, driven by demonically possessed youthful accusers and fanned by local exorcists uninterested in publishing their exploits, erupted between 1627 and 1631 in the heart of an almost solidly Catholic state straddling western and central Europe: the Duchy of Lorraine, predominantly Francophone but with a sizable Germanophone eastern region and a buffer state between the kingdom of France and the Holy Roman Empire.

Extremely capable experts, from Étienne Delcambre to Robin Briggs, have studied village-level witchcraft in Lorraine, including a high-profile demonic *possédée*, Elisabeth de Ranfaing, whose exploits formed the prelude to events in Mattaincourt.<sup>4</sup> They provide an excellent account of her public exorcisms, which began in Nancy, Lorraine's capital, in 1618 and soon targeted Cyprien Rouyer, the Franciscan Minim provincial of Champagne. The embattled friar fled to safety in France, which in this instance became the locus of clerical skepticism about the diabolically possessed: in 1621, Claude Pithois, his Franciscan defender (who later converted to Protestantism), published an attack on the validity of Ranfaing's exor-

<sup>4</sup>Robin Briggs, *The Witches of Lorraine* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 82–83, based on Étienne Delcambre and Jean Lhermitte, *Elisabeth de Ranfaing, l'énergumène de Nancy, fondatrice de l'ordre du Refuge, un cas énigmatique de possession diabolique en Lorraine au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Nancy, 1956). See also the brief discussion in Robert Mandrou, *Magistrats et sorciers en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1968), pp. 246–51.

cisms, provoking a far longer defense from a physician that was printed in Lorraine's capital in 1622. Ranfaing's exorcisms, directed mostly by Jesuits, continued until 1625 and led to the execution of two locally prominent men as witches. After they ended, she made an extensive pilgrimage before founding a new female religious order in 1631, originally for herself and her three daughters. In Lorraine, high-profile demonic possession may not have begun in a female convent, but it ended in the creation of a new order of nuns.

Lorraine was divided both linguistically and politically between France and Germany, and Ranfaing's notorious case had repercussions in both directions. In Germanophone Lorraine, largely neglected by both Delcambre and Briggs, a copycat demonic possession erupted shortly after Ranfaing's public exorcisms began. In the sizable district of Sierck along the Moselle that formed the northwestern corner of Lorraine's *Bailliage d'Allemagne*, a demonically possessed servant girl was exorcised in December 1618 and began "vomiting all sorts of unnatural objects" while accusing six people of bewitching her. This sizable district had recorded only one witchcraft execution in twenty-four scattered years between 1580 and 1618 while confiscating assets from ten other witches who had been executed nearby.<sup>5</sup> In winter 1619–20, local officials at Sierck began arresting suspects. By May 1620, ten people had been burned; four of them were men, including a village *maire*, whereas one woman withstood torture and was released. Sierck's *possédée* also accused her husband, who retracted his confession before dying in prison, thus permitting his children to inherit his property. It was the only known outbreak in Germanophone Lorraine that originated with exorcisms of a diabolically possessed woman, and it was probably the largest witch hunt of this type recorded anywhere in Lorraine until 1627.<sup>6</sup>

Two years after Ranfaing's public exorcisms finally ended, a much larger and deadlier outbreak began in 1627 near the center of

<sup>5</sup>Archives Départementales Meurthe-et-Moselle, Nancy [hereafter ADMM], B9417-9444 *passim*; (the one execution from 1594, in B9428, fols. 133v–35, 137). On December 6, 1618, a servant woman in a nearby village, "laquelle on disoit estre ensorcellé, rendante par le vomissement toutes sortes de choses non naturelles" provoked the first arrest. See ADMM, B 9445, fol. 145.

<sup>6</sup>ADMM, B9445, fols. 144v–52, 155–62v. Afterward, the next two fiscal reports surviving from Sierck, covering 1622 and 1627, mention fresh executions for witchcraft, whereas problems collecting assets from witches who were executed in 1620 reappear in every subsequent report through 1633.





FIGURE 1. Illustration of St. Pierre Fourier from Alfred de Besancenet, *Le Bienheureux Pierre Fourier et la Lorraine, Étude Historique—XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1864), frontispiece.

Francophone Lorraine. Not only did the large village of Mattaincourt contain no known Protestants; its *curé* was the future saint Pierre Fourier (see figure 1). His parish, Mattaincourt, provides a Catholic prototype and direct ancestor for the Puritans of Salem Village. This collective panic lasted longer and claimed many more lives than the subsequent Puritan version, and it finally drove its baffled, saintly *curé* to resign his post in 1632. Remarkably, the episode seems to have failed to attract the attention of the Vatican committees investigating Fourier's beatification and, much later, his canonization. The dimensions and dynamics of Mattaincourt's witch panic have remained largely invisible to historians, even in Lorraine, and its current residents remain unaware that their village holds an important but unenviable place in the history of European witchcraft.

If the witch panic that began in Mattaincourt in 1627 was briefer and much less extensive geographically than the outbreak of 1668–74 in northern Sweden, it lasted far longer and cost many more lives than the one that began in Salem Village. In Puritan Massachusetts, accusations by demonically possessed residents, often children, that local

witches were causing their afflictions eventually led to about sixty arrests and twenty deaths. In the panic that began at Mattaincourt two generations earlier and similarly fanned out into neighboring districts, about as many suspected witches were arrested as in Massachusetts but more than twice as many died. The Mattaincourt panic was no isolated incident like the Salem witch trials, but it was the single most extensive and deadliest witch hunt in a duchy that experienced a great many smaller ones.<sup>7</sup> As in Lutheran Sweden forty years later, Mattaincourt's panic proved extremely difficult to bring to an end. After four years, Mattaincourt's authorities tried quarantining eight juvenile witches in a "safe house," but this solution soon broke down. Only the even greater horrors of the Thirty Years' War finally extinguished its flames.

The Mattaincourt debacle was not the future saint's first brush with a witchcraft execution emanating from accusations made at exorcisms, but it was by far the most important. Before then, Fourier had attended some of Ranfaing's exorcisms in 1622 without recording either approval or disapproval, and his recorded association with Lorraine's most blatantly political witch-burning—the secret arrest, torture, and execution of André Desbordes, a prominent adviser of Lorraine's recently deceased duke Henri II, in winter 1624–25—was minimal. Nevertheless, the episode reflects unfavorably on him, and it apparently remained unknown to Roman investigators. A careful, locally published study of 1857 that was based on Lorraine's treasury records reveals that *le père Mattaincourt* (already a close adviser to the new duke) was among the clerics accompanying Desbordes at his execution and also participated in the banquet afterward. Thirty months later, the circumstances—and Fourier's role in them—were very different.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Lorraine, the home of the well-known demonologist Nicolas Remy, recorded more than a thousand executions for witchcraft between 1570 and 1635; Briggs, *Witches of Lorraine*, pp. 29–58, provides a useful overview.

<sup>8</sup>William Monter, *A Bewitched Duchy: Lorraine and Its Dukes, 1477–1736* (Geneva, 2007), pp. 107–09. The execution of a witch was seen as a victory over a servant of Satan, an enemy of God, and perpetrator of serious harm (misfortunes, disease, even death) to one's neighbor. The punishment of a witch or heretic (seen as an enemy of the Faith) was often an occasion for celebration. In Spain where witches were punished relatively infrequently by the Inquisition, their execution at a public *auto de fe* at Logroño in 1610 was carried out with great pomp, attracting large crowds. To this day in England the execution of Guy Fawkes (1570–1606), an enemy of the Protestant regime, is commemorated with popular celebrations. See Keith V. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971), pp. 435–501; and Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven, 1997), pp. 204–13, 270–76, 280–82.

Why has the Mattaincourt panic remained unknown? How has it been possible to discover a previously unknown episode of such proportions and such potential interest to historians of witchcraft? The explanation is simple. From Delcambre to Briggs, the standard accounts of witchcraft prosecutions in Lorraine have relied primarily on fragmentary transcripts from witchcraft trials, and none of these survive from Mattaincourt and its surrounding districts for these years. Absent such material, the account that follows is based primarily on the annual financial reports from the district of Mirecourt, which included Mattaincourt; they shed considerable if indirect light on the main outlines of these events.<sup>9</sup> They have been supplemented by three other sources. First, the recent scholarly edition of Fourier's correspondence<sup>10</sup>; second, the parallel financial records from the district of Dompaire/Valfroicourt, immediately south of Mirecourt<sup>11</sup>; and finally by an isolated but fascinating document—the interrogation of an exorcist under torture, a truly exceptional type of historical record—preserved in ecclesiastical records at Epinal.<sup>12</sup> All four sources interlink satisfactorily to provide a coherent outline of events from late 1627 until Fourier's resignation after the release of Mattaincourt's child-witches from their group home.

A notable outbreak of demonic possession apparently struck Mattaincourt in late autumn 1627. The first information about it comes from Eric Cordier, the veteran *receveur* (ducal treasurer) for the district of Mirecourt. His official annual report for 1627 noted that the *procureur-général* or ducal attorney for the *bailliage* of Vosges (one of three major administrative subdivisions of the Duchy of Lorraine, whose capital was Mirecourt)

warned that many specters and phantoms were appearing at night in the village of Mattaincourt, who were attacking and offending those who

<sup>9</sup>Mirecourt's financial records from 1627–31 are in ADMM, B7138–7147.

<sup>10</sup>Volumes 2 and 3 of Hélène Derréal and Madeleine Cord'homme, eds., *Pierre Fourier: Sa Correspondance 1598–1640*, 5 vols. (Nancy, 1986–91) [hereafter *PF Corr*], cover 1625–33.

<sup>11</sup>See especially ADMM, B5570–72, covering 1629–30.

<sup>12</sup>Archives Départementales des Vosges [hereafter ADV], G710, no. 16 (April 26, 1631). First published in a bowdlerized edition, replete with misspellings, by Francis de Chanteau, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire du Chapitre de Saint-Dié: les sorciers à Saint-Dié et dans le val de Galilée* (Nancy, 1877), this key document was then translated into English by Rossell H. Robbins in *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York, 1959), pp. 229–32; it was briefly mentioned by Briggs, *Witches & Neighbors*, p. 208, who first noticed the exorcist's sexual misconduct.

encountered them, and that a large number of people from that village were possessed by the Evil Spirit, and still others were afflicted by extraordinary illnesses. Such things could only happen through the deeds of some people residing there, who were greatly suspected of the crime of witchcraft and magic.<sup>13</sup>

Cordier's report named four prime suspects, adding vaguely that others were probably involved. Because the village was in his jurisdiction, Cordier had taken the highly unusual step of bypassing the duke's official prosecutor and conducting much of the Mattaincourt investigation himself, during which these four had been arrested. When he submitted his annual report early in the following year, three cases had already been concluded, and one suspect remained in prison. These details are known because the vigilante *receveur* expected to be reimbursed for his zeal: he, his clerk, and the local constable had already spent a total of 156 francs taking testimony from forty-seven witnesses, many of whom had been confronted with the prisoners.

Cordier reported no offsetting receipts from any confiscated assets, although a widow had confessed and been burned as a witch after thirty-two days of imprisonment. Another woman withstood torture and had been released after forty days in prison. A third woman, Marie DuBois, the pregnant wife of a cloth-dyer, was truly a tragic case. She attempted to kill herself by leaping from the top of her prison, but broke her leg instead. The surgeon who set it also helped baptize the child that she then aborted. Two other women were summoned to help this prisoner during childbirth, but she died only twelve days after her arrest, long before the formalities of her trial could be completed. The other suspect was a man, rearrested in November after a previous trial in 1623; he had not yet been judged.

Meanwhile, the extensive correspondence of Fourier, Mattaincourt's well-known and respected parish priest, first mentions these incidents around Christmas 1627. A letter informed him that Charles IV, duke of Lorraine, had told a high-ranking cleric that he wanted to

<sup>13</sup>ADMM, B7138, pp. 184–85: "Le Sr. Procuruer-général des Vosges, adverty que plusieurs spectres et fantomes apparroissent nuictamment au village de Mathaincourt, qui attaquoient et offensaient ceulx qui leur tenoient de rencontre, et qu'un grand nombre de personnes dudit lieu estoient possedées du maling esprit, et autres affligés de maladies extraord.res. Cela ne pouvoit arriver que par le faict de quelques personnes y residentes grandement suspectes du crime de sortilege et magie. . ." (four names follow).



see Fourier “more often in Mattaincourt, or else put that benefice into the hands of some good and learned person who could find a way to relieve the sufferings of the fourteen or fifteen diabolically possessed people in that village.”<sup>14</sup> (This letter provides the first information about the number of Mattaincourt’s original *posédées*). His correspondence also reveals that Fourier had already arranged to send two Jesuits to Mattaincourt, presumably to conduct exorcisms, and that he was reluctant about personal engagement in such cases—an attitude that reflected his stance during Ranfaing’s public exorcisms a few years earlier. Answering this letter, “Father Mattaincourt” (as his name appears in the records) admitted that he had been unable or unwilling to follow these events closely enough to know “if what the Duke had been told at Mirecourt about the number of demonically-possessed people is true or not”; if they were true, he continued, “things have gotten a lot worse there over the past three months or so.”<sup>15</sup>

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Some background information on the area may be useful here. Mattaincourt, located only two miles south of Mirecourt, was a very large village that averaged almost ninety baptisms a year in the early 1620s (including children of both married women who were arrested in 1627).<sup>16</sup> It was a relatively bustling clothmaking center that contained five licensed taverns in the mid-1620s, almost as many as Mirecourt. Its famous *curé*, then sixty-two years old, had held this position since 1597. When the crisis of demonic possession erupted, he was rarely in residence there, his place usually taken by a vicar. At this time Fourier was not only a significant political adviser to the young duke Charles IV, who had ruled Lorraine for only a few years. When reports about Mattaincourt’s outbreak of demonically possessed parishioners reached Charles IV late in 1627, Fourier was totally preoccupied with steering two separate sets of reformed

<sup>14</sup>The canons of Lunéville informed Fourier on December 16 that “S.A. [His Highness, Duke Charles IV] desiroit quil [Fourier] fut plus souvent à Matincourt, ou rémit le benefice entre les mains de quelque bon et docte personnage qui donnât ordre pour soulager quatorze ou quinze personnes possédées en ce village.” *PF Corr.*, II:473–74.

<sup>15</sup>On December 24, Fourier replied to the Lunéville canons that he had been unable to “scavoir si ce que l’on a fait entendre à Son Altesse à Mirecour touchant le nombre des possédées est veritable ou non.” *PF Corr.*, II:487–88.

<sup>16</sup>See ADV, E Dpt 297/GG 1 (Mattaincourt baptisms, starting 1619, only a few done by Fourier in person)—a daughter of Marie DuBois baptized in December 1619 and a son of Jeannon Gourdet baptized February 1621.

monastic rules, one for a male community and the other for a female community, through the labyrinth of Pope Urban VIII's Rome. He finally managed to accomplish this feat in 1628.<sup>17</sup>

The history of local witch-hunting during Fourier's long tenure as *curé* of Mattaincourt also is notable. Witches had been burned at Mirecourt, the district capital and Fourier's birthplace, since at least 1540.<sup>18</sup> In 1598, one year after Fourier first took charge of Mattaincourt, a woman from Hymont (a suburb south of Mattaincourt, annexed to its parish) was burned for witchcraft; significantly, her trial was initiated by Mirecourt's *receveur*, a much younger Eric Cordier.<sup>19</sup> Amazingly, however, during Fourier's tenure at Mattaincourt no witches were reported to have been burned anywhere in the Mirecourt district for more than twenty years after 1600, although Cordier's complete annual financial reports survive for every year and provide evidence about at least fourteen witch trials against four men and ten women. These suspects were tortured, but none of them confessed—a unique record among the more than twenty districts that composed Lorraine's Francophone *bailliages* of Nancy and Vosges. Several of Mirecourt's accused witches—a man and a woman in 1605, a man and two women in 1608—were Fourier's parishioners, which is not surprising given Mattaincourt's size.<sup>20</sup>

The Mirecourt district recorded five witch trials in 1623 and three more in 1624; one prisoner, Marguerite Poirson, was executed for witchcraft at Mirecourt in 1624. Cordier sent most of their relevant trial records to ducal auditors at Nancy as justification for his expenses.<sup>21</sup> These trials, especially the 1624 cases, form a prelude to

<sup>17</sup>The best of Fourier's many biographies is by the subsequent editor of his correspondence, Hélène Derréal: *Un missionnaire de la Contre-Réforme: saint Pierre Fourier et l'institution de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame* (Paris, 1965).

<sup>18</sup>ADMM, B7009, fols. 37, 41. There were other witch trials at Mirecourt in 1550 and 1551: B7014, fols. 29v, 32v; B7015, fols. 29, 33v.

<sup>19</sup>Cordier noted that he had personally arrested Marie L'Huillier; see ADMM, B7063, fols. 82–82v.

<sup>20</sup>ADMM, B7069–7136 provide an unbroken series of annual financial reports for Mirecourt from 1600 through 1626. The Mattaincourt witches can be found in B7084, fol. 150v (a widow and her son, "so heavily charged that they were put to the torture a second time," both banished but without confiscation of their property because they had not confessed) and in B7092, fols. 88v, 134 (two married women and one of their husbands).

<sup>21</sup>ADMM, B7130, fols. 115–16 (two widows, the sister of one of them, and Jean Geoffroy). The lone person executed, Marguerite Poirson, died in 1624 (B7133, fol. 116;

the fatal wave of demonic possession that struck Mattaincourt in 1627, during which Cordier stopped sending trial records to justify his expenses. More ominously, they coincide with the final phase of Ranfaing's notorious exorcisms at Nancy and record copycat signs of using exorcisms to settle private grievances by eliciting names of people who had caused such spectacular symptoms of demonic possession. In particular, the 1624 trial of Annon Bougignotte in the district of Mirecourt reveals the manipulations of a village *curé* at Vomécourt (about six miles north of Mattaincourt along the Madon river), whom she blamed for her arrest. He had orchestrated the symptoms of "some other women of Vomécourt, to whom [Annon] was suspected of giving the spells that afflicted them"; these women, a witness reported, "threw themselves about so violently that several people could not hold them down."<sup>22</sup> This *curé*, Dominic Gordet, was present at both the beginning and the end of Mattaincourt's tragedy, but in very different roles; seven years later, he would undergo torture as a suspected witch.

Because of these arrests, Cordier and other officials at Mirecourt knew exactly where to look for the "usual suspects" when a serious outbreak of demonic possession struck Mattaincourt while its famous *curé* was preoccupied with affairs in Rome. Three of the four people they arrested first, including the only one who confessed and was burned, had been arrested previously in 1623 or 1624.<sup>23</sup> The lone man among them, Jean Geoffroy alias Marlier, had been tried in 1623 not only for witchcraft but also for "several execrable blasphemies against God, his mother the Virgin Mary, and the saints." Although Geoffroy withstood torture and was released on the charges of witchcraft, he was convicted of blasphemy, fined the hefty sum of fifty francs, and obliged to perform a solemn public apology at Mirecourt.<sup>24</sup> He seems the closest approximation to the proverbial "village atheist" living in Fourier's model parish, someone whose anticlerical and irreligious

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Cordier sent an account of her trial, now preserved among his *acquits* or receipts in B7134). It also is worth noting that in 1623 eleven of Fourier's parishioners, including two of Mattaincourt's five tavern keepers, were convicted of "clipping" coins and suffered partial confiscations.

<sup>22</sup>Briggs, *Witches of Lorraine*, p. 187.

<sup>23</sup>Only one defendant who had been tortured for witchcraft and released in 1624, Jacquet Petit Jacquot of Hymont (B7133, fol. 115), does not reappear among the victims a few years later.

<sup>24</sup>ADMM, B7130, fol. 115.

attitudes had been sharpened by decades of intensive indoctrination from a master of Tridentine persuasion. When Cordier sent his official report from 1627, Geoffroy's second trial had not yet been concluded; however, after three months in prison and unknown amounts of testimony and torture, he was convicted and burned for witchcraft in February 1628.

Mattaincourt's epidemic of demonic possession continued unabated after Marlier's death. In midsummer 1628, the settling of old local scores accelerated into a full-blown witch panic after another man, Jean Vosgien, was arrested. Duke Charles, clearly worried about what he saw as Fourier's failure to quell this scandal, deputed two judges from the appellate court at St. Mihiel to hear the case. Vosgien was released thirty-eight days later after withstanding torture,<sup>25</sup> but the collective outburst of demonic possession gained momentum while he sat in prison. As Fourier told a correspondent on August 18:

in the parish of Mattaincourt are four or five or six possessed girls and women, and perhaps fifty or sixty children and adults who are bewitched and tormented in various ways, or so it is reported. For the past month, a Franciscan monk, vicar of his convent at Toul, has been conducting exorcisms there, but without any positive results. I expect to go visit this poor parish (where I have not been for a year) on September 15, taking along a few additional clergy in order to hear the parishioners' confessions.<sup>26</sup>

Fourier found two Jesuits to accompany him, "in order to console the poor afflicted people of Mattaincourt."

However, judging by Fourier's report after reaching Mattaincourt, the devil more than held his own against both the future saint and his Jesuit colleagues. Writing to Father Nicolas Guinet, his Jesuit agent in Rome, he reported on September 22:

<sup>25</sup>ADMM, B7140, fols. 115v, 184v.

<sup>26</sup>Fourier's correspondence first mentions "les pauvres possédés et les autres maléficez de la paroisse de Mataincourt" on December 16, 1627; see *PF Corr.*, III:95. He first discusses the situation in a letter to Father Nicolas Guinet on August 25, 1628: "En la paroisse de Mataincourt sont quatre ou cinq ou six filles et femmes possédées, et bien cinquante ou soixante tant enfans que grandes personnes maleficiées et tourmentées de diverses sortes, à ce que l'on tient. Il y a depuis un mois un F Cordelier, vicaire du couvent de Toul, qui les exorcize, sans que néanmoins on y voie point d'exploit. Je pretends aller voir cette pauvre paroisse (ou je n'ay été depuis un an) huit jours avant le St-Eire [September 15] et y mener quelques hommes d'Eglise . . . pour ouir les confessions des paroissiens." *PF Corr.*, III:106.



in this parish of Mattaincourt, where I have been for eight days, there are at least eighty-five people either possessed by the Devil (*l'ennemi*) or tormented by various other kinds of bewitchments. Some of them grunt like pigs, others bark like dogs, and all of them are unable to function normally. Nearly all of them are young girls and a few women; I know of only one man and one or two boys. When they are all together in the church for Mass, they make such strange noises that it is impossible to hear any music, any sermon, any other voices than theirs, which terrify those in attendance. And when they are commanded by the Vicar of the Franciscans from Toul (who has been working with them for five or six weeks), those who can speak do nothing but shout, slander, curse, blaspheme, screaming that such-and-such a one (whom they name by their full names) has sent them there, and that she must be burned before they will leave the poor creature. The whole business is extremely pitiful.

Fourier asked his friend in Rome if he had ever seen such things and what methods might possibly work in such circumstances.<sup>27</sup> He repeated this request in another letter a week later, and in early November he was still in Mattaincourt, struggling to make his voice heard over the din of his diabolically possessed parishioners.

The most important result of Mattaincourt's stepped-up exorcisms in 1628 had been to exacerbate the situation and multiply the number of accused witches. This process in turn generated a far greater degree of direct intervention at the highest levels of ducal government in 1629, escalating a method for settling old grievances into a full-scale witch panic. The duchy of Lorraine had no proper appellate court; but Charles IV now dispatched four special commissioners from his appellate court for the duchy of Bar at St. Mihiel, led by an ambitious zealot named Charles Sarasin, to resolve Mattaincourt's crisis. Throughout 1629, as Fourier faded into the background, these com-

<sup>27</sup>Fourier's dramatic report was sent to both Guinet in Rome and a colleague at Lunéville on September 22, 1628: "En cette paroisse de Mataincourt (ou je suis dès le 14 de ce mois) sont 85 tant possédez de l'ennemi que tourmentés de diverses autres sortes de maléfices. Les uns grondent comme des pourceaux, autres abboyent commes des chiens, et tous tellement inquietez qu'ils ne peuvent travailler. . . . Ce sont presque toutes jeunes filles et quelques femmes. Je n'y connais qu'un homme et un garçon ou deux. Quand ils se retrouvent en l'église durant l'office, ils menoient le plus étrange bruit que l'on ne peut entendre ny chant, ny sermon, ny autre voix que les leurs qui épouvantaient les assistants. Et quand ils sont adjurez (par le P.Vicaire des Cordeliers de Toul qui a été cinq ou six semaines à l'entour d'eux), ceux qui parlent, crient constamment en hurlant, détestant, malgréant, blasphément, que ça fait une telle (qu'ils nomment par nom et surnom) qui les a envoyé là, et qu'il la faut brûler et ne sortiront de la créature que cela ne soit fait. C'est une extreme pitié." *PF Corr.*, III:127-28.

missioners conducted a reign of terror that relied on what would later become fractional testimony in Sweden (a child's testimony calibrated as a fraction of an adult's) and became "spectral evidence" at Salem Village. In 1630 Sarasin would be paid 10 francs per diem for 116 days spent "working on the preparation of criminal trials against several persons from Mattaincourt charged with the crime of witchcraft" (Sarasin also collected 216 francs for his travel expenses). His two principal associates billed the duke for 71 days at the same rate, and a lawyer from Nancy collected 690 francs for 115 days of work on these cases.<sup>28</sup>

Their harvest was abundant. Nine people from Mattaincourt or Hymont were burned as witches in 1629, two others died in prison, and only two suspects were released after managing to survive torture.<sup>29</sup> The 1629 executions continued to settle local scores; they included Jeanette Gourdot and Jean Vosgien, the only local suspects to survive torture in 1627 and 1628 (see appendix A). At the same time, like later panics at Mora and Salem, this disturbance now began radiating out from its base at Mattaincourt. In 1629, at least ten other people were arrested for witchcraft in other parts of the Mirecourt district. The five women who were burned included a midwife and a well-off widow of Mirecourt. The miller who accused the latter collected 50 francs, whereas her assets netted Cordier 792 francs.<sup>30</sup>

However, the most important person among Mattaincourt's 1629 victims was a man. From Nancy, Fourier reported to Guinet on July 8 that his servant, Julien, had brought news from Mattaincourt that "P" would be sentenced today, one day after the woman of Mirecourt. It was extremely upsetting news. Fourier continued:

It seems to me that it is our duty to do everything possible (without making too much noise on behalf of this poor man), both from respect of his generosity in the past and from consideration for our Brother Aubry [P's grandson]. If the opinion of the chief magistrate in Lunéville is correct, almost nothing has been proved against him.

<sup>28</sup>"Charles Sarasin, avocat à St. Mihiel, pour ses peines et vacations de 116 jours employés a la confection des proces criminels de plusrs. Personnes de Mathaincourt prevenus du crime de sortilege," received 1160 francs, plus another 180 francs for 18 additional days. ADMM, B7143, fols. 198-99v.

<sup>29</sup>ADMM, B7142 (*acquits* for 1629); see esp. fols. 28v-32v of the synopsis.

<sup>30</sup>ADMM, B7143, fols. 123-23v, 200v.

In the end, however, all he could do was order that Aubry be warned and ask for special prayers that this prisoner be saved.<sup>31</sup> Fourier's "P" was Didier Parpignant, a former magistrate at Mattaincourt and an extremely wealthy man. The first fiscal harvest from his extensive confiscated property netted Cordier 2130 francs in 1629—more than enough to pay the expenses of the special commissioners and their staff. However, Parpignant's children had brought a lawsuit over the bulk of his estate, which was spread over at least three districts, before the highest civil court in Lorraine. The stakes were indeed very high; Parpignant was so wealthy that confiscating his entire estate would eventually enable the duke's officials to make a sizable profit from the whole witch-hunting operation.

Parpignant also owned large amounts of property south of Mattaincourt in the neighboring district of Dompaire/Valfroicourt—it cost Dompaire's officials 63 francs just to compile an inventory of them. This information provides the most direct link about how Mattaincourt's panic spilled over into a contiguous jurisdiction.<sup>32</sup> Like Mirecourt, this district had an unusually low number of recorded witch trials in the recent past; only five such arrests had been recorded here during the previous twenty years. But the ripple effect was extremely strong here. During the eight months after Parpignant's arrest and execution, the overall numbers of arrests and executions from this district were only slightly smaller than those from Mirecourt. Between early July 1629 and March 1630, four men and eleven women were hanged, and their corpses burned, for witchcraft at Valfroicourt and Dompaire. Among those who managed to withstand torture without confessing, two men and two women were banished; only one man and one woman were released.<sup>33</sup>

Meanwhile, in Mirecourt, more suspects were arrested that winter, and the special commissioners continued their bloody task in 1630. Cordier collected another 3050 francs by selling part of Parpignant's

<sup>31</sup>From Nancy, Fourier reported to Guinet on July 8, 1629, that "son homme" Julien reported from Mattaincourt, "que P. sera jugé aujourd'huy." Fourier noted that "Il me semble que c'est notre devoir de faire tout ce qui nous sera possible (sans bruit néanmoins pour ce pauvre homme) tant pour les respect de ses bienfaits passés, que pour considération de notre frère Aubry [a grandson of Didier Parpignant] et qu'aussy, si véritable est l'opinion de M. la Maître Echevin de Lunéville, a peine y ait rien suffisamment prouvé contre luy." *PF Corr.*, III:184–85.

<sup>32</sup>ADMM, B5570, fol. 41.

<sup>33</sup>ADMM, B5570, fols. 8–10, 20–21; abridged sentences among the *acquits* in B5571.

lands, most of which went to pay the commissioners' expenses.<sup>34</sup> Duke Charles assisted by ordering the remainder of Parpignant's estate sold for 7000 francs. Fourier spent more time in his parish and reported optimistically to Guinet in February that the situation at Mattaincourt was finally improving. "It's pretty good, in comparison with the recent past," he claimed. Except for a few who continued to squirm and wriggle during Mass, he remarked, "these so-called bewitched people (*prétendus maléficiées*) are now silent in church, saying almost nothing. Besides," he added, "they are extremely poor people."<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, Sarasin and his colleagues continued to burn witches in 1630: four more men and four more women from Fourier's parish, plus a woman from another village who had been tried and released back in 1624.<sup>36</sup>

In 1629 and 1630, the witch hunt in the districts of Mirecourt and Dompain/Valfroicourt accounted for a minimum of forty recorded deaths; in 1629, a man also was burned for witchcraft in Vaudémont, the district immediately north of Mirecourt and another place where Parpignant also owned some property.<sup>37</sup> The statistical impact of this outburst can be measured. In 1629–30, Mirecourt and Dompain—two districts with unusually low numbers of recorded witch trials in recent decades—accounted for almost 60 percent of all witchcraft executions recorded throughout nineteen Francophone districts in Lorraine's *bailliages* of Nancy and Vosges Lorraine. Apart from a major panic in Lorraine's traditional witch-hunting capital of St. Dié, where eight men and twelve women were executed and at least six other people were put on trial in 1629–30,<sup>38</sup> relatively few trials and executions were recorded in these years. Only six of the sixteen other Lorraine districts with usable records put a total of eight people on trial for witchcraft in 1629, and only four of these were executed.

<sup>34</sup>ADMM, B7143, fols. 118v–19 (Parpignant assets), 198–201 (legal expenses: 1160 francs for Sarasin, plus 216 francs for his travel expenses, 710 francs for each of his two associates, and 150 francs each for two junior colleagues).

<sup>35</sup>On February 19, 1630, Fourier told Guinet that "les pauvres malades et autres affligés de ce lieu en tirent journellement de la consolation tout plein en diverses manières." He considered that these "pauvres gens" were behaving "assez bien . . . en comparaison du passé. Ces prétendues maléficiées se taisent maintenant à l'église sans y presque rien dire." *PF Corr.*, III:227.

<sup>36</sup>ADMM, B7145, pp. 120–21v, 124.

<sup>37</sup>ADMM, B9929, fol. 46v.

<sup>38</sup>See ADMM, B8742, fols. 106v–124 and B8744, n.pag. Briggs, *Witches of Lorraine*, pp. 258–93, provides an excellent introduction to the peculiarities of this region.



These totals were almost identical in 1630: seven trials and four deaths for witchcraft recorded in sixteen districts. Thus, aside from the exceptionally witch-ridden district of St. Dié in the southeastern corner of Lorraine, the panic originating with Fourier's demonically possessed parishioners—fanned by prolonged exorcisms and exploited by ducal officials such as Cordier and Sarasin—accounted for all but a handful of witchcraft executions in Francophone Lorraine at the end of this decade. The rate of executions to recorded witch trials also is telling: 84 percent executed at Mattaincourt in 1629, 71 percent executed at Dompaigne/Valfroicourt in 1629–30, 60 percent executed at St. Dié in the same period, and barely 50 percent executed elsewhere in Lorraine at that time.

By November 1630 the final phase of Mattaincourt's drama began. In a letter to the nuns of his new order installed at St. Mihiel, Fourier enclosed another document, which he asked them to give to Sarasin:

It is a commission from the Duke to open a trial against a daughter of Jean Vosgien who has recently returned . . . after being chased away from Mattaincourt by force. She had confessed, and still does, that she is as wretched as her father and her brother and her sister who were all executed as witches at the time of our greatest alarms. She is a real burden, and one can scarcely prevent her trial from taking place, although she is only twelve or thirteen years old.

He asked the nuns to pry some kind of answer from Sarasin and send it to him immediately. "You cannot believe," he concluded, "how afraid we are of the expenses over here, we are extremely poor in our village."<sup>39</sup> No reply from Sarasin has been preserved, although the outcome is known: Cordier's accounts for 1630 include a reference to "Anne, daughter of Jean Vosgien, executed this year for the crime of witchcraft by sentence of M. Sarasin," leaving no assets to be confiscated.<sup>40</sup> One more execution from Mattaincourt was directly connected to this panic. Jennon Parpignant, Didier's widowed sister, had

<sup>39</sup>On November 20, 1630, Fourier wrote to the nuns of St. Mihiel, "Voilà une lettre ci-joint que je vous prie faire passer chez Monsieur Sarazin. C'est une commission de S.A. pour faire les procès à la fille de Jean Vosgien, dernièrement retournée . . . ou l'on avoit chassée de ce lieu comme par force . . . elle qui confessoit (comme elle fait encor) d'estre misérable comme son père et son frère et sa soeur qui furent executés par icy pour faict de sortilège du temps de nos grosses alarmes. On se tient extrêmement chargé d'elle, et ne peut-on presque attendre que le procez s'en fasse; elle est seulement agée de douze à treize ans." *PF Corr.*, III:306–07.

<sup>40</sup>ADMM, B7143, fol. 124.

been “arrested for the second time on Sarasin’s orders” in February 1631, and her house was sold in June after her execution.<sup>41</sup>

Later in 1630 Dompaire also recorded one final trial and execution involving witchcraft that was exceptionally scandalous and had unexpected consequences. It is unknown why Claude, daughter of Demenge Cathelinotte of Vomécourt (northeast of Mirecourt), was arrested and burned at the stake, not in her own district but at Dompaire, on charges of “parricide, incest, and witchcraft.”<sup>42</sup> However, the first two capital charges against her should probably be translated as infanticide and incest with her spiritual “father.” She provides a vital link in the chain of accusations against the final defendant directly connected to the Mattaincourt panic, as he was Cathelinotte’s parish priest and apparently the father of her bastard child. In April 1631 this veteran exorcist, active well before events in Mattaincourt ignited in 1627, underwent torture at Toul, seat of his local bishopric, on vehement suspicion of witchcraft.

The account of Father Gordet’s interrogation under torture reveals that it was supervised by Cardinal Nicolas-François of Lorraine (vicar-general of the titular bishop of Toul and the younger brother of Duke Charles IV). The transcript explains that Gordet had been accused of attending the Witches’ Sabbath by seven people, all of whom had maintained their accusations in personal confrontations with him. One was Anne, wife of Didier Goulart of Bethencourt (only two kilometers from Vomécourt). She had blamed Gordet for arranging her first arrest back in 1624 before she was rearrested, convicted, and burned at Mirecourt in 1630.<sup>43</sup> His second accuser was Claude Cathelinotte, who can be identified as his mistress, since Gordet admitted under torture that he had made love to her at least twice, although he claimed he was drunk at the time. His other five accusers, however, cannot be traced among the numerous people executed for witchcraft at either Mirecourt or Dompaire, although all of them are identified in Gordet’s indictment as “convicted of witchcraft”

<sup>41</sup>Jennon Parpignant, arrested on February 28 “pour une seconde fois pour le cas de sortilege sur ordre de M. Sarasin,” was sentenced to death on June 17. B7147 (*acquits* for 1631, n.pag.).

<sup>42</sup>ADMM, B5572, fols. 20–20v.

<sup>43</sup>B7145, fol. 121v. On her previous trial, see B7133, fol. 115. Her first *procès* (in B7134) was used by Briggs, *Witches & Neighbors*, p. 208, although he failed to note that the woman had accused Gordet in personal confrontation before she was executed as a witch.

when they were confronted with him in Mirecourt. Three of them (Bastien, Claude, and Mengeotte) are identified as children of Claude Pelletier of Hymont; the other two (Toussaint and Jean) as children of Jean Noel of Mattaincourt.

They were indeed children in April 1631, which explains why all five had been convicted of witchcraft but not executed. The baptismal records of the prolific Pelletier household at Mattaincourt show that Claude (a girl) was born in October 1619, Bastien in March 1621, and Mengeotte in April 1624 (which makes the latter barely seven years old when she was confronted with Gordet).<sup>44</sup> Noel's children were slightly older—Toussaint was fourteen and Jean eleven; their older sister, Nicolle, had been executed along with their father in 1630, and both boys claimed that their five-year-old brother had accompanied the rest of their family to the Witches' Sabbath. But even Sarasin, who had signed Anne Vosgien's death warrant a few months earlier, was unwilling to put every juvenile witch in Mattaincourt to death, let alone children of seven or five. Ever since May 1630, Mattaincourt's child-witches had been kept under official surveillance by a series of public guardians (it is unclear if this was Fourier's idea, as it is not reflected in his correspondence). Their upkeep cost more than 500 francs—almost as much as Sarasin's fees for fifty days of work.<sup>45</sup> By 1631, a more permanent solution was found.

The treasurer's receipts from Mirecourt for 1631 include a petition signed by many residents of Mattaincourt, outlining the deplorable situation caused by these underaged witches, all orphaned devil's spawn whose parents had been burned.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, there were two sisters, Anne and Françoise DuBois, aged fourteen and twelve, "born of a witch mother and accused by many other witches," who steadfastly refused to confess their guilt (recall that their pregnant mother, Marie, had been among the first people arrested in 1627 and had attempted suicide in prison). The petitioners opened by bemoaning the "diminution or loss of their health through the spells, maleficia and diabolical possessions which a number of recently executed witches had caused," which had led the duke to send Sarasin to chastise the guilty

<sup>44</sup>ADV, E Dpt 297/GG 1 (October 9, 1619; March 23, 1621; April 26, 1624); another sibling, Pierre, was baptized on October 29, 1622, but probably died before 1630.

<sup>45</sup>ADMM, 7145, pp. 182, 185.

<sup>46</sup>ADMM, B7147 (*acquits*).

“for the greater glory of God.” They then pointed out that there seemed little chance that these children would “return to God and change for the better, being too weak too resist such a powerful enemy as the Evil Spirit, being destitute of all human assistance.” Instead of allowing them to roam around the village begging, the petitioners asked the duke to shoulder the entire burden of their upkeep.

On May 16, Duke Charles accordingly ordered these underaged witches to be placed under the watchful eye of a “good matron” and lodged in a house confiscated from an executed witch. The duke also “summoned the *curé* of Mattaincourt to care for their spiritual education, as his situation requires” and prohibited these children from mingling with the other children of Mattaincourt. One day later, Sarasin signed an order placing the two DuBois sisters in the same house with the self-confessed witches. It cost a great deal to keep so many wards of the state under proper surveillance. Three different guardians held this post over the next ten months at a net cost of about 100 francs per month. This sum represented only one-third of Sarasin’s per-diem salary, but became a serious burden on an impoverished community, especially when an outbreak of plague also struck this district. Mirecourt’s law courts remained closed from summer 1631 until late 1632, whereas Mattaincourt’s baptisms fell sharply in 1631 and 1632 to barely half of their average numbers in the 1620s.

Even if Cordier was still paying 700 francs of Sarasin’s fees in 1633, the whole business had begun to wind down in 1632. Fourier resigned his benefice. His order of reformed Augustinians bought Jeanne Parpignant’s house at Mattaincourt. Sarasin had been promoted to one of the three *Echevins* (aldermen) of Nancy, Lorraine’s highest judicial body. Unfortunately, his departure did not end witch-hunting in Mirecourt. Further trials were held at Remoncourt in 1632, while in 1633 a man from Mirecourt was burned for witchcraft and his wife was banished.<sup>47</sup>

Some loose ends remain. For example, Gordet’s fate after he left the torture chamber is uncertain. He obviously was cleared of witchcraft charges, but he had probably admitted enough serious misconduct, including Cathelinotte’s pregnancy and unspecified “excesses” committed with his “wives” (*épouses*) while performing exorcisms, to lose

<sup>47</sup>ADMM, B7148, fols. 120–21v, 191–93; B7151, fols. 122v–23, 191–92.



his benefice at Vomécourt.<sup>48</sup> The fate of his accusers, Mattaincourt's juvenile witches, is unknown after March 1632, when recorded payments for their guardians stops. But their chances of survival seem slim, given subsequent events.

By 1634 Cardinal Richelieu's armies had invaded Lorraine, plunging Mattaincourt and the rest of the region into the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. Charles IV fled his duchy and would not govern it again for nearly thirty years. His adviser Fourier also had to flee Lorraine, dying in exile in 1640. Nicolas-François, the duke's younger brother who oversaw Gordet's trial and torture, resigned as cardinal and prince-bishop of Toul minutes before marrying his sister-in-law and first cousin. Like other places across Lorraine, Mattaincourt was devastated. Its baptisms plummeted from almost ninety per year in the 1620s to fewer than twenty-five per year between 1636 and 1650.

\* \* \*

Statistically, the "Catholic Salem" episode that began at Mattaincourt in 1627 took more than twice as many lives as its later, better-known New England counterpart. Beyond the forty-five executions in 1629 and 1630 in the districts of Mirecourt and Dompaigne, earlier and later deaths at Mirecourt bring the total to fifty between 1627 and 1632. Afterward, the survivors faced a future vastly more bleak than the Massachusetts colonists, who soon repudiated their credulity about "spectral evidence." Mattaincourt was devastated far more thoroughly by the Thirty Years' War than by its demoniacs and has never regained its population levels from the time when Fourier was its *curé*.<sup>49</sup> It also seems significant that whereas the richest and most prominent witchcraft suspects at Salem Village either fled or otherwise evaded arrest, Mattaincourt's richest suspect, Dominic Parpignant, was caught, tried, and executed. His estate sufficed to subsidize the entire affair, including the special commissioners led by Sarasin. But Mattaincourt's prosperity probably died with Parpignant, even before plague and warfare engulfed it.

Enormous differences in the publicity given to their painful collective experiences with youthful demoniacs also separate Salem

<sup>48</sup>Jean-Claude Diedler, *Démons et Sorcières en Lorraine* (Paris, 1996), p. 112, noticed the use of the plural term *épouses* and Gordet's seduction of Cathelinotte, but was unaware of her fate.

<sup>49</sup>Mattaincourt's population in 1999 was under 1000.

Village from Mattaincourt. One seems overexposed, and the other unaware of their essentially similar distinction. Salem boasts a tourist museum commemorating its macabre fame in the history of witchcraft and selling numerous books about the events of 1692, whereas Mattaincourt's history between 1627 and 1632 remains virtually unexplored.<sup>50</sup> Those events were immediately erased by the greater horrors of a prolonged war, and very few traces of them have been preserved in Lorraine's archives. After 1627, neither Cordier at Mirecourt nor his colleague at Dompaigne enclosed any original trial records with their annual fiscal reports to their auditors in Nancy, although Cordier had done so only a few years earlier, and the panic left major fiscal traces in both districts in 1629 and 1630.

The silence of the existing record on the events of the "Catholic Salem" would seem to indicate discomfort with the subject. When the clerical beneficiaries of Fourier's reforms pressed for his beatification a century later, the whole unfortunate business was never mentioned, nor was it discussed during his canonization process in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some clues lie buried in the footnotes to the fine recent critical edition of Fourier's vast correspondence, but it is likely that few have wished to portray one of Lorraine's few genuinely popular heroes in an embarrassing and powerless posture—first silenced in his own pulpit by dozens of screaming demons, then unable to avert a drastic witch hunt that destroyed Parpignat, a prominent parishioner whom he liked. Moreover, Briggs observes that the saint's description of the plight of a helpless girl, Anne Vosgien, "leaves a very nasty taste in the mouth."<sup>51</sup> Fourier may have triumphed at Rome in 1628, but he was thoroughly defeated in his home parish by the devil.

<sup>50</sup>A bit of the veil has been lifted recently by Jean Paul Claudel, "La sorcellerie à Mattaincourt au temps de Saint Pierre Fourier," *Revue Lorraine Populaire*, 194 (2007), 26–29.

<sup>51</sup>Briggs, *Witches of Lorraine*, p. 85. Another glimpse into Fourier's extremely cautious attitude toward suspected witches comes from a letter of March 1628 concerning a male candidate for his new order. He was related by marriage to Lorraine's chief civil judge, but his aunt had been tortured twice on suspicion of witchcraft, without confessing anything. Fourier advised against admitting him. See *PF Corr.*, II:569–70.

## APPENDIX A: Executions for Witchcraft at Mattaincourt, 1627–31

- 1627: Claudette, widow of Jean Noel, executed  
 Marie, wife of François du Bois, shearer, died in prison  
 Jeanette, wife of Claude Gourdot, survived torture
- 1628: Jean Geoffroy alias Marlier, executed after second trial  
 Jean Vosgien, survived torture
- 1629: Jean Vosgien retried, executed with daughter Jeannon and son Nicolas  
 Didière, wife of Antoine Picard, executed  
 Claudon and Anne Pelletier (Hymont), both burned  
 Poirson Grand Colas (Hymont), died in prison (not condemned)  
 Hellevix, widow of Jean Chrestien, died in prison (not condemned)  
 Claudatte, widow of Jean Maljean, executed  
 Marie, wife of Claude de Rue, executed  
 Jeanotte, wife of Claude Gourdot, rearrested and executed  
 Françoise, wife of Jean Plant, executed  
 Didier Parpignant, executed  
 Didier Toiry, survived torture  
 Jeannon Parpignant, widow of Jean Mathié, survived torture
- 1630: Anne, daughter of Jean Vosgien, executed  
 Pierrot Pelletier and son Claudon (Hymont) executed (three  
 nephews/nieces arrested)  
 Didirer François, executed  
 Marguerite, wife of Claudon François, executed  
 Marie, wife of Jean Boudin, executed  
 Jean Noel and daughter Nicole, executed (three children arrested)
- 1631: Jennon Parpignant rearrested and executed June 17

### *Also in the District of Mirecourt:*

- 1629: Mengeotte, wife of Demenge Noirtin of Remoncourt, executed  
 (three unnamed women arrested with her, all released)  
 Mengeotte, widow of Jean Rotey of Pont-sur-Madon, executed  
 Thienette (midwife), widow of Nicolas Ragon of Mirecourt, executed  
 Jean Gaudelle of Vittel, died in prison June 1629 (widow countersues  
 successfully)  
 Jannon, widow of Florentin Bonnier of Parey-sous-Montfort, executed  
 April 13 at Remoncourt  
 Margot, wife of Jean George of Parey-sous-Montfort, executed April 13  
 at Remoncourt (both accused February 1629 by three other  
 women of same village, all executées)  
 Catherine, widow of Claudot Demenge of Roserotte, survived torture;  
 released August 27
- 1630: Annon Bougignotte, wife of Didier Gaulloy of Bettoncourt [arrested  
 1624] executed.

*In the District of Dompaigne/Valfroicourt, at Dompaigne:*

- 1629: Jean Mercier of Aheuville, survived torture, released August 2  
 Yvotte, wife of Nicolas Pierrefitte of La Rue sous Harol, executed  
 October 3  
 Catherine, wife of Jean Collotte of Escles, executed October 3  
 Meneotte, wife of Nicolas Gros Dider, shepherd, executed October 3  
 Claudotte, widow of Jean de Bresy of Escles, survived torture; released  
 October 29
- 1630: Claude, daughter of Demenge Cathelinotte of Vomécourt, burned for  
 incest and witchcraft

*Executed at Valfroicourt (July 1629–February 1630):*

- 1629: Catherine, widow of Pierre LePeu of Rancourt, executed July 13  
 Martin Ory of Rancourt, executed July 19  
 Marie, widow of Didier Jean Ougier of Bainville, executed August 25  
 Barbe, wife of Demenge Jean Georgeot of Bainville, executed  
 September 24  
 Jennon, wife of Jean Demengeot of Bainville, executed October 13  
 Claudatte, widow of Caludot DuHault of Fresnois, executed  
 December 24  
 Her son, Claude DuHault of Fresnois, executed December 24  
 Jean Grand Henry of Fresnois, executed January 17, 1630  
 Georgin Georgin of Pont, executed February 12  
 His daughter, Claudotte Georgin of Pont, banished March 11  
 Françoise, wife of Jean Georgin of Pont, banished on March 11  
 Nicolas Thiebault of Valfroicourt, banished March 15

*(Note: Everyone tried twice was executed—Jeanette Gourdon, Jean Geoffrey, Jean Vosgien, Jennon Parpignant, and Annon Bougignotte).*



# THE RELATIONS OF BEAUMONT COLLEGE (OLD WINDSOR, ENGLAND) WITH THE BRITISH MONARCHY (1861-1908)

BY

BERNARDO RODRÍGUEZ CAPARRINI\*

*Beaumont College, a Jesuit boarding school for boys from well-to-do families, was established in 1861 near Windsor, in the south of England. The college had been permitted to present loyal addresses to Queen Victoria in 1882, 1887, and 1897. Joseph M. Bampton, S.J. (1854-1933), the ninth rector, sought to strengthen the ties between the college and the British monarchy after Edward VII came to the throne in 1901, but met with only qualified success.*

**Keywords:** Bampton, Joseph M., S.J.; Beaumont College; King Edward VII; Queen Victoria; Society of Jesus

The opening of a College of the Society in the neighbourhood of London is the realization of a long felt desire on the part of those of the Catholics of England who wish to give their children the benefit of the education of the Society, without sending them so far to the North as to Stonyhurst. There is every reason to hope for success in the undertaking, as the position is convenient with respect to London, easily accessible, (being within half-an-hour's drive of stations on three railroads,) the situation healthy and elevated, and climate excellent, to say nothing of the beautiful grounds and shrubberies, and magnificent ambulatory, all of which must be a great attraction to parents.<sup>1</sup>

St. Stanislaus's College, better known as Beaumont College, opened at Old Windsor (Berkshire, England) in October 1861 as a boarding school for Catholic boys aged seven to fourteen who came from the

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<sup>1</sup>"St. Stanislaus's College. Beaumont Lodge," *Letters and Notices*, 1 (1862), 18-21, here 18-19. Since 1862, *Letters and Notices* has been the private, internal publication of the English (now British) Province of the Society of Jesus.

upper classes. It previously had served as the residence of Warren Hastings (1732–1818), a governor-general of India, and as the novitiate of the English Province of the Society of Jesus for seven years. This foundation on the banks of the Thames near Windsor Castle completed the trio of boarding schools run by the Jesuits on English soil. The two others were Stonyhurst College, established in rural Lancashire in 1794, and Mount St. Mary's College, opened in 1842 at Spinkhill near Sheffield (Derbyshire). The English Province also had been operating St. Francis Xavier's College, a day school for middle-class children in Liverpool, since 1842.

Stonyhurst College represented the long-standing Jesuit tradition in education. It had been founded in exile at Saint-Omer in the Spanish Netherlands in 1593 by Robert Persons, S.J. (1546–1610), to educate young laymen who could not obtain an education in their native country because of the Elizabethan penal laws against Catholics in England and Wales. In 1762 the college, threatened with sequestration,<sup>2</sup> moved to Bruges until the general suppression of the Society of Jesus in August 1773, then re-formed in Liège as the *Académie anglaise*. The advance of the French revolutionary armies in 1794 required a move to England. After the penal laws were eased, the suppressed English Jesuits settled at Stonyhurst, occupying a mansion provided by Thomas Weld (1750–1810) of Lulworth (Dorset), a former scholar of the Bruges period and heir of the Shireburns:<sup>3</sup> “Here, and for long after, new generations of Jesuits were recruited, trained and sent out to found schools, parishes and missions all over Victoria's empire.”<sup>4</sup>

A board of studies' conference at Stonyhurst College in early September 1857 recommended the establishment of a new Jesuit

<sup>2</sup>The Society of Jesus in France was formally dissolved by the Paris Parlement on August 6, 1762. All Jesuits within its jurisdiction had to sign an oath declaring the Society to be impious or leave the country: “Though the violently anti-Jesuit Paris *parlement* did not have jurisdiction outside its own territory, its recommendations were followed to the letter by the *parlement* of Artois, within whose jurisdiction St. Omer's College, in the *Département du Pas-de-Calais*, lay.” Maurice Whitehead, “In the Sincerest Intentions of Studying: The Educational Legacy of Thomas Weld (1750–1810), Founder of Stonyhurst College,” *Recusant History*, 26 (2002), 169–93, here 172.

<sup>3</sup>For an outline history of Stonyhurst College in the period 1773–94, see Maurice Whitehead, “Jesuit Secondary Education Revolutionized: the *Académie anglaise*, Liège, 1773–1794,” *Paedagogica Historica*, 40 (2004), 33–44; and Maurice Whitehead, “‘To provide for the edifice of learning’: Researching 450 Years of Jesuit Educational and Cultural History, with Particular Reference to the British Jesuits,” *History of Education*, 36 (2007), 109–43, here 122–28.

<sup>4</sup>T. E. Muir, *Stonyhurst College 1593–1993* (London, 1992), p. 9.

college in or near London. The eight meeting attendees, three of them converts from the Oxford Movement, were all Jesuits concerned with education.<sup>5</sup> In a report prepared by Peter Gallwey, S.J. (1820–1906), they argued that a well-situated college would avoid the geographical and cultural issues encountered by the two rural boarding schools belonging to the Order: “Some communication with the learned men of the country is quite requisite for those who aim at taking a lead in education. The Metropolis is the resort of the learned: in our present position we are isolated from them.”<sup>6</sup> The opening of Beaumont College near London in 1861—like the foundation of the Oratory School in Birmingham by a distinguished convert, Blessed John Henry Newman (1801–90), only two years before—must be seen as an effort to accommodate the children of those upper-class new Catholics who had converted from Protestantism at the time of the Oxford Movement and who were “used to sending their sons to Eton and Oxford.”<sup>7</sup>

### Beaumont College, 1861–1900, and the Three Visits of Queen Victoria

Despite early struggles with inadequate facilities, Beaumont College prospered quickly. The school year 1862–63 opened with forty boys. Peter Beckx, Superior General of the Society of Jesus, made Beaumont a fully fledged college in 1864. New buildings were added to the original “Old House,” so that 100 pupils could be accommodated by October 1865. The first rector was James Eccles, S.J. (1822–71), whose term lasted until November 1867. His successor, Francis Clough, S.J. (1810–91), had served as rector of Stonyhurst College (1848–61) and St. Francis Xavier’s College (1861–65) before he moved to Beaumont. When Clough retired in October 1871, the number of boys had risen to about 135.

<sup>5</sup>See Ian D. Roberts, *A Harvest of Hope. Jesuit Collegiate Education in England, 1794–1914* (St. Louis, MO, 1996), pp. 55, 176; Bernardo Rodríguez Caparrini, “Alumnos españoles en el internado jesuita de Beaumont (Old Windsor, Inglaterra), 1861–1868,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 76 (2007), 3–37, here 6–7.

<sup>6</sup>“Fr. Gallwey’s report. A report containing suggestions concerning our Colleges and the studies pursued in them. Stonyhurst, Sept. 7th, 1857,” London, Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu (ABSI), CE/4-15; qtd. in Bernardo Rodríguez Caparrini, “*El Eton católico*: el internado jesuita de Beaumont (Old Windsor, Inglaterra) durante el rectorado del Padre Joseph M. Bampton, S.J. (1901–1908) (Cádiz, 2004), p. 505.

<sup>7</sup>Meriol Trevor, *Newman. Light in Winter* (London, 1962), p. 178; qtd. in Roberts, *Harvest of Hope*, p. 176.

During its first ten years, Beaumont College intended “to provide a school which would give Catholics all that is good in the Public School life of England.”<sup>8</sup> This meant that there was more of an effort to imitate the Protestant public schools<sup>9</sup> while preserving the essential Jesuit methods and traditions as exemplified by the Stonyhurst approach. Priests and scholastics, known as *prefects of discipline*, strictly supervised the pupils. Newman had spoken in 1865 of the example of the Oratory School “in making the other schools, even the Jesuit schools, less continental in their ways and more English, as in trusting boys and giving up *espionage*.”<sup>10</sup> However, Thomas Welsby, S.J. (1831–96)—rector from 1871 to 1877—introduced a very different atmosphere into Beaumont College: “There was a tightening of liberties and a shortening of bounds. There was, so to speak, a halt in the efforts of the college to find its own self expression and establish its own traditions.”<sup>11</sup> Despite this environment, the Beaumont Union, an association of former students, held its first annual dinner at the Criterion restaurant in London in July 1877. Under Welsby’s stewardship, the community wing was built, the accommodation space for boarders was increased, and the “Old House” was converted into a preparatory school where the youngest boys lived.

In September 1877 Francis Cassidy (1845–1915) replaced Welsby as rector, with a marked difference in approach signaled by the nickname he acquired—“the gentle Cassidy.” On October 21, Julián de Olivares Ballivián—a twelve-year-old Spaniard born in Bolivia—arrived at Beaumont College as the 150th boy on the roll.<sup>12</sup> In 1879 George Renorden Kingdon, S.J. (1821–93), a classical scholar with an Anglican background who had served as prefect of studies at Stonyhurst College, became prefect of studies at Beaumont, serving in this role until 1887 and working to systematize the curriculum. As was the case at other schools, the Matriculation Examination of the

<sup>8</sup>A. S. Barnes, *The Catholic Schools of England* (London, 1926), p. 180.

<sup>9</sup>The term *public schools* in the United Kingdom refers to elite institutions such as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and Winchester, “independent, fee-paying and mainly boarding schools at the height of their power and prestige in the late Victorian era.” Gary McCulloch, “Secondary Education,” in *A Century of Education*, ed. Richard Aldrich (London, 2002), pp. 31–53, here p. 33.

<sup>10</sup>*The Life and Letters of Dean Church*, ed. M. C. Church (London, 1894), p. 170; qtd. in Paul Shrimpton, *A Catholic Eton? Newman’s Oratory School* (Leominster, UK, 2005), p. 244. Emphasis in original.

<sup>11</sup>[Wilfrid Bowring], “Reminiscences of Beaumont,” ABSI, PQ/4, galley proofs, ca. 1930, 9 columns, here column 2.

<sup>12</sup>See “Minister’s Journal, 1868–1882,” October 21, 1877, ABSI, 5/1/7.



University of London was the goal to which the ordinary school course—consisting of seven years—was directed. Beaumont had been sending candidates for this exam since 1868, but it was not until June 1883 that it placed one boy—Francis Hannan—at the head of the list, whereas another schoolfellow—Thomas Woodlock—secured fourth place (out of 932 candidates; 554 passed).<sup>13</sup>

A major event in the history of Beaumont College was the first visit of Queen Victoria on Thursday, March 9, 1882. Accompanied by a retinue that included her youngest daughter, Princess Beatrice, the queen drove from Windsor Castle to the front of the elaborately decorated college. Four boys—including two sons of Sir Evelyn Wood, a major-general (1838-1919)—offered bouquets to the queen, who accepted them with pleasure. Charles Edmund de Trafford—in the absence of his brother, Humphrey, the senior boy—read an address on behalf of the approximately 153 Beaumont boys and the Jesuit community that congratulated the queen on a thwarted assassination attempt. Roderick Maclean had fired a gun at Victoria outside Windsor railway station on March 2 and missed; two Eton boys prevented a second shot by striking Maclean's arm with their umbrellas. Three days later, 900 Etonians were invited to the castle, where an address of congratulation was presented, and the queen thanked the young heroes.<sup>14</sup> Several Beaumont boys also had been present when the attempt was made, "and they were among the first to rush upon Maclean."<sup>15</sup> Although they could not demonstrate their loyalty as emphatically as the Eton boys had done, the royal visit was "the first

<sup>13</sup>See "London University Examinations," *Letters and Notices*, 17 (1884), 71-73, here 72-73. In 1868 Kingdon expressed his dissatisfaction with the London Matriculation Examination. He favored competition with the great public schools of England, although the latter's candidates were prepared primarily for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge rather than the University of London. Catholics could sit for degree examinations for Oxford and Cambridge, but only on condition of previous residence—a contingency that the English hierarchy discouraged. Kingdon summarized the situation between the Catholic institutions and the University of London: "First, we are not brought into competition with the class of schools we desire to compete with. Secondly, the examinations are not such as suit our studies: classics are too little made of, and many other matters are made too much of. If there are schools which are suited by them, they are schools of a lower class, and with a lower style of education. Unfortunately, these are at present the only examinations open to us on terms that Catholics can admit." [George R. Kingdon, S.J.], "The Catholic Colleges and the University of London," *The Month*, 9 (1868), 1-16, here 15.

<sup>14</sup>See Eric Parker, *Eton in the 'Eighties* (London, 1914), p. 168.

<sup>15</sup>"The Queen and Beaumont," *The Beaumont Review*, spec. no. (1897), 6-10, here 7.

personal recognition of a Catholic school by the sovereign . . . since Henry VIII as a young man confirmed the privileges of Eton.”<sup>16</sup> *Letters and Notices* observed that not only Beaumont was honored by the compliment of the queen but also the Society of Jesus and Catholics in England generally.<sup>17</sup> The queen’s visit received wide publicity. The conservative *Whitehall Review* preferred to emphasize that Victoria did not drive into the college itself, but stopped her carriage at the lodge gates “where a large square of red cloth had been rather causelessly laid down.”<sup>18</sup> By the queen’s command, an extension of the Easter holidays was granted by the rector, who had been presented to the queen during her visit; the event concluded with the “National Anthem . . . sung by the whole of the college with great precision and enthusiasm.”<sup>19</sup> A few months later, the queen sent Beaumont College a large signed portrait of herself, which was unveiled in the refectory in the presence of the whole house.

On August 1, 1884, Frederick O’Hare, S.J. (1850–1925), became rector. He set about building a preparatory school located near the college and engaged architect John Francis Bentley (1839–1902), a convert to Catholicism who later designed Westminster Cathedral in London. The foundation stone of St. John’s Preparatory School—dedicated to St. John Berchmans—was laid on October 21, 1886, by the sportsman and horse-breeder Humphrey Francis de Trafford of Trafford Park (Manchester), a baronet and former Beaumont boy. By coincidence, the silver jubilee of the college was celebrated at the same time.

On the occasion of the golden jubilee of her ascension to the throne, Victoria visited Beaumont College again, accompanied by Princess Beatrice and Princess Irene of Hesse, her granddaughter. This second visit took place the evening of Monday, June 27, 1887. In front of the college gates, where the Jesuits and their charges had assembled, O’Hare presented an address to the queen (“our own particular tribute of loyalty and affection”<sup>20</sup>). Victoria bowed and spoke a few words of thanks. The *Times* recorded:

<sup>16</sup>Peter Levi, S.J., *Beaumont (1861–1961)* (London, 1961), p. 19.

<sup>17</sup>See “Beaumont,” *Letters and Notices*, 15 (1882), 118–25, here 118.

<sup>18</sup>Newspaper cutting from the *Whitehall Review*, March 16, 1882, pasted into “Minister’s Journal, 1868–1882,” March 9, 1882, ABSI, 5/1/7.

<sup>19</sup>Newspaper cutting from the *Daily News*, March 10, 1882, pasted into “Minister’s Journal, 1868–1882,” March 9, 1882, ABSI, 5/1/7.

<sup>20</sup>“The Queen at Beaumont,” *Letters and Notices*, 19 (1887), 154–56, here 156.

Her Majesty, . . . on leaving Frogmore [Royal Mausoleum], first visited the Royal Tapestry works. . . . The Royal party then drove on to Beaumont College, where three cheers were given for the Queen as soon as Her Majesty came in sight, the students also singing the National Anthem. . . . The Queen having thanked the presenter of the address, Her Majesty and the Princesses were presented with very beautiful bouquets by Charles Wood (son of Sir Evelyn Wood), Francis Piggot, and Charles Stonor, after which the pupils sang a verse of their school song, "Carmen Beaumontanum." The Queen left the college immediately afterwards and continued her evening drive.<sup>21</sup>

According to the conservative *St. James Budget*, this visit of the queen to Beaumont College "created a flutter in some ultra-Protestant hearts, who pretended to see in it a proof of what they had long suspected—that her Majesty was a Catholic at heart!"<sup>22</sup> Although this is a somewhat extreme conclusion to draw concerning the queen's visit, it must be conceded that some of the queen's religious practices in her later years accorded with the Catholic faith:

In defiance of conventional Church of England teaching, she prayed for the dead. Her attitude toward the afterlife possessed a concreteness that her other doctrinal views lacked; in her widowhood, the church services that meant most to her were funerals and memorial services.<sup>23</sup>

St. John's, the new preparatory school, was formally opened in September 1888. Before the end of the year it had enrolled fifty-eight boys aged eight to twelve, with an additional 142 at the college.<sup>24</sup>

In September 1891, O'Hare was succeeded by William Arthur Heathcote, S.J. (1853–1924), the eldest son of mid-Victorian convert William Perceval Heathcote, sixth baronet, of Hursley Park (Hampshire). Heathcote had been on staff for nine years, serving for seven as prefect of discipline, and was the first Beaumont boy to be appointed rector. With the exception of the prefect of studies, Daniel Considine, S.J. (1849–1922), the majority of the personnel was new to Beaumont College at the start of Heathcote's term of office. His

<sup>21</sup>"The Queen's Jubilee," *The Times*, June 28, 1887, 10.

<sup>22</sup>"A Catholic Eton. Beaumont College, Old Windsor," *St. James's Budget*, October 19, 1894, 20–22, here 22.

<sup>23</sup>Walter L. Arnstein, "Queen Victoria and the Challenge of Roman Catholicism," *The Historian*, 58 (1996), 295–314, here 309–10.

<sup>24</sup>See *The History of St. Stanislaus' College, Beaumont. A Record of Fifty Years 1861–1911*, ed. Francis Devas (Old Windsor, UK, 1911), p. 52. The number of boys at St. John's was limited to sixty.

attempts to increase the liberty of the pupils were frustrated by those under him who opposed any changes in the traditional Jesuit approach.

Several distinguished persons visited the college during Heathcote's term as rector. The college hosted Luis Martín, S.J. (1846–1906), the newly elected Superior General of the Society of Jesus, in December 1892. On June 17, 1893, Sir John Stuart Knill (1824–98), lord mayor of London, distributed the athletic prizes at Beaumont, where his son, John—who accompanied him—had been educated. On July 6, 1893, Cardinal Herbert Vaughan, archbishop of Westminster (1832–1903), drove to the college from Llanvair (Ascot) with Henrietta Pelham-Clinton, dowager duchess of Newcastle. On the same date, Beaumont held a festival to celebrate the wedding of George, duke of York, and Princess Victoria Mary of Teck (later King George V and Queen Mary).<sup>25</sup>

After three years, Heathcote's rectorate ended. He was succeeded by John Lynch, S.J. (1848–1926), in September 1894. Lynch had attended Beaumont College in its earliest days, enrolling in September 1862. He had headed the preparatory department since 1880 and served as principal of St. John's since 1888.<sup>26</sup> The school magazine *The Beaumont Review* and the Beaumont Boating Club were established in 1894 and 1895 respectively, at the instigation of John O'Fallon Pope, S.J. (1850–1934), a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford.<sup>27</sup>

Beaumont College cut its connection with the University of London in 1896, one year after the lifting by Rome of the warning against Catholics' attendance at Oxford and Cambridge. The Higher Certificate Examination of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge was then substituted for the London Matriculation. The English Province of the Society of Jesus considered the new substitute more satisfactory as an

<sup>25</sup>On the visit of Martín, see *Letters and Notices*, 22 (1893), 9–14. The visits of Knill and Cardinal Vaughan are chronicled in *Letters and Notices*, 22 (1893), 193–95.

<sup>26</sup>When Lynch's rectorate ended in December 1897, he was appointed superior at the preparatory school and served in that position for five years.

<sup>27</sup>On March 4, 1897, O'Fallon Pope received Basil W. Maturin (1847–1915) into the Church at Beaumont; a year later, Cardinal Vaughan ordained Maturin. Maturin, a famed preacher and spiritual writer, was returning from a U.S. preaching mission on the *Lusitania* when it was torpedoed on May 7, 1915. See *The Catholic Who's Who & Year-Book 1909*, ed. F. C. Burnand (London, 1909), p. 332; *The History of St. Stanislaus' College*, p. 52.



outgoing test, since the spirit of Jesuit training “should be that of thoroughness in one or two great points, rather than that of spreading the powers of our students over too wide an area—depth rather than space, solidity rather than glitter, quality rather than quantity.”<sup>28</sup> This criterion derived from the traditional Ignatian concern with a basic and profound formation rather than with the quantity of course material covered (*Non multa, sed multum*).

During Lynch’s term as rector, the surveillance system reached its zenith. En route from the recreation rooms to the chapel, the boys had to pass four prefects of discipline posted at different corners: “There was little loyalty to the College authorities, and the *regime* they worked. There was friendship with the individual but definite antagonism to the system he represented.”<sup>29</sup> Lynch received Queen Victoria during her third and last visit to Beaumont College on July 5, 1897, that coincided with her diamond jubilee. As in 1882 and 1887, the ceremony took place in front of the college gates, with the queen accompanied by Princess Beatrice, as well as by Princesses Irene and Victoria of Hesse. The senior boy, Malcolm McDonald, read an address of congratulation. Charles Aston Clifford, another pupil, presented the queen with a copy of the jubilee number of *The Beaumont Review*, bound in a crimson, gold-embossed cover. In remembrance of this visit, Victoria conferred a double favor on the college “by presenting the Rector with the Jubilee Medal, and commanding a special extension of the holidays for the boys.”<sup>30</sup>

Prior to the queen’s visit, the Jesuit Joseph Rickaby (1845–1932) preached an eloquent sermon in the college chapel on June 20, 1897, speaking of the progress that the Catholic Church had made in England during Victoria’s reign: “A million and a half of Catholics now against 400,000 in 1837. Two thousand six hundred priests now against 508 in 1837; and other figures in proportion.”<sup>31</sup> In fact, the proportion of Catholics in the total population of England during the

<sup>28</sup>“The New Oxford Movement,” *Letters and Notices*, 23 (1896), 369–75, here 375.

<sup>29</sup>[Wilfrid Bowring], “Reminiscences of Beaumont,” column 5. Emphasis in original.

<sup>30</sup>*The Beaumont Review*, 13 (1897), 162.

<sup>31</sup>Joseph Rickaby, “The Growth of Sixty Years,” *The Beaumont Review*, spec. no. (1897), 14. Stewart J. Brown claims that by the mid-1890s, the number of Roman Catholics in England and Wales was 1.5 million. The number of priests amounted to 3000, with 1500 Catholic churches and 1000 Catholic schools. See Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815–1914* (London, 2008), p. 410.

second half on the nineteenth century was around 5 percent, a ratio that remained fairly constant until 1914.<sup>32</sup> The legal and social emancipation of the British Catholic minority took place gradually in the nineteenth century. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 removed the bulk of the remaining anti-Catholic legislation. Catholics recovered most of their civil rights and were allowed to serve in Parliament. Several clauses in this act made it very difficult for Jesuits—singled out by name—and members of other Catholic religious orders to work legally in the United Kingdom, but they were not enforced: “From the first, however, these provisions were a dead letter, included mainly as a sop to the Protestant prejudices of that age.”<sup>33</sup> In 1850 the English Catholic community comprised three main groupings. First were the old Catholics, descendants of recusant aristocratic families such as the Howards (who included the dukes of Norfolk) and landed gentry who had survived long years of persecution. Second were Irish Catholic immigrants who favored an “Ultramontane” devotion to the papacy. Members of the third group were the influential Oxford Movement converts, who “impressed by their social elevation and their intellectual ability rather than their numbers.”<sup>34</sup> Pope Pius IX’s re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales (with an archbishop of Westminster, bishops, and dioceses) in September 1850 was a landmark for Catholics, but nearly all Protestants referred to it as an act of “papal aggression.” The Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851, which forbade anyone outside the Church of England to hold territorial titles in the United Kingdom, was hardly ever applied and would be repealed in 1871: “While popular Protestantism and anti-Catholicism remained strong, there was no real support for a renewal of penal laws.”<sup>35</sup> The Universities Tests Act (1871) challenged the Anglican monopoly at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham by abolishing the mandatory religious tests for degrees (except in theology) and for most fellowships. From the mid-1870s, sectarian riots against Catholics tended to die

<sup>32</sup>See Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850–1914* (Basingstoke, UK, 1996), pp. 12, 173.

<sup>33</sup>Francis Edwards, *The Jesuits in England: From 1580 to the Present Day* (Tunbridge Wells, UK, 1985), p. 173.

<sup>34</sup>Ian Machin, “British Catholics,” in *The Emancipation of Catholics, Jews and Protestants. Minorities and the Nation State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Rainer Liedtke and Stephan Wendehorst (New York, 1999), pp. 11–32, here p. 18. However, the number of converts was not negligible, consisting of about 82,000 individuals in the years up to 1901. See Machin, “British Catholics,” p. 18.

<sup>35</sup>Brown, *Providence and Empire*, p. 186.

down in Britain: "Catholics in Britain were gradually ceasing to be a beleaguered, barely tolerated body and were becoming more settled and confident."<sup>36</sup> However, as Ian Machin has observed,<sup>37</sup> there were still some important legal inequalities for British Catholics at the end of the century—they could not serve in the offices of lord lieutenant of Ireland and lord chancellor of England, nor could they hold the position of monarch (the latter prohibition remains in force today). In addition, an obsolete statute prohibited the outdoor performance of Catholic ceremonies and the wearing of religious vestments in public.

On December 23, 1897, Gerald Tarleton, S.J. (1849–1927), was installed as rector of Beaumont College. Forty-three new pupils entered the college in 1898. During the Boer War (1899–1902), 106 Beaumont boys served.<sup>38</sup> The number of new pupils further decreased to thirty-one in 1899 and to seventeen in 1900.<sup>39</sup> On October 6, 1900, Henry Parker, S.J., the prefect of discipline, noted that there were seventy-nine boarders at the college and twenty-one at the preparatory school.<sup>40</sup> According to Wilfrid Bowring:

I remember it was rumoured in London that the College might be disbanded as its future was considered so very problematical. The number of boys was now extremely small and the finances were in proportion difficult. A decision to close the College must have hung over Fr. Tarleton's head like a sword, and somehow his Rectorship reminds one of a caretaker marking time. His *rôle* of office must not be taken too seriously. He was probably not expected to take heroic measures to re-organise the College and his position gradually drifted into a sort of *locum tenens*, biding the time when some decision as to the future would be taken.<sup>41</sup>

### Relations between Joseph M. Bampton, S.J., and the British Monarchy (1901–08)

From the first moment of Father Bampton's arrival at Beaumont one hears, so to speak, the sound of trumpets. He was Rector of Farm Street, a melodiously thunderous and famous preacher, a great light of the English Jesuits and an authoritative leader adept at handling the new Edwardian world.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup>Machin, "British Catholics," p. 28.

<sup>37</sup>Machin, "British Catholics," p. 31.

<sup>38</sup>Of these, five were killed, seven received the Distinguished Service Order, and forty-three were mentioned in dispatches. See *The History of St. Stanislaus' College*, p. 61.

<sup>39</sup>See "Beaumont Lists 1861–1911," ABSI, 5/2/3.

<sup>40</sup>See "Prefect's Journal, 1894–1904," October 6, 1900, ABSI, 5/1/6.

<sup>41</sup>[Wilfrid Bowring], "Reminiscences of Beaumont," column 6.

<sup>42</sup>Levi, *Beaumont*, p. 30.

Joseph Maurice Bampton was born in Exeter (Devon) on October 28, 1854. His brother, Henry, who was born four years later, also became a Jesuit. Like many other Jesuits of the English Province, the elder Bampton was educated at Stonyhurst College, which he entered in September 1863. At school he excelled as an orator gifted with a "musical voice and perfect enunciation."<sup>43</sup> After admission to the Society of Jesus, Bampton was sent in September 1871 to Manresa House, Roehampton (Greater London), for his novitiate. He returned to Stonyhurst in 1875 for a three-year philosophy course. Regency, his next period of formation (1878–84), was spent at Mount St. Mary's College (Derbyshire), where he taught the highest form in the school for the last four of these years. After his ordination on September 25, 1887, and the conclusion of theological studies at St. Beuno's College (North Wales), Bampton undertook a further ten-month period of spiritual renewal, or tertianship (1888–89). He was placed at the Holy Name Church (Manchester) in 1889. There, under Bernard Vaughan, S.J. (1847–1922), a renowned preacher of the English Province, Bampton devoted himself to learning the theory and practice of pulpit oratory. In 1890 he was transferred to Farm Street (London) and was appointed rector on April 19, 1894. His term at the London residence formally ended in February 1898, but, contrary to custom, Bampton remained until January 1901, when he was posted to Beaumont College.

Bampton took office at 2 pm on January 16, 1901, initially as vice-rector.<sup>44</sup> A few days later, on the evening of January 22, Queen Victoria died at Osborne House, her residence on the Isle of Wight. Bampton sent a telegram of condolence in which he, the masters, and the boys of Beaumont College offered Victoria's successor, King Edward VII (1841–1910), "their most respectful and heartfelt sympathy and assurance of their loyal homage."<sup>45</sup> On Saturday, January 26, the prefect of discipline, Henry Parker, urged the pupils to make General Communion for the repose of the late queen, and the rector issued an order that boys were to prepare mourning dress for the funeral procession, which was scheduled for the following Saturday at Windsor.<sup>46</sup> Thanks to Bampton's efforts, the pupils of both Beaumont College and

<sup>43</sup>"Fr. Joseph Bampton," *Letters and Notices*, 48 (1933), 227–35, here 227–28.

<sup>44</sup>See "Prefect's Journal, 1894–1904," January 16, 1901, ABSI, 5/1/6. Bampton became rector on September 19, 1901.

<sup>45</sup>*The Tablet*, January 26, 1901, 126. The college received a telegram of thanks in reply.

<sup>46</sup>See "Prefect's Journal, 1894–1904," January 26, 1901, ABSI, 5/1/6.



St. John's Preparatory School viewed the procession from a special stand erected for them within the precincts of Windsor Castle. Because this was a privilege only granted to the mayor and corporation of Windsor, it caused the Beaumont boys to be mistaken for Etonians, who were actually situated on a different part of the route.<sup>47</sup> The boys returned to the college as soon as the crowds would permit and were very tired at the end of the day. The ceremony at Windsor had been "most impressive and memorable."<sup>48</sup>

But this taste of royalty left Bampton far from satisfied. Victoria's three visits to the Jesuit college and the rector's obsession with "the heady excellences of Eton and the drabness and recent miseries of Beaumont and of Catholic schools as a whole"<sup>49</sup> spurred him to write to Sir Francis Knollys (1837-1924)—private secretary to the king—on March 5, 1901, requesting that the king personally receive an address from the students of Beaumont College. Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Davidson (1856-1922)—equerry and assistant secretary to the king—replied four days later from Marlborough House (London) on behalf of Knollys, explaining why the request could not be granted:

As the personal presentation of Addresses is limited to certain named, privileged Universities and Towns; and if an exception were made in the case of Beaumont College, it would create a precedent which would be difficult to limit, and which would have necessarily to be extended in the case of other Colleges.<sup>50</sup>

Bampton sought to improve his chances of a royal acceptance through the network of families connected to the English Province of the Society of Jesus. He contacted the Catholic Rudolph Feilding (1859-1939), the ninth earl of Denbigh and a member of the king's household.<sup>51</sup> In his March 12 reply to Bampton, Denbigh reiterated

<sup>47</sup>Bampton had previously obtained permission to present a funeral wreath that bore the college crest—a horseshoe with three daggerrets. See "Beaumont College and the Queen's Funeral," *The Tablet*, February 9, 1901, 229.

<sup>48</sup>"Prefect's Journal, 1894-1904," February 2, 1901, ABSI, 5/1/6. For the rituals following the death of Queen Victoria, see John Wolffe, *Great Deaths: Grieving, Religion, and Nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 238-39.

<sup>49</sup>Levi, *Beaumont*, p. 30.

<sup>50</sup>Davidson to Bampton, March 9, 1901, ABSI, Correspondence with Royalty from 1901, PQ/3; qtd. in Rodríguez Caparrini, "El Eton católico," p. 387.

<sup>51</sup>Denbigh had not received his education from the Jesuits, but had attended Oscott College in Birmingham. However, three brothers of his mother, Mary Berkeley, had studied at Beaumont College: Robert in 1865-73, Maurice in 1866-76, and Thomas in

that Edward could not make an exception for Beaumont College, as no schools were presenting addresses. The earl suggested that the rector should forward the address to Knollys, who would present it to the king.<sup>52</sup> But Bampton was undeterred. On April 9 he corresponded again with Knollys about the address. Knollys replied discouragingly from Windsor Castle that Edward appreciated very highly the loyal feelings expressed by the Beaumont boys, "but he is sure you will understand how difficult it would be for him to allow your College to be the only Educational Institution in the Kingdom to present, 'in person', an address to him."<sup>53</sup>

Bampton's correspondence fell silent on the matter for the remainder of 1901. Nonetheless, the school magazine for December of that year stated that Edward and his son, the prince of Wales, had enjoyed some excellent shooting in the Great Park during their stay at Windsor Castle in November and added: "His Majesty did not forget to forward a present of game to the Rector of Beaumont."<sup>54</sup> This sentiment was in keeping with the patriotism pervading Beaumont College at the time. Michael King, S.J. (1853–1931), editor of *The Beaumont Review* for eleven years (1901–12), was an enthusiastic supporter of the British army. In March 1902, just two months before the end of the Boer War, the magazine published a list of "Beaumont Boys in the King's Service," including the names of those who were then serving or who died in the war.<sup>55</sup> When the news about the signing of the peace treaty reached the college late on Sunday, June 1, a half-holiday was granted on Monday, and the *Te Deum* was sung at Benediction in the evening.<sup>56</sup>

The coronation of Edward scheduled for June 26, 1902, had to be postponed, since the king required an operation for appendicitis. All

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1872–76. The Stonyhurst College lists include the seventh, eighth, and ninth barons Clifford of Chudleigh, who were, respectively, grandfather, father, and brother of Denbigh's first wife, Cecilia Mary Clifford. Another brother-in-law, Joseph Clifford (the tenth baron), also had attended Beaumont (1872–74). See Rodríguez Caparrini, "*El Eton católico*," p. 388.

<sup>52</sup>Denbigh to Bampton, March 12, 1901, ABSI, Correspondence with Royalty from 1901, PQ/3.

<sup>53</sup>Knollys to Bampton, April 11, 1901, ABSI, Correspondence with Royalty from 1901, PQ/3; qtd. in Rodríguez Caparrini, "*El Eton católico*," pp. 388–89.

<sup>54</sup>*The Beaumont Review*, 30 (1901), 191.

<sup>55</sup>See "Beaumont Boys in the King's Service," *The Beaumont Review*, 31 (1902), 262–67. Another list in the subsequent issue of the magazine brought the total number of Beaumont boys in the Boer War to 106. See *The Beaumont Review*, 32 (1902), 312.

<sup>56</sup>See *The Beaumont Review*, 32 (1902), 306.

scheduled festivities were cancelled at Beaumont College. In the evening of June 24, the rector addressed the boys. He spoke of the anxiety that existed throughout the empire on account of the king's sudden illness and reminded the pupils of the several occasions in which the king had shown his interest in them. They had now an opportunity to demonstrate gratitude for this interest:

An opportunity which was denied to so many other school boys throughout the country who were no less devoted to the King than they were: for they could pray for him during Benediction, before the Real Presence of Our Lord, that God might prolong his life and comfort him in the trouble which had fallen on him.<sup>57</sup>

When Benediction was over, the antiphon "Domine, salvum fac" was sung together with the prayer for the king and the royal family. The prayers continued every day after the boys' Mass until July 5, when Edward was officially declared to be out of danger.

Beaumont College shared in the general disappointment at the postponement of the coronation. In the last issue of the school year 1901-02, *The Beaumont Review* printed the article "How Beaumont Would Have Celebrated the Coronation of the King." Apart from the *Te Deum* on Coronation Day, the celebrations would have included sports events, a grand banquet in the college refectory, a huge bonfire in the playground, and a display of fireworks. What the students did receive, by the king's command, was an extra week's holiday that would be added to the summer vacation: "And we here take the opportunity of tendering our thanks to His Majesty for thus bearing in mind a not unimportant section of his loyal subjects."<sup>58</sup>

The school magazine confirms that Bampton had not lost hope that the king might eventually pay a formal visit to Beaumont College: "Though the King has not yet found it possible to visit Beaumont, he is no stranger to us, and when he resides at the Castle one of his favourite drives takes him past the College gates."<sup>59</sup>

Thanks to Edward's rapid recovery, the coronation service was held at Westminster Abbey on the morning of August 9, 1902. At least

<sup>57</sup>*The Beaumont Review*, 32 (1902), 306.

<sup>58</sup>"How Beaumont Would Have Celebrated the Coronation of the King," *The Beaumont Review*, 32 (1902), 316-17, here 316.

<sup>59</sup>"How Beaumont Would Have Celebrated the Coronation of the King," p. 316.

one Beaumont boy was in attendance—sixteen-year-old Edric Wolseley, who acted as page in waiting to his relative, field marshal Garnet Wolseley (1st viscount Wolseley, 1833–1913).<sup>60</sup> King Edward and Queen Alexandra went in procession through the main streets of south London on Saturday, October 25, 1902. Dressed in Eton jackets, seventy-five of the 103 Beaumont students watched the royal progress from a stand erected for their exclusive use on the roof of the presbytery attached to St. George's Cathedral, Southwark.<sup>61</sup> At 6:30 pm, staff and students of the college and the preparatory school sat down to the "Banquet of the Coronation" at the refectory of Beaumont College. The hall was profusely decorated with escutcheons and flags of the empire. The rector proposed the toast to the king and queen, telling the boys that "when he called upon them to drink to the King's health they could feel that they were honouring a Sovereign who took a personal interest in them and in their School."<sup>62</sup> Francis Patmore, the captain of the school,<sup>63</sup> then made a short speech, in a similar patriotic tone. All stood for the singing of "God Save the King," with the prefect of studies—Charles Blount, S.J. (1855–1931)—singing each verse solo and the rest repeating it to the accompaniment of the orchestra. The rector read the telegram of congratulation sent to Buckingham Palace that wished the king and queen "a long and glorious reign."<sup>64</sup> At about 8:30 pm, the company adjourned to view the illuminated college façade. Bampton lit the bonfire erected for the original Coronation Day, and a display of fireworks concluded the evening.

On October 27 Beaumont College received a telegram of thanks from Edward, which Bampton possibly interpreted as encourage-

<sup>60</sup>See Edric Wolseley, "The Coronation. By One Who Was Present," *The Beaumont Review*, 33 (1902), 371–73.

<sup>61</sup>The boys from St. John's Preparatory School remained behind. See "Prefect's Journal, 1894–1904," October 25, 1902, ABSI, 5/1/6.

<sup>62</sup>"Coronation Festivities, October 25th, 1902," *The Beaumont Review*, 33 (1902), 392–95, here 393.

<sup>63</sup>The most important innovation during Bampton's rectorate was his introduction of a system of discipline—the "captain" system—based on the principle of enlisting the cooperation of boys with masters in the government of the school. See Bernardo Rodríguez Caparrini, "A Catholic Public School in the Making: Beaumont College during the Rectorate of the Reverend Joseph M. Bampton, S.J. (1901–1908). His Implementation of the 'Captain' System of Discipline," *Paedagogica Historica*, 39 (2003), 737–57, here 748–53; and Rodríguez Caparrini, "*El Eton católico*," pp. 274–308.

<sup>64</sup>"Coronation Festivities, October 25th, 1902," *The Beaumont Review*, 33 (1902), 392–95, here 393.



ment. He wrote again to Denbigh. The earl's reply from Sandringham on November 8 regarding the matter of the Beaumont address was not encouraging:

The matter has been considered already, and His Majesty does not feel disposed to accede, but solely on the reason that he does not like making an exception in favour of any particular school. Fortunately, none but extremists or fanatics doubt the loyalty of English Catholics.<sup>65</sup>

Perhaps trying to compensate for his refusal, Edward sent Bampton a present of game birds from Windsor Castle. These were obtained in the second fortnight of November 1902 at the battues that the British monarch held in the royal preserves with King Carlos I of Portugal (1863–1908), who was then visiting England.<sup>66</sup> At the end of January of the following year, some students from St. John's Preparatory School caught sight of Edward shooting in the park. The king invited them to stand by his carriage.<sup>67</sup>

Bampton had further plans to demonstrate the loyalty of Beaumont College to the monarchy—namely, by laying a wreath on the tomb of Queen Victoria at Frogmore on the Windsor estate, although permission to enter the mausoleum was seldom granted to anyone outside the royal family.<sup>68</sup> But the rector had an advantage. Princes Alfonso de Orleans Borbón (1886–1975) and Luis Fernando de Orleans Borbón (1888–1945)—first cousins of King Alfonso XIII of Spain (1886–1941)—were attending Beaumont. Bampton duly applied for permission on the princes' behalf, and Edward, through Knollys, authorized the two princes and the rector to pay a private visit to the mausoleum on October 13, 1903.<sup>69</sup> Accompanying the wreath was a card tied with a ribbon in the school colors that bore the inscription "In token of loyal and loving remembrance from the boys of Beaumont."<sup>70</sup>

<sup>65</sup>Denbigh to Bampton, November 8, 1902, ABSI, Correspondence with Royalty from 1901, PQ/3; qtd. in Rodríguez Caparrini, "El Eton católico," p. 393.

<sup>66</sup>See *The Beaumont Review*, 34 (1902), 1. The presents of game, usually pheasants, were made to the college for many years.

<sup>67</sup>See C. J. Harter, "Notes from St. John's," *The Beaumont Review*, 35 (1903), 56–59, here 58.

<sup>68</sup>See Tony Rennell, *Last Days of Glory. The Death of Queen Victoria* (Harmondsworth, UK, 2000), p. 27.

<sup>69</sup>See Knollys to Bampton, October 6 and 12, 1903, ABSI, Correspondence with Royalty from 1901, PQ/3.

<sup>70</sup>*The Beaumont Review*, 37 (1903), 165.

In 1905 the rector directed his efforts toward securing the presence of the Spanish monarch at the school. Alfonso XIII arrived in England on June 5, 1905, on a five-day state visit that involved both strategic and dynastic components. Some months before, Bampton had contacted former Beaumont boy Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart (1878–1953), duke of Alba, asking him to invite the king to visit the college. The crowded schedule only permitted the rector and eight Spanish students from the college to pay their respects to Alfonso at Windsor station on June 9. The young king engaged in friendly conversation with Bampton and boys, “while—*The Windsor and Eton Express* reported—King Edward stood smiling, and looking on, evidently much amused at the unconventional character of the proceedings.”<sup>71</sup> However, it is significant to note that the two monarchs made the time to stop briefly at Eton College later in the day and were welcomed with enthusiastic cheers by the 1000-odd boys. The headmaster and the provost were presented to Alfonso in the gateway of the famous institution.<sup>72</sup> The Beaumont boys were granted a holiday in honor of the Spanish king’s visit to Windsor, which was “some slight solace for the disappointment which all felt in not being able to welcome the King within the College grounds.”<sup>73</sup>

Beaumont College received recognition as a public school in February 1906 with the admission of its rector to the Headmasters’ Conference. This achievement reflected the distinctive values promulgated in public school education that the Jesuit boarding school shared in some measure with its Protestant counterparts: formation of character, athleticism, scholarship, Oxford and Cambridge links, leadership, aspirations to advance the gentry, military spirit, and relationship with royalty.<sup>74</sup> Bampton’s prestige in the final years of his term as rector was such that he received an invitation to attend the king’s afternoon garden party at Windsor Castle on Saturday, June 22, 1907. The more than 8000 guests included nearly all the British royal family; Rama V, king of Siam; and American author Mark Twain. Bampton believed the most enduring impression of the day was “that of the strength and still more of the warmth of the ties, not only of loyalty

<sup>71</sup>Qtd. in “The King of Spain and Beaumont,” *The Beaumont Review*, 44 (1905), 199–200, here 200.

<sup>72</sup>See *The Slough, Eton & Windsor Observer*, June 17, 1905, 3.

<sup>73</sup>“The King of Spain and Beaumont,” *The Beaumont Review*, 44 (1905), 199–200, here 199.

<sup>74</sup>See Rodríguez Caparrini, “A Catholic Public School,” p. 755.

but of friendship and affection, which bind the British throne to the British people.”<sup>75</sup>

Bampton achieved a return visit of King Alfonso late in 1907. Alfonso—now married to Princess Victoria Eugenia of Battenberg, niece of Edward VII—paid a 90-minute visit on December 2, 1907, accompanied by the duke of Alba. The rector and community received them at the main entrance and conducted them to the theater, where eight Spanish students were presented to the king. The king then inspected the facilities, including the armory, swimming pool, the recreation rooms, and gymnasium: “He was much struck with the evidence of self-government which he saw in the various departments of the College, and asked the Duke of Alba whether it would not be possible to introduce the same system in Spain.”<sup>76</sup> In honor of Alfonso’s visit, the rector granted a holiday on December 7, and the college Cadet Corps of about 100 boys held a sham fight on the school grounds.

In June 1908, close to the end of Bampton’s term as rector of Beaumont College, the combined number of boys at the college and St. John’s Preparatory School had reached nearly 200.<sup>77</sup> He concluded his service as rector on August 27, 1908. After Bampton’s death in April 1933, he was described as the person who “steered the College safely and successfully through a time of transition and consequent uncertainty to final triumph and assured stability.”<sup>78</sup>

## Conclusion

Despite the proximity of Beaumont College to Windsor Castle, it took more than twenty years after the founding of this Jesuit educational institution for Queen Victoria to personally recognize it by receiving an address of congratulation from the schoolboys at the college gates. The queen’s fluctuating attitude toward her Catholic subjects at Beaumont College closely follows the pattern that she adopted with regard to Catholicism, which Walter L. Arnstein has summarized as follows:

<sup>75</sup>“Some Impressions of the Royal Garden Party at Windsor Castle (by One Who Was There),” *The Beaumont Review*, 52 (1907), 187–88, here 188.

<sup>76</sup>*The Beaumont Review*, 54 (1908), 319.

<sup>77</sup>See *The Beaumont Review*, 55 (1908), 382.

<sup>78</sup>“Editorial,” *The Beaumont Review*, 138 (1933), 145.

During her years as princess and as youthful monarch, Victoria was indeed the public and the private champion of both "Catholic Emancipation" and broad religious toleration. In the aftermath of the "Papal Aggression" controversy of 1850-51, her views hardened. By the early 1870s she had become privately if not publicly, a Protestant crusader who candidly described herself as "very anti-Catholic." In her final years, however, those attitudes underwent a second significant transformation. Not only in her private practice but also in her public actions, Queen Victoria became a philo-Catholic.<sup>79</sup>

Moreover, it may have been difficult for the queen to ignore a boarding school with many pupils of a high social class. According to the available evidence, 17.3 percent of the students who attended Beaumont College in the period 1872-76 belonged to the gentry, with another 27.7 percent pursuing careers in military and civil service after graduation. The percentages for the period 1892-96 are comparable in the two categories: 19.1 percent and 25.7 percent, respectively.<sup>80</sup>

As rector of this institution, Bampton emulated the tactics of the great Protestant public schools of the country to generate interest in his own. As intimacy with royalty was a social advantage offered to attendees of these major schools, the preoccupation of the rector with securing the presence of Edward (and Alfonso) at the college can be better understood. At the seventh Conference of Catholic Colleges, held at Ampleforth Abbey (Yorkshire) on May 13-14, 1902, Bampton gave an alarming account of the increasing number of Catholic children who frequented Eton and other public schools. From his dealings with the parents of these boys, he learned that

although the education given in Catholic schools was admitted to be not inferior in point of efficiency to that of the public schools, it is the question of social advantages that influences Catholic parents to desert their own Catholic colleges for non-Catholic schools.<sup>81</sup>

A formal visit by Edward would have meant valuable publicity for the college. However, Bampton overestimated the feasibility of such an

<sup>79</sup>Arnstein, "Queen Victoria and the Challenge of Roman Catholicism," pp. 296-97.

<sup>80</sup>At Harrow, one of the elite Protestant public schools, the percentage of pupils belonging to the gentry was much lower than at Beaumont College in the two periods studied—9.6 percent in 1872-76 and 6.7 percent in 1892-96. See Roberts, *Harvest of Hope*, pp. 184-88.

<sup>81</sup>"The Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges," *The Tablet*, May 24, 1902, 819-20, here 819.



event taking place, although he may have been encouraged by Queen Victoria's past calls at Beaumont College as well as Edward's unostentatious Anglicanism and "relatively friendly attitude towards Roman Catholics and Jews."<sup>82</sup> In fact, the British monarch's favorite Catholic priest was the Jesuit Bernard Vaughan, Bampton's mentor in the Manchester days. In 1898, as prince of Wales, Edward heard Vaughan preach at two churches in Cannes (France). He asked for the notes to one sermon, and Vaughan wrote the entire sermon out for him. After this, invitations to Marlborough House and Buckingham Palace were frequent.<sup>83</sup> The Irish ex-Jesuit E. Boyd Barrett has written that "when Edward VII was on the throne, they [the Jesuits] exercised power over him through Fr. Bernard Vaughan."<sup>84</sup> It was Vaughan who received Sir Ernest Cassel, the Jewish financier, into the Catholic Church, and Cassel was the most representative of Edward's intimate friends.

Given this treatment of Vaughan, the refusal of Edward to receive an address from Beaumont College must have been surprising to Bampton who, as rector of a respected boarding school for the elite and a well-regarded orator, may have considered his credentials to be on the level of his confrere Vaughan and thus deserving of royal favor.

The reason cited by Edward for refusing the personal presentation of an address by the boys of Beaumont College at the beginning of his reign is perfectly valid—an acceptance would have established a precedent for other colleges. But Edward showed many marks of favor to Protestant public schools, visiting Eton College in 1904 and 1908, Harrow in 1905, University College School in 1907, and Rugby in 1909. He also was a frequent visitor to Wellington College and attended its jubilee in June 1909.<sup>85</sup> However, certain events during Edward's reign provide some insight into his choice of position toward Beaumont College.

On February 8, 1908, the king, with Queen Alexandra and other members of the royal family, attended a Requiem Mass at St. James's Roman Catholic Church (London) for Carlos I, the murdered king of Portugal. This provoked the protests of the Protestant Alliance, which vehemently opposed Anglican ritualism and wished to restrict the

<sup>82</sup>Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914* (Basingstoke, UK, 1996), p. 22.

<sup>83</sup>See C. C. Martindale, *Bernard Vaughan, S.J.* (London, 1923), pp. 63-64.

<sup>84</sup>E. Boyd Barrett, *The Jesuit Enigma* (New York, 1927), p. 220.

<sup>85</sup>See Sidney Lee, *King Edward VII. A Biography*, 2 vols. (London, 1925-27), 2:399.

expansion of Catholicism in Great Britain. The council of the Protestant Alliance passed a resolution that implied that “by attending the mass Edward VII had endangered his claim to the British throne.”<sup>86</sup> Although the king ignored the protests on this occasion, his attitude toward a major Catholic event later in the year was of a very different kind. Shortly before the nineteenth Roman Catholic International Eucharistic Congress convened in London on September 9, 1908, militant Protestants petitioned the king and Parliament to prohibit a major event of the congress—a procession of the Blessed Sacrament that would pass by the Catholic Westminster Cathedral. They argued that this procession would be illegal under the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 and would cause a breach of the peace. A cipher telegram sent to Prime Minister Herbert H. Asquith on September 11 pointed out that the king was anxious about the inability of the government to stop the procession and added that the public conviction “that the King sympathizes with the procession . . . is the exact reverse of the fact.”<sup>87</sup> The procession did occur, but on advice from government officials, the Host was not carried, and the prelates wore court dress instead of vestments. Thomas Horwood summarizes how the event was perceived at the time:

The opposition to the 1908 Eucharistic Congress was the last great anti-Catholic controversy. It came as a surprise to the Catholic organisers who had not experienced such an outburst for a generation, and who believed that the opinion of English society was more tolerant and liberal. . . . Although, in retrospect, there was widespread support for the abandoning of the Blessed Sacrament procession, it was the extreme Protestant groups that fared the worst. Opinion was almost universally in favour of “religious liberty”, and against intolerance. Catholics received widespread sympathy, whereas the “Pugnacious Protestant” was caricatured as narrow-minded and ignorant: “a good Protestant, but a bad Christian.”<sup>88</sup>

The reaction to Edward’s attendance at the 1908 Requiem Mass for Carlos I, the controversy over the procession in the Eucharistic Congress of that year, and the king’s refusal to visit Beaumont College

<sup>86</sup>Carol A. Devlin, “The Eucharistic Procession of 1908: The Dilemma of the Liberal Government,” *Church History*, 63 (1994), 407–25, here 415.

<sup>87</sup>Arthur Davidson to Asquith, September 11, 1908; qtd. in G. I. T. Machin, “The Liberal Government and the Eucharistic Procession of 1908,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 34 (1983), 559–83, here 570.

<sup>88</sup>Thomas Horwood, “Public Opinion and the 1908 Eucharistic Congress,” *Recusant History*, 25 (2000), 120–32, here 130–31. Horwood’s brief quotations are from the weekly periodical *Truth*, September 23, 1908, 702–03.

support the conclusion that there was still considerable hostility to Roman Catholicism in Great Britain during the Edwardian era. Although sectarian violence against Catholics had diminished by 1900 and the small Catholic community was more integrated into British society than in former years, anti-Catholic attitudes and prejudices endured. As Machin has put it, British Catholics "remained socially inferior in both a formal and an informal sense."<sup>89</sup>

<sup>89</sup>Machin, "British Catholics," p. 31.

LEOCADIO LOBO:  
THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR AS VIEWED BY A  
PRIEST EXILED IN  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

JOSÉ L. GONZÁLEZ GULLÓN\*

*The Catholic priest Leocadio Lobo (1887-1959) is an icon of the Spanish Civil War, but his life has never been submitted to rigorous study. His exile in the United States from 1939 to 1959 is essential to an understanding of his life. His Republican ideology, contrary to that of the regime of General Francisco Franco, was the reason for his exile. Lobo believed that it was possible to be Catholic without supporting the Franco regime, but he was unable to offer an adequate response to the religious persecution that occurred in the Republican zone during the Civil War. In the United States, he underwent rehabilitation as a Catholic priest and developed an extraordinary pastoral ministry in New York City, primarily to the Hispanic community.*

**Keywords:** Eijo Garay, Leopoldo, Bishop; Lobo, Leocadio; National Catholic Welfare Conference; Spanish Civil War

From the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936 to its end in April 1939, the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) followed the course of the war attentively. It received firsthand reports about the war through correspondence with Spanish bishops, especially Cardinal Isidro Gomá, the archbishop of Toledo and the leader of Spanish Catholics since 1936. The NCWC criticized the attitude of Spain's Republican government after receiving irrefutable news of the murders for religious reasons of Catholics, especially priests and members of religious congregations.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>José M. Sánchez, "Suspended Priests and Suspect Catholics: Visitors from Loyalist Spain to America," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 78 (1992), 207-16, here 208.



From the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, various Catholic associations sprang up, offering political and economic aid to Catholics in the Nationalist zone controlled by General Francisco Franco. The most important of these was the American Spanish Relief Fund (ASRF), which was directed by the Jesuit Francis X. Talbot, literary editor of the magazine *America*. The ASRF organized conferences for the purpose of explaining the Spanish situation and ultimately raised close to \$100,000 between 1937 and 1940. This money was sent periodically to Gomá, who was charged with distributing it among the Spanish Catholics in greatest need.<sup>2</sup>

North American Catholics also were informed of developments in the war and invited to provide economic aid to the Republican zone during the war. The Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (NAC) was the organization that devoted the greatest effort to addressing the economic necessities of the Spanish Republic during the war. The NAC, a communist-controlled group in the United States,<sup>3</sup> was formed by the association of two entities—the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy. The former group “enjoyed the support of some sixty local chapters and of at least fifteen affiliated groups” such as the Communist Party, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Socialist Party, the American Student Union, and the American League against War and Fascism.<sup>4</sup> The latter group provided medical services to the Abraham Lincoln Brigade of U.S. volunteers serving in the war. Unlike the ASRF, the NAC was viewed with suspicion by U.S. bishops, especially since the NAC tried to demonstrate that it was possible to have communists in the government, as was the case with the Spanish Republican government.

The NAC was not a religious organization, but it organized and funded U.S. tours with both Republican and Catholic speakers on the Spanish Civil War.<sup>5</sup> Invited speakers included individuals who had a problematic relationship with the Church such as an apostate

<sup>2</sup>The correspondence can be found in Box 38, Folder 14 (America Spanish Relief Fund—Organization), *America* Magazine Archives, Special Collections Research Center (hereafter SCRC), Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

<sup>3</sup>Martin Dies, *The Trojan Horse in America* (New York, 1977), p. 194.

<sup>4</sup>Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1988), p. 396.

<sup>5</sup>This documentation is found in Part B (General Office Files), Box 9 (Delegation from Spain), Spanish Refugee Relief Organization Files 1935–1957 (hereafter SRROF), Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York.



FIGURE 1. Father Leocadio Lobo, c. 1955. Photo courtesy of the Lloret Lobo family.

Franciscan, Luis Sarasola, for a fall 1936 tour; Michael O'Flannagan, an Irish priest who had been suspended *a divinis*, for a spring 1937 tour; José Bergamín, an editor critical of the Spanish bishops, for a summer 1937 tour; and Leocadio Lobo, a priest who also had been suspended, for a spring 1939 tour (see figure 1).<sup>6</sup>

Lobo's journey was a unique one. On April 1, 1939, Franco signed the final dispatch announcing the end of the conflict—the start of an authoritarian regime that was to last for thirty-six years. Lobo was forced into exile, as a return to Spain most likely would mean his execution by firing squad for his defense of the Republic against Franco's government. As was the case with so many Spanish exiles, it was the start of a new and difficult life in the United States for Lobo.

<sup>6</sup>Sánchez, "Suspended Priests," p. 210. An *a divinis* suspension carried with it a prohibition from preaching and celebrating the sacraments.

This article analyzes the life and thought of Lobo, a priest who spoke on behalf of the Spanish Republic, an attitude exceedingly rare among the Catholic clergy during the Spanish conflict. His experience sheds light on the actions of the Spanish clergy in the period between the two world wars, the perceptions of the Spanish Civil War by U.S. Catholics, and the attitude of the American bishops at the end of World War II toward individuals exiled by the Spanish Civil War.

### From Peace to War

Leocadio José Lobo Canónigo was born on November 9, 1887, in Batres, a small village located twenty-three miles southwest of Madrid.<sup>7</sup> He was the oldest of seventeen children (four died shortly after birth) in a family with modest economic resources. At the age of fourteen he expressed his desire to become a priest because he believed he had a vocation and, in October 1901, entered the Seminary of Madrid.

Between 1901 and 1911, Lobo studied philosophy and theology at the seminary. He earned high marks and distinguished himself as a speaker at the seminary's literary evenings. Years later it would become common for Lobo to be invited to preach in churches or to speak on the radio because of his reputation as an "eloquent orator."<sup>8</sup> Throughout Lobo's life he was a man of sincere faith. He received his cultural education, especially with regard to his understanding of society and the role of the Church within it, from his professors in the Seminary of Madrid who were versed in traditional, antimodernist Catholic thought. In their desire to distance themselves from liberal thought, they defended the confessional nature of the Spanish state and the role of the priest as a leader in society.<sup>9</sup>

Upon completion of his studies, Lobo was ordained a priest of the Diocese of Madrid-Alcalá on December 20, 1913,<sup>10</sup> and for the next five years was a professor of apologetics, catechesis, and sacred his-

<sup>7</sup>Archivo Histórico de la Diócesis de Madrid (hereafter AHDM), Madrid, *Certificado de Bautismo*, May 12, 1912, in Expedientes de Órdenes Sagradas, 1913, "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo."

<sup>8</sup>ABC (Madrid), June 12, 1921.

<sup>9</sup>Primitivo Tineo, "La formación teológica en los seminarios españoles (1890-1925)," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, 2 (1993), 45-96, here 94.

<sup>10</sup>Boletín Oficial del Obispado de Madrid-Alcalá, 1035 (Madrid, 1914), 28.

tory in the Seminary of Madrid.<sup>11</sup> Motivated by a desire to assist in the professional and economic development of the most disadvantaged social groups, Lobo participated in the Catholic labor movement—from 1917 to 1923 he was a member of the Agricultural Labor Union of the Sacred Heart in Batres.<sup>12</sup>

From 1918 to 1936, Lobo dedicated himself to intensive pastoral activity in three parishes in Madrid—San José, San Pedro el Real, and San Ginés. The parish registers of San Ginés, saved from arsonists by Lobo, bear witness to his evangelizing efforts. In 1931 he officiated at 162 funerals, seventy-four weddings, and five baptisms. The figures in later years were similar, with a slight decrease in activity due to the anticlerical environment of the Second Spanish Republic. Thus, in 1935, Lobo officiated at 116 funerals, sixty-four weddings, and three baptisms.<sup>13</sup> Performing a funeral every three days is significant because it presupposes the preparation of each service and is evidence of the close relationship between Lobo and the families of the parish, whom he strove to comfort in the difficult times of sorrow and death.

In the 1920s and 1930s Lobo received a little more than 3800 pesetas per year (approximately \$342 at the time). These funds came mainly from monies received for his services at daily Mass, funerals, and baptisms. This income provided more than adequate support at that time, particularly for someone without dependents.

From spring 1929 to summer 1930, Lobo was a regular contributor to *Las Migajas*, the newsletter of the parish of Nuestra Señora de las Angustias in Madrid, and it was there that he explained his ideas about faith and its cultural expression for the first time. His articles demonstrated concern for the Catholic faithful in the most disadvantaged urban areas. Faced with the indifference and weariness of the faithful, Lobo favored a change in the liturgy, translating the texts from Latin to Spanish and avoiding formal constructions that said nothing “to many people, who look upon them with indifference and boredom.”<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup>*Anuario Eclesiástico* (Barcelona, 1918), pp. 151–52.

<sup>12</sup>Leocadio Lobo to Antonio García, n.d., in Box 23, Folder “Leocadio Lobo Canónigo,” Personal Antiguo, AHDM. García was the general vicar of the Diocese of Madrid-Alcalá.

<sup>13</sup>Archivo de la Parroquia de San Ginés, Madrid, *Libro de Bautismos*, no. 63 (1928–1936); *Libro de Defunciones*, no. 31 (1930–1936); *Libro de Matrimonios*, no. 27 (1929–1936).

<sup>14</sup>“a muchos que con el alma fría e indiferente las contemplan”: Leocadio Lobo Canónigo, “Sección de Liturgia,” *Las Migajas*, 113 (1929), 8.



At the same time, he emphasized the role of the parish priest as the leader of the Catholic people in the local community.<sup>15</sup>

On April 14, 1931, the Second Spanish Republic was peacefully proclaimed. Politicians from outside the Catholic faith were the main supporters of the Republic. Because many of them were freemasons and anticlerical extremists, priests in general greeted the Republic's arrival with suspicion, although they complied with the Vatican's directives to accept the legitimately constituted powers in their public declarations. Their feelings changed to outright opposition when more than 100 convents and churches throughout Spain were destroyed on May 11–17, 1931, and the government did nothing to stop the violence. Their attitude hardened when the Society of Jesus was dissolved in Spain, and a law prohibiting members of religious orders from teaching was incorporated into the Republican Constitution in December 1931. As a result, the majority of the Catholic clergy defended right-wing Catholic political parties unaligned with the Republic. This stance reflected the tensions that existed throughout Spain and the growing polarization of the populace, with fragmentation on each side of the divide.<sup>16</sup>

Unlike most of his colleagues, Lobo proclaimed in a sermon his "liberal spirit and Republican convictions."<sup>17</sup> At that time, Republican Catholics were a minority that was very influential in politics and tried to reconcile traditional faith with modern culture. One axiom was the acceptance of the secular state that had been so quickly implanted by the Second Republic. The danger for these Catholics was that their faith would degenerate into heterodox or syncretistic points of view. In the case of Lobo, his humble background, pastoral experience with families in need, and contact with liberal Catholics shaped his perspective. But Lobo did not accept the underlying postulates of the Republic such as the freedom of conscience and the changing culture of modernity; he adhered to the concept he had

<sup>15</sup>Lobo, "Sección de Liturgia," *Las Migajas*, 110 (1929), 8.

<sup>16</sup>Stanley Payne, "¿Por qué no se consolida la Segunda República?" in *La República y la Guerra Civil. Setenta años después*, ed. Alfonso Bullón de Mendoza and Luis E. Togores (Madrid, 2008), pp. 15–26, here p. 16.

<sup>17</sup>"*espíritu liberal y convicción republicana*": Box 23, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," Personal Antiguo, AHDM. These declarations appeared in publication in *El Siglo Futuro*, a fundamentalist newspaper that, as a reaction to liberalism, looked to the Christian faith to provide a clear response to modern social questions.

learned in the seminary in which unity in the Faith necessarily implied a unity of thought in response to cultural questions.<sup>18</sup>

Lobo became a member of the Republican Left, which was the party of Manuel Azaña, the prime minister for three terms and later the president of the Republic. Because Azaña applied the constitutional articles that many Catholics regarded as anticlerical, many of Lobo's fellow priests distanced themselves from him.<sup>19</sup>

### The Political Activities of a Priest

The Spanish Civil War began on July 17, 1936, and the country was split in two. The Republican government authorized the arming of the popular militias as a defense against antigovernment troops, but the measure sparked a social revolution in Madrid staged by labor unions, workers' parties, and anarchist paramilitary groups. The elimination of notable Catholics, especially the clergy, began in earnest. Twelve bishops, 4184 diocesan priests and seminarians, 2365 male religious, and 283 female religious were murdered during the Civil War.<sup>20</sup> Of the 2000 Catholic priests residing in Madrid, 704 were assassinated, with 95 percent killed in the second half of 1936.<sup>21</sup> Given these events, many Catholics in Spain and elsewhere supported the regime established by Franco or accepted it as the lesser of two evils.

There also were Catholics who publicly supported the Republic because they understood that their faith and the Vatican teaching on respect for legitimately constituted governments obliged them to remain faithful to the regime that had been established in Spain. These Catholics (especially priests) faced a crucial question—their support for a regime that had allowed, or left uncondemned, religious persecution.

<sup>18</sup>Gonzalo Redondo, *Historia de la Iglesia en España. 1931–1939*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1993), 1:358.

<sup>19</sup>Redondo, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 2:366.

<sup>20</sup>Antonio Montero Moreno, *Historia de la persecución religiosa en España. 1936–1939*, 3rd ed. (Madrid, 1999), p. 762. As is well known, there also were twelve Basque priests murdered in the Nationalist zone for political causes.

<sup>21</sup>Data has been obtained by consulting 721 personal files of priests living in Madrid in 1936 in the AHDM and the Central Archive of the Curia of the Archdiocese of Madrid (hereafter ACCAM), as well as referring to José Luis Alfaya, *Como un río de fuego. Madrid, 1936*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1998), pp. 104–05.

It was known in Madrid that Lobo was a supporter of the Republican government. He spoke on the Communist Party's September 20 radio broadcast. Emphasizing that he was not a communist, he wished to communicate "that all of their [the party's] legitimate and just aspirations were Christian ones."<sup>22</sup> He noted that he was a priest in full possession of ecclesiastical faculties, that he was in contact with the ecclesiastical authority, and that he was obligated to remain faithful to the legitimately constituted government of Spain. He did not speak of the religious persecution, but instead affirmed that the war had begun because of social reasons and the disinterest of the members of "respectable society" toward the needs of the poor.

Lobo and two other priests with Republican sympathies published a manifesto on October 12 that collected, without additional commentaries, the texts of various popes and Spanish bishops declaring that rebellion against the legitimate government was illicit, that profound social reforms were necessary, and that the Catholic Faith could not be identified with any political party.<sup>23</sup> Their position attracted the attention of the minister of state, Julio Álvarez del Vayo, who financed a tour of Europe for Lobo and another priest, José Manuel Gallegos Rocafull, so that they might explain the causes of the war. The two priests were away from November 1936 to April 1937. They used Paris as their base of operations, traveling from there to Belgium, Holland, and Great Britain. They encountered difficulties in every country except France, because Franco's ambassadors and representatives charged with his foreign business interests had alerted the civil authorities in each nation about their activities. Their dealings with the ecclesiastical authorities were no less complicated—Gomá had written to the bishops everywhere the two priests sought to stay in an effort to thwart their activities.<sup>24</sup>

Lobo's speeches in foreign countries were political in nature and extremely controversial. The best known was his November 7 speech

<sup>22</sup>"*que todas sus legítimas y justas aspiraciones son cristianas*." The speech was printed in the newspaper *El Cantábrico* on September 24, 1936, p. 2. It appeared in partially reprinted form in works such as *Catholics and the Civil War in Spain* (London, 1936), pp. 6–9.

<sup>23</sup>This is reproduced in José Manuel Gallegos Rocafull, *La pequeña grey. Testimonio religioso sobre la Guerra Civil española* (Barcelona, 2007), pp. 211–17.

<sup>24</sup>Isidro Gomá to Eugenio Pacelli, November 27, 1936, in *Archivo Gomá: documentos de la guerra civil*, ed. José Andrés-Gallego and Antón M. Pazos (Madrid, 2001), pp. 363–65.

at the Casa de España in Brussels, which addressed the military rebellion from the Republican point of view. Lobo blamed Franco and his allies for everything that was happening in Spain, since "those who should have been her protectors have become her executioners."<sup>25</sup> By contrast, he thought that the communists had generally conducted themselves "with a remarkable sense of responsibility and prudence."<sup>26</sup>

Monsignor Leopoldo Eijo Garay, bishop of Madrid, had fled the capital at the start of the war and was living in his native city of Vigo, which was under the control of Franco's troops. On December 5, 1936, Eijo signed a decree of suspension of Lobo's priestly faculties *a divinis*, meaning that he was prohibited from celebrating the sacraments. In his decree the bishop declared that he was suspending Lobo because of the priest's scandalous public behavior in giving support in his radio appearances and writings "to the enemies of the Church and of the fatherland."<sup>27</sup> As Lobo was out of the country at the time and not in communication with his bishop, he did not learn of the suspension until his arrival in the United States two years later.

Coinciding with his return to Spain in April 1937, Lobo published *Primate and Priest*, a 16-page tract.<sup>28</sup> In it, he confronted Gomá's declarations about the "spirit of genuine Crusade" that had Catholic Spain locked in confrontation with atheistic Russia. First, in Lobo's view, the military rebellion could not be justified because it had risen up against the legitimate government of the nation and because it was affiliated with fascism and the Falange. The Church could not support either side in the conflict, especially the rebels. The Spanish bishops should express "words of love and pardon, words of generosity and anxiety, cries torn from the Christian soul to call down curses on the war and to sow peace among the combats."<sup>29</sup>

Second, according to Lobo, the Spanish Civil War had nothing in common with the wars of religion from the centuries before the French

<sup>25</sup>"*ceux qui, au lieu d'être ses gardiens, se sont fait ses bourreaux*": Lobo and José M. Gallegos Rocafull, *Deux prêtres espagnols parlent de la Tragédie de l'Espagne* (Anderlecht, 1936), p. 3. See also José María Semprún Guerra, "La question d'Espagne inconnue," *Esprit. Revue Internationale*, 50 (1936), 291-319.

<sup>26</sup>"*avec un sens remarquable de la responsabilité et de la prudence*": Lobo and Gallegos, *Deux prêtres espagnols*, p. 9.

<sup>27</sup>"*a los enemigos de la Iglesia y de la Patria*": Decree of Leopoldo Eijo Garay, December 5, 1936, in XV,A I 3, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," ACCAM.

<sup>28</sup>Lobo, *Primate and Priest* (London, 1937).

<sup>29</sup>Lobo, *Primate*, p. 8.



Revolution. It was "essentially a human, political, and social" war. The clergy, stated Lobo, should have exercised greater influence years earlier: "If, instead of political activity in defense of anti-Christian capitalism, we had carried out a social program, approved and blessed by our hierarchy, the fate of Spain today would have been very different."<sup>30</sup>

Third, said Lobo, it was not possible to speak of the martyrdom of priests and religious without first recalling that there also had been clerical victims in the Nationalist zone and that many clerics, "confusing politics and religion, have written and spoken, and permitted at the doors of their churches the sale of newspapers and reviews directed against the régime, and have patronized organizations which were hated by the people."<sup>31</sup>

Fourth, Lobo stated his wish to stand beside the people, preaching the Gospel to the poor. Despite the murders that had occurred, he expressed

[his] gratitude to the Militia and to the people for the noble way in which they have treated numbers of priests, religious and nuns in Madrid. I publicly thank all those who accompanied me . . . during the first three months of the rebellion.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, Lobo called on the pope to pronounce words of love and peace to end the conflict:

I condemn all the crimes and the horrors of the war, I weep for the death of prelates, priests and religious, and I weep even more bitterly for the death of so many innocents, above all of the women and children.<sup>33</sup>

After his return to Spain on April 3, 1937, Lobo met with the only Catholic in the Republican government, the Basque minister Manuel de Irujo. The minister named him the delegate of the Board for the Protection of Artistic Treasures that was charged with saving the nation's ecclesiastical patrimony. In this capacity, Lobo managed to recover or place under his protection twenty-two archives of the thirty parishes in Madrid.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Lobo, *Primate*, p. 16.

<sup>31</sup>Lobo, *Primate*, p. 10.

<sup>32</sup>Lobo, *Primate*, p. 16.

<sup>33</sup>Lobo, *Primate*, p. 15.

<sup>34</sup>Lobo, "Cómo respetó el pueblo el tesoro artístico eclesiástico," *El Catolicismo en la España leal y en la zona facciosa* (Madrid-Valencia, 1937), p. 8.

Lobo was named to a second post at the beginning of August—Jefe de la Sección de Confesiones y Congregaciones religiosas (head of the Department of Creeds and Religious Congregations). Since the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, the churches in the Republican zone had been closed, and no public acts of religious worship had taken place. There were more than 100 clandestine altars in Madrid apartments where Catholics lived their faith. The government knew of the existence of some of them, but generally did not take action to remove them. Irujo wanted to provide a legal framework for these acts of worship, although he faced opposition from other government officials. He secured verbal authorization for the re-establishment of privately celebrated acts of Catholic worship, opening a few chapels in each city.<sup>35</sup>

Irujo asked for Lobo's assistance in carrying out his plans in Madrid.<sup>36</sup> Lobo met with priests, attempting to secure their signatures on a declaration of acceptance of the government in exchange for permission to celebrate Mass privately. He obtained only fifteen signatures, because the priests had demanded that he obtain Eijo's authorization and that religious worship be universal, with access that extended beyond a few chapels.<sup>37</sup>

To obtain the names of the priests of the Diocese of Madrid, Lobo asked the government for access to Eijo's archives, which had been confiscated at the start of the Civil War. Lobo took from the archives a file containing the names of the priests, some documents with the notation "secrets of conscience," and letters from several prominent Catholics in Madrid requesting that the bishop grant permission to cloistered nuns to leave their convents so they could vote in the 1933 parliamentary elections.<sup>38</sup>

Because Eijo was at that time in the Nationalist zone, Lobo tried to obtain the support of the Vatican. He wrote to the Holy See requesting "standards to be followed in the present circumstances consistent

<sup>35</sup>Manuel de Irujo, *Un vasco en el Ministerio de Justicia*, 3 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1978), 2:32.

<sup>36</sup>Regarding Irujo's plans and his difficulties in carrying them out, see José M. Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy* (Notre Dame, 1987), pp. 132-39.

<sup>37</sup>Evidence of Albino Jiménez Fernández, June 16, 1939, in XV,A 13, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," ACCAM.

<sup>38</sup>Evidence of Albino Jiménez Fernández, ACCAM.

with that of the Red Zone.”<sup>39</sup> Word of his request reached Gomá, who urged Monsignor Hildebrando Antoniutti, the recently named chargé d'affaires of the Holy See to Nationalist Spain, to inform Rome.<sup>40</sup> Antoniutti wrote Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, the Vatican secretary of state, to warn him that Lobo's maneuvers “appear to be a movement with political tendencies.”<sup>41</sup> Lobo never received the approval of the Holy See.<sup>42</sup>

During this period, Lobo cooperated with Republican propaganda efforts. On August 15, the international press reported that Lobo had been filmed celebrating a Mass in his former parish of San Ginés.<sup>43</sup>

Events in 1938 turned the tide in favor of the Nationalists. In May 1938 the Vatican named Gaetano Cicognani as its nuncio to the government of Franco. In summer and autumn 1938 the victory by Franco's troops at the Battle of the Ebro marked a decisive point in the war. In September the International Brigades, including the Abraham Lincoln Brigade with some 2500 men from the United States, began to withdraw from Spain.<sup>44</sup> The Republican government, then headquartered in Barcelona, continued to encourage its combatants through propaganda.

In July 1938, Lobo sent a letter to the editor of the *Times* “to reply to Father George Burns of the Society of Jesus” and other Catholics who had criticized the religious persecution in the Republican zone in the newspaper.<sup>45</sup> Although the letter was never published, it sheds

<sup>39</sup>“Normes à suivre dans les circonstances actuelles et conformes au milieu rouge”: Max-Alfonso Áriz to Silvio Sericano, September 14, 1937, in fol. 43, Box 902, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City. The complete text of these standards was published by Vicente Cárcel Ortí, “La Nunciatura de Madrid durante la Guerra Civil (1936–1939),” *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 46 (2008), 163–356, here 280–88.

<sup>40</sup>During the Spanish Civil War, the “Lobo affair” was one of several issues on the agenda of Gomá. See Andrés-Gallego and Pazos, eds., *Archivo Gomá*.

<sup>41</sup>“hanno la parvenza di un movimento tendenzialmente politico”: Hildebrando Antoniutti to Eugenio Pacelli, October 18, 1937, in fols. 402–403, Box 972, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City.

<sup>42</sup>The documentation regarding the different intents of Lobo to establish relationship with the Holy See was covered by Ortí, “La Nunciatura,” pp. 233–35, 279–87, 339–43.

<sup>43</sup>“Mass Is Celebrated Openly in Valencia,” *New York Times*, August 16, 1937, 7.

<sup>44</sup>Antony Beevor, *La Guerra Civil Española* (Barcelona, 2005), p. 549.

<sup>45</sup>Lobo, “Open Letter to the Editor of the *Times*,” June 1938, in Coll Misc 0091/38, London School of Economics Archives, London.

light on Lobo's position. In it, he made three assertions: first, that politics, not religious persecution, had motivated the murders of priests in Spain. He wrote, "Nearly every priest who has fallen in this horrible battle . . . has fallen as a politician." Lobo declared that thousands of priests had been members of political parties, preached political ideas in the churches, permitted newspapers attacking the government and the people to be sold at the entrances of parish churches, and kept weapons in churches. No doubt drawing on the documentation he had removed from the chancery offices of Madrid, he reminded them of the many Catholics that had petitioned for allowing cloistered nuns to vote.

Second, Lobo claimed that the Republican government had not encouraged the political persecution of the clergy:

At the beginning of the rebellion, no doubt, feelings were uncontrolled, and ignorant or wicked people took personal advantage of that horrible opportunity. Yet nobody can seriously assert that the authorities issued orders for persecution, or that they ever prohibited freedom of worship.

As a result, he continued, if there had not been religious worship it was because Catholics—bishops, priests, and the faithful—had not wanted it:

Whose fault is it if religious worship in our territory is irregular? The confession is painful, but necessary. The fault is ours and only ours. We have not expressed a word of gratitude or a sign of appreciation for the good treatment we have received. Why? Simply because we do not wish to do it. It is convenient to go on and far more profitable for Franco's cause, and for that of the Spanish Bishops who still desire to keep in the background, to talk of catacombs and persecution, and to use the word martyrology.

Finally, Lobo believed that by using the term *crusade*, the Spanish bishops had shifted an economic, social, and political conflict to the religious sphere. This shift—which he deemed stupid—was as reprehensible as the support given by the bishops to Franco's rebellion against the legitimately constituted government of Spain. As a result, Lobo charged that the Spanish Church was equally responsible for the catastrophe: "The military rebellion would never have reached such great importance or, perhaps started at all without the assistance of the Church. If there have been innocent victims, the military rebels, the phalangists, the Bishops, priests and monks are responsible." He deplored what he saw as the Church's abandonment of its obligation



to evangelize in response to social problems, contenting itself instead with external devotional practices. He contrasted this attitude with the one adopted by the Holy See, which was inclined to listen to voices on both sides of the war:

We shall have normal religious life as soon as we say to the Spanish Government and people: As Ministers of the Catholic Faith we declare that we have nothing in common with politics. Our only desire is freedom of Religion and Worship.<sup>46</sup>

As the attempt to re-establish public worship in the areas controlled by Republican forces had failed, the government attempted to save face on December 9, 1938, by creating the so-called Commissary for Religious Worship to ensure that religious worship was free and public in Spain. Although the commissary's work was only conducted for a short time, as Barcelona fell under Franco's control in January 1939 and the Civil War ended in April, Lobo once more took part in propaganda efforts.<sup>47</sup> A reporter interviewed him at his home in Madrid; Lobo showed him the oratory in which he celebrated Mass every Sunday and stated that he was preparing to open three more churches.<sup>48</sup>

It was during this time that Lobo received an invitation from the NAC to travel to the United States and speak about the Spanish Civil War for a minimum of three months. Lobo weighed the invitation carefully; if he accepted, he would be leaving Spain at a time when the future was more uncertain than ever for the Republicans. Lobo accepted the invitation, leaving Madrid on January 29, 1939. He traveled first to Paris, where he visited Sulpician Cardinal Jean Verdier and Spanish Republicans such as Bergamín, and from there departed for America. His ship docked in New York City on February 27.

### From War to Priestly Ministry

In the Communist newspaper the *Daily Worker* Lobo said that he had come to the United States seeking "bread and understanding"—that is, to raise funds for the needy in Spain and to attempt to explain

<sup>46</sup>Lobo, "Open Letter."

<sup>47</sup>"Franco 'Greets' Madrid; Shells Former Capital, but Fails to Halt Mass in City," *New York Times*, January 2, 1939, 7.

<sup>48</sup>*ABC*, December 10, 1938, 4.

the reasons behind the Spanish Civil War.<sup>49</sup> On March 2, with the aid of an interpreter, he gave a speech at a conference in the Hotel Center in New York City, with more than 1800 delegates of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in attendance. The conference was held to explore ways "to resist fascist aggression against the democratic nations of the World."<sup>50</sup> Lobo spoke at a similar conference in Flushing, New York, on March 8. Another speaker was an American lieutenant colonel who had fought in the International Brigades.<sup>51</sup>

Catholic authorities in the United States also were aware of Lobo's arrival. Gomá had informed Monsignor Michael J. Ready, the general secretary of the NCWC, of Lobo's suspension (see figure 2). The official posture of the U.S. bishops was clearly defined from the beginning—the Spanish priest was a leftist propagandist who had written manifestos for Communists around the world, defended the cause of murderers of thousands of priests, and received a suspension from his priestly functions.<sup>52</sup> The NCWC circulated a letter to the diocesan directors in the United States explaining Lobo's ideas and drawing attention to the real problem that he represented for America: "many well meaning persons who do not realize the Communistic background of this organization [Medical Bureau] are supporting it in the belief that they are doing a humanitarian work."<sup>53</sup>

The NAC's plan worked. From March 10 to April 28, 1939, Lobo visited twenty-three cities across the nation, giving speeches about the Spanish Civil War.<sup>54</sup> The priest always appeared dressed in clerical garb, accompanied by Harry Robinson, a member of the NAC who

<sup>49</sup>*Daily Worker*, March 1, 1939.

<sup>50</sup>*Daily Worker*, March 2, 1939.

<sup>51</sup>The pamphlet announcing the act can be found in Archdiocesan Archives, Archdiocese of New York (hereafter AANY), Yonkers, NY, Folder CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio."

<sup>52</sup>The American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives (hereafter ACUA), The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC, Statement of Michael J. Ready, February 27, 1939, in Box 16, Folder 8 (Lobo, Leocadio), National Catholic Welfare Conference.

<sup>53</sup>Paul R. Martin-Dillon, "Circular Letter to All Diocesan Directors of Information," March 2, 1939, in Box 16, Folder 8 (Lobo, Leocadio), National Catholic Welfare Conference, ACUA. Martin-Dillon was the director of the Bureau of Information of the NCWC.

<sup>54</sup>The calendar and some announcements of these meetings can be found in Part N, Box 1, "Tour-Father Lobo-Corrsp.," SRROF.



FIGURE 2. Monsignor Michael J. Ready of the NCWC (front row, second from right) with Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins (back row), Ambassador Henry Morgenthau (front row, third from right), and others involved with aid to refugees at the White House in April 1938. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction no. LC-DIG-hec-24424.

acted as his interpreter, and managed to attract up to 500 people in one city. Lobo raised modest sums from his speeches, which he sent to the Spanish government.<sup>55</sup> He had no intention of recruiting people for his cause.

Lobo addressed some of the issues that concerned Catholics in the United States about the Spanish situation. The first was the murders of thousands of priests and Catholic laypeople. Lobo presented his arguments: the origin of the Civil War was political and social, not religious. In Lobo's view, nothing justified the murders of priests, but these could be explained by their political collaboration with certain political parties and their lack of concern with teaching the poorer

<sup>55</sup>About the remittance of money to Spain, see Part B (General Office Files), Box 9 (Delegation from Spain), SRROF.

classes—the “people”—before the war: “We priests took refuge among the wealthy classes, perhaps deserting our duty.”<sup>56</sup> For Lobo, Franco was part of the fascism operating in Europe at that time, evidenced by the troops sent by Hitler and Mussolini to fight for the Nationalist cause.<sup>57</sup>

The NCWC followed Lobo’s activities and informed the diocesan directors of information that “Father Lobo is another Father O’Flannagan: a kindly, misguided priest who is being exploited for propaganda purposes by the Medical Bureau of the North American Committee.”<sup>58</sup> The diocesan directors pressured the local media to suppress information about Lobo’s speeches or state that the priest had been suspended *a divinis*, something that the NCWC repeated in its official declarations during those months.<sup>59</sup> In New Haven, Connecticut, Catholics even managed to a successful boycott of Lobo’s speech.<sup>60</sup> The NCWC efforts bore fruit—in most cities visited by Lobo, local newspapers published only one column about him the day after his speech. Other commentaries or editorials did not appear.<sup>61</sup>

Lobo was fully aware that the Communist Party was behind the NAC—in reality, it was only one of many groups supporting the NAC—but he needed its financial support for his tour of America. He felt, however, as he wrote in a letter to Ready, that he was free to express his political opinions: “Do not forget, Monseigneur, that I am a Spaniard and that while international fascism continues to spill torrents of Spanish blood and is devastating Spain, no human force can impose silence upon me.”<sup>62</sup>

<sup>56</sup>“Father Lobo: Priest of Madrid. The vicar of San Gñes [*sic*] comes to America to plead for his people. A priest faithful to the Spanish republic. The religious question explained,” March 9, 1939, in Box 38, Folder 20 (America Spanish Relief Fund–Leocadio Lobo), *America Magazine Archives*, SCRC.

<sup>57</sup>Lobo to Ready, March 29, 1939, in Box 16, Folder 8 (Lobo, Leocadio), National Catholic Welfare Conference, ACUA.

<sup>58</sup>Paul Martin-Dillon, “Circular Letter to All Diocesan Directors of Information,” March 10, 1939, in Box 16, Folder 8 (Lobo, Leocadio), National Catholic Welfare Conference, ACUA.

<sup>59</sup>“Two Speakers Withdraw as Suspended Priest Is Heard at Meeting,” March 20, 1939, in Box 16, Folder 8 (Lobo, Leocadio), National Catholic Welfare Conference, ACUA.

<sup>60</sup>Charles J. Ducey to Francis X. Talbot, April 27, 1939, in SCRC, *America Magazine Archives*, Box 38, Folder 20 (America Spanish Relief Found–Leocadio Lobo). Ducey worked in the Service Department of the Knights of Columbus in New Haven, CT.

<sup>61</sup>See, for example, the *Michigan Daily*, March 11, 1939, 4.

<sup>62</sup>Lobo to Ready, March 29, 1939, ACUA.



However, what really concerned Lobo in his relationship with U.S. authorities was his ecclesiastical status. When he received word that Ready had spoken of his suspension, he wrote to him requesting irrefutable proof. Ready cabled Gomá requesting confirmation of Lobo's suspension. The cardinal responded that Lobo was indeed suspended, but that it had been impossible to communicate this to him because Eijo had not known where Lobo had been living in Madrid. Lobo tried to play for time by saying that "after two years no date is precised nor length nor even the nature of the censure."<sup>63</sup> But in the face of Ready's insistence, Lobo finally accepted his situation with the Church. At a conference in Louisville, Kentucky, on March 24, he expressed his profound sorrow: "I am not an apostate priest. The greatest sacrifice of my life is that I am unable to celebrate the Mass at this time."<sup>64</sup>

Lobo returned to New York City on April 28, his speaking tour concluded. By then, the U.S. committees aiding the different sides in the Spanish war were disbanding, with the governments of the United States and Franco beginning a long and complex journey toward the normalization of relations. Lobo faced a serious situation. He was a suspended Catholic priest, unable to return to Spain because his life would be in danger. He held only a temporary residence permit in a country whose language he did not speak. He lacked relatives who could assist him, and he was unable to travel to other Spanish-speaking countries such as Cuba or Mexico.<sup>65</sup>

Help initially came from the Confederations of Hispanic Societies that included Spanish emigrant organizations such as Galician House, the Spanish Athenaeum, and the Asturian Center.<sup>66</sup> Lobo lived in Greenwich Village and befriended the poet Bernardo Clariano and the writer Francisco García Lorca, the brother of Federico. They met in bars, sharing news and yearnings for their native land. During this period, he occasionally attended events involving exiles from the Spanish Republic such as the artistic festival organized by the Spanish Committee for Democracy, where he spoke on May 14, 1939; and the

<sup>63</sup>Lobo to Ready, March 29, 1939, ACUA.

<sup>64</sup>Ready to Gomá, "Resume of Father Lobo's Speech at Louisville, Kentucky," March 24, 1939, in Box 16, Folder 8 (Lobo, Leocadio), National Catholic Welfare Conference, ACUA.

<sup>65</sup>Harry Robinson to Evelyn Ahrend, April 23, 1939, in Part N, Box 1, "Tour-Father Lobo-Corresp.," SRROF. Robinson was the interpreter who accompanied Lobo, and Ahrend was the director of the Program Bureau, an NAC entity.

<sup>66</sup>Manuel Fernández-Montesinos, *Lo que en nosotros vive* (Barcelona, 2008), p. 51.

antifascist, pro-refugee rally held in Madison Square Garden on May 22 that was sponsored by the Medical Bureau, the NAC, and Confederation of Hispanic Societies. Presenting at the conference alongside Lobo were the former minister Julio Álvarez del Vayo; the writer Herman F. Reissing; and Daniel Alonso, the secretary of the Hispanic Confederation.<sup>67</sup>

Lobo found work as a freelance translator and eventually became the Spanish editor for subtitled and overdubbed films at MGM Film Studios. In addition, he gave Spanish classes to employees at the Loew's International Corporation and the members of the Spanish social club in Yonkers.<sup>68</sup> During this period, Lobo ceased to dress as a priest, but he never renounced his vow of celibacy nor disputed the canonical sanction that had been imposed on him.

From 1946 onward, he began to maintain informal relations with the Diocese of Madrid via Spaniards passing through America. In December 1946, he visited the chancery office of the Archdiocese of New York, accompanied by Máximo Yurramendi, bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo. Lobo begged to be allowed to celebrate Mass because he found the prohibition to be "too difficult" to bear.<sup>69</sup> Monsignor Edward Gaffney, the chancellor of the archdiocese, told him that Eijo would have to lift Lobo's suspension before such permission could be granted. Thus began a long year of correspondence between Lobo and Eijo. Immigration officials also were involved, as Lobo's residence permit in the United States was due to expire.<sup>70</sup>

Eijo established three conditions for lifting the suspension *a divinis*: Lobo had to repay the money that he had taken from the parish of San Ginés, return the documents he had taken from the diocesan archives, and retract in writing his scandalous declarations from the Civil War.<sup>71</sup> After some give and take, Lobo retracted his declarations

<sup>67</sup>*Daily Worker*, May 24, 1939.

<sup>68</sup>*Boxoffice*, April 12, 1947. Related here are the memories of Manuel Fernández-Montesinos and Alfred Fernández, who studied Spanish with Lobo in the early 1940s.

<sup>69</sup>Lobo to Casimiro Morcillo, January 15, 1947, in XV, A 1 3, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," ACCAM. Morcillo was the auxiliary bishop of Madrid.

<sup>70</sup>Monsignor Amleto Giovanni Cicognani to Edward R. Gaffney, March 1, 1947, in CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio," AANY. Cicognani, the younger brother of Gaetano Cicognani, was the apostolic delegate of the Holy See in the United States.

<sup>71</sup>Casimiro Morcillo to Lobo, February 14, 1947, in XV, A 1 3, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," ACCAM.

and swore under oath that he was not in possession of any money or documentation belonging to the Diocese of Madrid. On September 8, 1947, Eijo lifted Lobo's suspension from the priestly ministry and sent him a letter of recommendation that could be presented to Cardinal Francis Joseph Spellman, archbishop of New York.<sup>72</sup> After Lobo attended a spiritual program at the Capuchin convent in New York and obtained the necessary licenses from the archdiocese, he celebrated his first Mass in seven years on December 2 at the Church of the Miraculous Medal, a parish where Spanish-language Masses were habitually celebrated. Numerous Spanish exiles and friends attended.<sup>73</sup> Lobo declared that he was offering the Mass for the victims of the Spanish Civil War and that he wished to provide attendees with "whatever spiritual assistance they might need."<sup>74</sup>

From then on, Lobo had the security of a salary from the Archdiocese of New York that permitted him to live with dignity. Even so, during the first five months he sent 4000 pesetas (approximately \$365) to his family, who were living in extreme poverty in a Spain still recovering from civil war and World War II.<sup>75</sup>

The first three years following his return to the priestly ministry were marked by a variety of pastoral duties, all of them temporary or as required by circumstances. In 1949 he preached during Spanish retreats and days of recollection in the Church of the Cenacle. During the summers of 1949–51 he was the chaplain of the CYO boys' camps organized by the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, which had requested his services because there were many Puerto Rican campers. From 1951 onward, he also worked with the Manhattan district attorney's office, assisting in cases involving Spanish-speaking delinquents.<sup>76</sup>

In summer 1950 Lobo traveled to Estoril, Portugal, where he rented a house for several weeks and visited with his father and siblings (his

<sup>72</sup>Eijo to Bishop Cayetano [Gaetano] Cicognani, November 27, 1947, in XV, A 13, Folder "Leocadio Lobo Canónigo," ACCAM.

<sup>73</sup>Edward R. Gaffney to Eijo, December 11, 1947, in CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio," AANY.

<sup>74</sup>"*cuanto signifique ayuda espiritual*": *La Vanguardia Española*, December 3, 1947, p. 6.

<sup>75</sup>Archive of the Lloret Lobo family, Alicante, Spain, Lobo to his family, October 8, 1948.

<sup>76</sup>Father Harold S. Engel to Monsignor James J. Lynch, January 21, 1952, in CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio," AANY.

mother had died a few years earlier). It was the first time he had seen his family in eleven years.<sup>77</sup>

Lobo received his first stable pastoral appointment in January 1952. Monsignor James J. Lynch, an official of the archdiocese, had received reports that Lobo was “sincerely religious and true priest in every sense.”<sup>78</sup> For this reason, he accepted Lobo’s appointment as the chaplain of the Carroll Club, an institution dedicated to the advancement of female workers in New York (see figure 3). The Carroll Club’s diverse offerings included athletic activities, dancing, swimming, education classes, and social services, as well as a Catholic chapel. There was an additional advantage for Lobo—the club also had a residence for the chaplain. At the club, Lobo dedicated himself wholeheartedly to the work of evangelization. According to Euphemia Van Rensselaer Wyatt, a staff member at the club and the mother of actress Jane Wyatt, the relationship of Lobo “with our membership is one of such mutual sympathy and understanding.”<sup>79</sup> The women there were happy with “the spiritual strength of daily Mass and good Father Lobo in residence.”

Four years later, Monsignor Gustav J. Schultheiss, chancellor of the archdiocese, summarized the activities of this “very fine priest” in a memorandum to John J. Maguire, the auxiliary bishop—Lobo worked as chaplain of the Carroll Club, helped Catholic Charities’ Youth Counseling Service in its court work with Puerto Ricans, and met with United Nations groups from Argentina and Peru. In addition, he celebrated Mass every Sunday for the Spanish-speaking people of the Parish of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary at 309 East 33rd Street.<sup>80</sup>

Lobo maintained a relationship with the community of Republican exiles in the United States, although he avoided appearances at public meetings or political functions. In 1949 Fernando de los Ríos, the former ambassador of the Spanish Republic to the United States, died in his residence at 448 Riverside Drive, near Columbia University. According to the *New York Times*, “although there was no religious

<sup>77</sup>Interview conducted by the author with Eugenia Lloret Lobo, Lobo’s grandniece, January 25, 2010.

<sup>78</sup>Engel to Lynch, January 21, 1952, AANY.

<sup>79</sup>Euphemia Van Rensselaer Wyatt to Engel, January 23, 1952, in CH-2-P, “Lobo, Rev. Leocadio,” AANY.

<sup>80</sup>Gustav J. Schultheiss to John J. Maguire, March 23, 1956, in CH-2-P, “Lobo, Rev. Leocadio,” AANY.



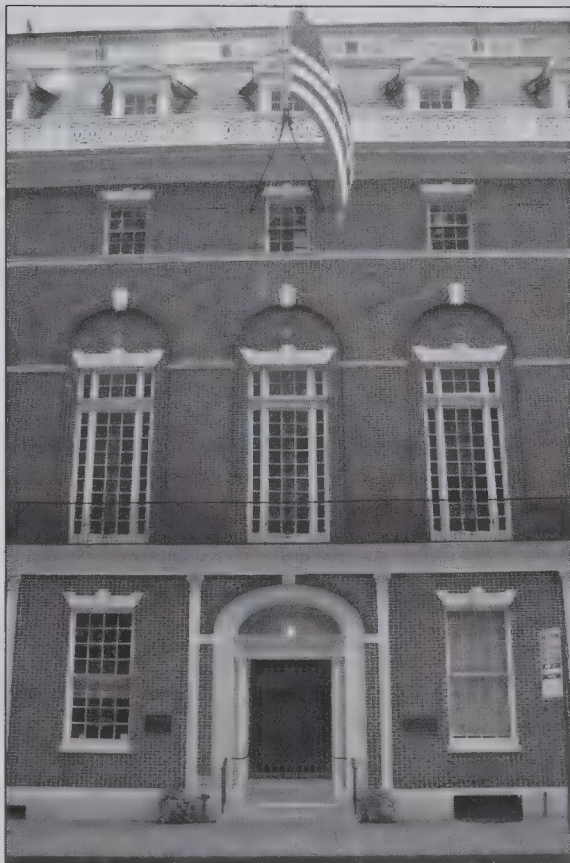


FIGURE 3. Designed by architect Stanford White, the Carroll Club (originally the Colony Club) at 120 Madison Avenue, New York, NY, is the present-day home of the American Academy of Dramatic Arts. Father Leocadio Lobo served as chaplain of the club from 1952 to 1956. Photo taken in 2007 by Wally Gobetz.

service,” los Ríos’s friend, “the Rev. Leocadio Lobo, was in attendance at the funeral.”<sup>81</sup> Three years later, Fernanda Urruti, the former ambassador’s mother, died in the same residence, followed by a Catholic funeral at which Lobo officiated.<sup>82</sup>

When the chaplain’s residence at the Carroll Club needed refurbishment, Bishop Edward V. Dargin, the vicar general of the archdiocese, proposed to Maguire that Lobo be sent to work in the Parish of

<sup>81</sup>“Exiles from Spain Mourn de los Rios,” *New York Times*, June 3, 1949, 26.

<sup>82</sup>Ritama Muñoz-Rojas, “Poco a poco os hablaré de todo.” *Historia del exilio en Nueva York de la familia de los Ríos, Giner, Urruti. Cartas 1936-1953* (Madrid, 2009), p. 451.

the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. He was named assistant pastor of the parish in April 1956. Dargin summarized the responsibilities with which Lobo had been charged, in addition to offering the Mass in Spanish:

[He] hears confessions for the Puerto Ricans on Saturday evenings, has catechetical classes on Released Time for the Puerto Rican children and also has classes five evenings a week to teach English to the Puerto Rican people. Monsignor [John] McEvoy explains that Father Lobo is loved by the people.<sup>83</sup>

After twenty years, Lobo had returned to parish work, with the dedication he had shown in Madrid. Over the next three years, he celebrated forty-five baptisms and five weddings a year, in addition to celebrating Mass and hearing confessions every day.<sup>84</sup>

In 1958 he founded *Despertemos*, a monthly Catholic magazine for the Hispanic community of New York. The magazine stated that Lobo was a religious leader who "helped to lift up the Hispanic community in the neighborhood."<sup>85</sup> That year, Lobo became ill with cancer. He continued to attend to the parish until May 1959. The following month he was admitted to St. Vincent's Hospital, where he died on July 11.<sup>86</sup> Following a funeral Mass offered in his parish, Lobo was buried in St. John's Cemetery in Brooklyn.<sup>87</sup> Hundreds of people from the Spanish-speaking community of New York City attended the ceremony in his honor.<sup>88</sup>

## Conclusion

A marked priestly identity characterized Lobo's life. He found his life's meaning in the daily celebration of Mass and preaching of the

<sup>83</sup>Edward V. Dargin to John J. Maguire, April 11, 1956, in CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio," AANY. McEvoy was the pastor of Sacred Heart Church.

<sup>84</sup>Archives of the Church of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, New York, *Marriage Register* (from August 30, 1947); *Baptismal Register*, no. 3 (May 20, 1933 to June 25, 1957).

<sup>85</sup>"*levantó la comunidad hispana del barrio*": Tecla López, "Ramillete de recuerdos," *Despertemos*, 9 (1959), 3.

<sup>86</sup>"Rev. Leocadio Lobo, Assistant Pastor," *New York Times*, July 13, 1959, 27; "Spain's Civil War Figure," *Washington Post*, July 14, 1959, B2.

<sup>87</sup>John J. Maguire to Leopoldo Eijo Garay, July 13, 1959, in CH-2-P, "Lobo, Rev. Leocadio," AANY.

<sup>88</sup>"Centenares Asisten Al Sepelio Del Padre L. Lobo, En Brooklyn," *El Diario de Nueva York*, July 16, 1959, 4.

Gospel. At the same time, he had a great sense of social justice, which he tried to channel through his priestly ministry to the people of the parishes and church institutions where he worked.

Unlike many Spanish bishops and priests, Lobo accepted the Second Spanish Republic, feeling that, despite some anticlerical excesses, the Republic was the right way for the Church to enter into dialogue with the modern world and to bring the message of Christ to society. It was the reason why he remained faithful to the regime in the face of the military rebellion against the Republic in July 1936. During the Spanish Civil War, Lobo alleged that the killing of thousands of priests and other religious had been undertaken for purely political reasons, because the Church had supported right-wing politicians and the upper classes of society. This vision was ultimately unfair even if it is acknowledged that it may have been a plausible one, since it minimized the injustice of the killing of many innocent people.

Arriving in the United States in February 1939, Lobo worked to spread his ideas about the political motivations underlying the persecution of Catholics in Spain, but once the war ended, he found himself an exile in the United States. From that time forward he made no further political statements in public, and—although no evidence exists that his political opinions ever changed—he ceased to be a public figure in both the Spanish and the American press.

Lobo always obeyed the authority of the Church, even when he was notified of his suspension *a divinis*. After enduring several years of canonical censure, he was restored to good standing in 1947, thanks to Eijo and Spellman, and he was free to offer the sacraments once more. From that time on, he devoted all his energies to serving as chaplain to the Hispanic community of New York City.

Lobo is a man of contrasts. He was always an orthodox priest when explaining Catholic doctrine; he also administered the sacraments to everyone who asked for them; and he obeyed the hierarchy in all disciplinary issues, even during the period of his suspension. At the same time, his political ideas were very different from the hierarchical authority and the majority of priests, both in Spain and the United States; for a few years, he was a political agent for the Spanish government and supported its ideology.

Lobo was not naive. He had access to much information about the atrocities committed during the Civil War. It is likely that his idealistic

vision of the Republican regime blinded him to its faults. Lobo honestly believed that the Republic was the best solution for the future of the Catholic Church in Spain. Before the outbreak of the war, there may have been others who agreed with him. The killing of thousands of Catholics and the subsequent silence of the Republican regime on the matter changed the status quo. In the view of many who knew this history, a priest should have not shown allegiance to a government complicit in the killings. However, it is important to study Lobo's life as a whole to understand its nuances and to see the whole picture. Lobo was involved in politics only for three years. From 1939, when he decided to remain in the United States, to his death, he made no further political or public speeches. His exile and the suspension *ad divinis* weighed heavily on him and probably changed his point of view about the priest's role in public life.

When Lobo finally obtained his rehabilitation in the Church, he devoted his energies exclusively to the priestly ministry. This is perhaps the hidden inheritance of Father Lobo.



## FORUM ESSAY

BY

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ALBERTO MELLONI, AND JOHN CONNELLY

*From Enemy to Brother: The Revolution in Catholic Teaching on the Jews, 1933-1965.* By John Connelly. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. viii, 376. \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-674-05782-1.

### **Introduction by Nelson H. Minnich (The Catholic University of America)**

This book began as an open-ended study of Catholics who opposed racism and anti-Semitism in the interwar years. I wanted to find out about those who swam against the racist currents of their time. It turned out that virtually all of the Catholics concerned about protecting the “other” were people Catholics in Central Europe considered “others.” The solidarity of these new Catholics with the other was in a sense self-interest: Oesterreicher recalled with bitterness that some Catholics refused to take Communion from the fingers of a “Jew” (Connelly, *From Enemy*, p. 290).

Connelly’s research in archives in Munich, Vienna, Seton Hall University in New Jersey, and Washington, DC, as well as in numerous journals and books of the period, have helped him to trace the origins of the teachings in chapter 4 of the Declaration *Nostra Aetate* (1965) of the Second Vatican Council on relations with the Jews. He has identified in the process more than two-dozen persons whom he describes as “border transgressors” (p. 287) who were converts to Catholicism and helped it to come to a new understanding of Judaism. This summary of his book will concentrate on some of the major figures.

In formulating their teachings, church leaders were guided by what was previously taught by scripture and tradition as well as by the findings of science. The New Testament made many relevant statements: Jesus of Nazareth, his mother, his apostles, and many of his early followers were all Jews (Matt. 1:16, 10:2-4; Luke 1:27, 2:23, 6:13-16; Acts 2:5-42). His mission was to the house of Israel (Matt. 10:6, 15:24). The leaders of the Jews and some of their followers rejected him and called down his blood upon them and their children (Matt. 27:25, Acts 3:14-15). Jesus established a new and everlasting covenant (Matt. 26:28; Mark 14:24; Luke 22:20; Heb. 12:24, 13:20), the former covenant becoming obsolete (Heb. 8:13). As regards the Gospel, Jews are ene-

mies of God (Rom. 11:28). They persecuted and sought to kill him (John 5:16–18). They denied and killed the author of life (Acts 3:15). Jesus ordered his apostles to go out and make disciples of all nations [πάντα τὰ ἔθνη] (Matt. 28:19), beginning with Jerusalem (Luke 24:47; Acts 1:8; 2:5, 38). Over the centuries Christians have seen this commission as a call to work for the conversion also of the Jews. The destruction of Jerusalem and the scattering of Jews and their sufferings were seen as punishments for having rejected Jesus and hindered the spread of his Gospel (Luke 19:41–44, 21:20–24; I Thess. 2:16). The church fathers in the fourth century claimed that these sufferings are signs that they have been cursed by God because of their deicide. Some Christian writers saw Jews as having special genetic traits or propensities for evil, a kind of second original or inherited sin (*Erbsünde*) committed by rejecting Jesus as their Messiah that renders them morally deficient (deceitful, subversive, lascivious, and so forth). To protect Christians from their evil influence, Jews were expelled or segregated. Ethnologists and anthropologists of the nineteenth and early-twentieth century discussed the question of race, holding that humanity was naturally divided into various races or national *Volkstümer*, that environment and culture shaped a *Volk* so that some are more civilized and superior to others. Moral theologians taught a doctrine of ordered love whereby one is to love oneself first and then family, friends, colleagues, coreligionists, people, and nation. Although Christ taught that one should love one's neighbor as oneself (Matt. 19:19, 22:39; Mark 12:31; Luke 10:27; Rom. 13:9; Gal. 5:14; James 2:8), charity should begin at home, with those who are of the household of the faith (Gal. 6:10). In this ranking, Jews are on the outer limits of those one should love.

When confronted with racist ideology, prelates in Rome and Germany were cautious. They did not wish to repeat the mistake of the Galileo affair by opposing science. They therefore consulted such leading priest-scholars such as Hermann Muckermann, S.J. (1883–1946), director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology in Berlin, and Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D. (1868–1954), founder of the Anthropos Institute at the University of Vienna. Although these scientists opposed the extreme ideas of the Nazis, they held for a hierarchy of races with the Nordic being superior, its values and culture needing protection. Race was a biological fact, part of the natural order willed by God. The prominent Catholic theologian Karl Adam (1876–1966) at the University of Tübingen agreed and claimed that by God's grace Mary and her son were preserved from negative Jewish characteristics. Bishop Alois Hudal (1885–1963), the rector of the German College in Rome, wanted the German *Volk* protected from Jews. The German episcopate in 1933 lifted prohibitions on nazism, tried to find a *modus vivendi* with the regime, and backed taking a reasonable pride in being German while avoiding radical nationalism.

Germans were particularly susceptible to racist ideologies due to the prevalence in their language of related concepts of *Volk* (people, nation), the mystical body of Christ, *Blut* (blood), *Reich* (realm, empire), and *Erbsünde*

(hereditary or original sin). German Catholics tended to form their own organizations; to have a corporate identity; to experience themselves as part of a larger whole, the mystical body of Christ. The notion of the "people of God" was advanced by Karl Adam. Catholics had a communitarian sense, united in a "unity of blood" and opposed to liberal individualism. The word *Reich* evoked memories of the medieval Holy Roman Empire under German leaders when Christian values flourished. The term *Erbsünde*, a biologically hereditary sin, led them to fear pollution by intermarriage with Jews whose dangerous genetic traits could not be corrected merely by baptism. German Catholics were slow to oppose eugenics, too eager to fit into modern German society. Pope Pius XI's *Casti connubii* (1930), however, condemned such eugenic measures as sterilization, abortion, and birth control, but the encyclical did allow for concern about the health of a race.

German-speaking Austria, especially Vienna, with its Habsburg inheritance of a multi-ethnic society, became the intellectual breeding ground of antiracism. Some notable Germans of Jewish descent who converted to Catholicism and fled Nazi persecution flocked to Vienna. The exiled philosopher Dietrich von Hildebrand (1889–1977) taught philosophy at the University of Vienna and published a journal attacking antisemitism and Catholics who collaborated with the Nazis. He emphasized the person over the state and insisted that the Judaism is the root into which Christianity is grafted, that God's gifts to Jews are irrevocable, and that Christians should favor Abraham's descendents and thus be blessed by God. Hildebrand collaborated with Johannes Oesterreicher (1904–93), a Jewish convert to Catholicism from Moravia and ordained priest for the Diocese of Vienna to which he always remained incardinated, who also made the capital city the center of his activities. Through his ministry of converting Jews (*Pauluswerk*), Oesterreicher interacted with important Jewish thinkers, but this produced few results, despite his insistence that Hitler's persecution would continue until they accepted Jesus as their Messiah. In his encounters with the Viennese rabbi Armand Kaminka (1866–1950), Kaminka argued that the word *ethnos* in Matt. 28 should be understood in a Jewish context as Gentiles and therefore Oesterreicher's efforts to convert Jews was not in accord with the Gospel. Oesterreicher also taught religion at the University of Vienna and edited the journal *Die Erfüllung* (1934–38) that denounced Nazi persecution of Jews and attacked the Jesuit preacher Georg Bichlmair (1890–1953) and the Catholic publisher Josef Eberle (1901–86) for their anti-semitic views. Oesterreicher was not an original thinker, but propagated others' ideas in an argumentative way and was skilled at organizing those who agreed with him. He reached out to fellow converts such as the former socialist professor Karl Thieme (1902–63), who converted to Catholicism in protest over his Lutheran coreligionists' capitulation to Nazi pressure by excluding Christians of Jewish origins from church office. Thieme, working out of Düsseldorf, edited his own journal *Junge Front* (1934–36) in which he opposed the Nazis and any efforts to segregate Jewish converts within the

Catholic Church. In 1935 he fled to Basel in Switzerland, dying there in 1963. Thieme “became the most influential Catholic writer on the Jewish question in the twentieth century” (p. 121). Oesterreicher and Thieme corresponded and actively participated in international meetings on Jewish-Christian relations. On the urgings of the former Reich chancellor Joseph Wirth (1879–1956), Oesterreicher, Thieme, and historian Waldemar Gurian (1902–54) composed the Catholic Memorandum against Antisemitism published in Vienna, Paris, and New York in 1937 and signed by various clerics, but bishops were not among the signatories. The memorandum denounced discrimination as against natural and canon law and the teachings of Jesus who loved his fellow Jews and has not rejected them. From exile in Paris Oesterreicher produced *Racisme-antisémitisme-antichrétianisme* (1940) that collected and commented on the opinions of “experts” on race, showing that they did not agree and that the notion of race is at its core about racial superiority and against Christian teachings. “Pure-blooded” Aryans also have original sin. Christians should have solidarity with Jesus’ persecuted least kin. To avoid the Nazis, both Hildebrand and Oesterreicher fled first to Toulouse and then to the United States, taking academic positions at New York’s Fordham University and Manhattanville College respectively. Moving to Seton Hall University in 1953, Oesterreicher set up an institute of Judeo-Christian studies there and edited a yearbook, *The Bridge* (1955–70), which fostered ecumenical understanding between Jews and Christians.

These converts to Catholicism who opposed racism tried to obtain the support of the papacy, enlisting the help of German émigrés in Rome and especially of the German Jesuit Robert Leiber (1887–1967), who since 1924 had served as secretary to Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli (1876–1958), then the Vatican secretary of state and later Pius XII (1939–58). They had limited success. Pius XI (1922–39) condemned antisemitism in 1928, when banning a group known as the Amici Israel that called for the elimination of the word *perfidious* from the Good Friday prayer. His encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* read out on Palm Sunday 1937 in more than 11,500 parishes in Germany attacked the extreme neo-pagan racism of National Socialism, but it also unleashed harsh persecution of the Church by the Nazis. In 1938 he condemned antisemitism during an impromptu meeting with Belgian pilgrims, but the official Vatican print media and radio did not disseminate his comments. Pius XI commissioned the American Jesuit John LaFarge (1880–1963) to prepare an encyclical on the topic; LaFarge was assisted by fellow Jesuits Gustav Gundlach (1892–1963) and Gustave Desbuquois (1869–1959). Surviving drafts of the document include statements that the Jews had lost their exalted calling by rejecting Jesus. According to these drafts, the Jews—although they remain the chosen people—are a spiritual threat to the Church and should be separated off but not persecuted, as the latter action only intensifies their resistance. Pius XI died before the document was ready. His successor, Pius XII, tried to take an approach that was conciliatory, nonconfrontational, and designed to lessen attacks by the Nazi regime. The horrors of



the Holocaust led the pope, as urged by Oesterreicher, to make changes in the Good Friday prayer for the Jews: *perfidis* was to be translated as “unbelieving” and not “perfidious” (1948), and the congregation was to kneel during the intercession (1955). His successor, John XXIII, removed the word *perfidis* (1959).

In an effort to prevent a resurgence of antisemitism after World War II with the desecration of Jewish cemeteries and synagogues, the International Council of Christians and Jews hosted conferences. The 1947 conference held in Seelisberg, Switzerland drew up ten articles on how Christians should understand Judaism. The 1958 meeting at Apeldoorn in Holland sent its theses to John XXIII with the backing of the French Jewish historian Jules Marx Isaac (1887–1963) and Oesterreicher’s institute. When John XXIII called for suggestions for the agenda of his upcoming council, not one bishop urged a consideration of Jewish-Christian relations, but Oesterreicher did so. So, too, did Isaac in an interview with the pope in June 1960. John XXIII appointed a commission headed by the cardinal and Jesuit biblical scholar Augustin Bea (1881–1968) to study the issue. Among its members were Oesterreicher; Gregory Baum, O.S.A. (1923–); Abbot Leo Rudloff, O.S.B. (1902–82); and Bruno Hussar (1911–96). Like Oesterreicher, Baum and Hussar were converts. The work of the commission was heavily dependent on the thinking of other writers. Connelly gives particular credit to French essayist Léon Bloy (1846–1917)—“the path to Vatican II begins with him” (p. 185). Bloy insisted that God’s promises to the Jews are irrevocable (Rom. 9–11), that Jesus and his apostles were all Jews, and that the Christian liturgy is rooted in the Old Testament. In his book, *Church of the Jews and Pagans* (Salzburg, 1933), the émigré convert Erik Peterson (1890–1960), who taught at the Pontifical Institute for Christian Archaeology in Rome, developed Bloy’s exegesis of the Epistle to the Romans. Thieme claimed that this epistle was the last of St. Paul’s writings and reflected his mature thought—Jews remain favored by God and do not need conversion. They constitute both a people and a religion, but not a race. They are the brothers—indeed, like the elder brother of the Prodigal Son parable (Luke 15:31)—not the enemies of Christians who should revere them as a kingdom of priests, a holy nation (Exod. 19:5). The founding of the State of Israel meant a return to the Promised Land (Zeph. 3:20). Jews had been persecuted for observing Jewish law; for being *faithful* to God, they are martyrs (p. 230). Catholics are to hope for the day when all peoples will address God in a single voice (Zeph. 3:9). In the meantime, let Christians work to convert the pagan Gentiles (Rom. 11:23–27). Unbaptized Jews who seek salvation by obeying the law of God receive the “baptism of desire” of Pius IX’s decree (1863) and are the “hidden Christians” of St. Augustine (354–430) as well as the “anonymous Christians” of Karl Rahner (1904–84). Thieme propagated his ideas at the Bad Schwalbach meeting of the Coordinating Council of the German Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation (1950); at the Ecumenical Conference in Evanston, IL (1954); and through the *Freiburger Rundbrief*, for which he was the theological adviser

(1948–63) and which enjoyed wide circulation and the support of the Vatican after it was cleared of the charge of religious indifferentism. Thieme debated his ideas with Oesterreicher and Ernst Karl Winter, the publisher and former vice-mayor of Vienna (1895–1959). Winter insisted that the new covenant replaced the old and that John's Gospel with its anti-Judaism was the latest and most mature Gospel written and should take precedence over earlier works. Oesterreicher argued that Christians should work for the conversion of Jews. Thieme had misgivings when Oesterreicher was appointed adviser to the Second Vatican Council, and their correspondence ended. But before his death, Thieme praised Oesterreicher's contributions, and Oesterreicher relied on Thieme's formulations in his work at the Council.

In early 1961, Oesterreicher drew up for Bea's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity a list of theses that emphasized the teachings of the Epistle to the Romans and rejected any notion that all Jews were responsible for Christ's death or that they were accursed by God. The secretariat, composed of bishops and theologians, met at a retreat house in Ariccia on Lago di Nemo (April, August, and November 1961) to discuss Oesterreicher's draft as well as the ideas of Baum. By December, it had come up with a new draft of six points that emphasized the Jews as a special, not cursed, people. When the draft became known, Eastern rite bishops protested that it was too favorable to the Jews and would rouse Arab hostility toward their communities, and the conservative Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini (1888–1968) led an effort to weaken or shorten it. Oesterreicher begged Cardinals Franz König (1905–2004) and Richard Cushing (1895–1970) to save the decree. At the eighty-eighth general congregation at the end of September 1964, Bea encouraged debate on a draft that had been revised by the Roman Curia to drop a condemnation of deicide and to reiterate the need to convert the Jews. American and north European bishops demanded that the condemnation of deicide be reinstated. Outside the Council chamber the Jewish theologian Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907–72), who taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, objected to the call for the conversion of Jews, saying that if he had a choice between Auschwitz or conversion, he would choose Auschwitz. The draft revised in the light of the debate in October 1964 dropped references to deicide, to conversion, and to Israel (lest it seem to support the State of Israel). Instead, Jews were referred to as the stock of Abraham. The covenant with Abraham was acknowledged as valid in the present day, and Christians should not vaunt themselves over the Jews. These teachings were incorporated into chapter 4 of the decree *Nostra Aetate* and approved at a public session on October 28, 1965, with only 88 out of 2322 prelates dissenting. Although the decree said nothing about the Holocaust or the Church's historical responsibility for persecuting the Jews, it deplored antisemitism and rejected all forms of racism. Jewish commentators praised it as marking an advance in Jewish-Christian relations. It had removed any basis for hatred of Jews (p. 263). As Connelly notes, the shift from seeing Jews as enemies to brothers had been the work of "subversively orthodox converts" (p. 291) to

Catholicism, men and women who lived on the borders and found ways to resolve tensions within themselves by revising the Church's understanding of Judaism.

### Comments of Eugene J. Fisher (Saint Leo University)

This is a book about words—their limitations and possibilities as well as their capacity to be lethal or life-giving, depending on who is using them and when, where, and how they are used. Connelly offers an intense and well-documented look into the development of the fifteen Latin sentences that make up the fourth section of what was arguably the most contested and one of the most significant documents of the Second Vatican Council, *Nostra Aetate*.

A full appreciation of this brief conciliar declaration, of course, must engage one in a review, from the point of its chief victim, of the entire history of the Church and the development of its most significant doctrines, including the Incarnation. Why, one asks with Connelly and the twentieth-century scholars whose grapplings with Christian racial antisemitism he narrates so well and in such depth, did God choose to become a Jew? That question, and the lengths to which Christians have gone to avoid it and its implications, underlie the myriad issues that make up this unsettling study.

The setting for Connelly's story is largely German and Austrian, and he does well in analyzing the limitations and biases of basic German words such as *volk* and *reich* that predisposed so many German speakers to accept the racialism of Nazi antisemitism and to confuse the Third Reich with the Kingdom of God. Writing against these linguistic confusions the results of which would be genocide (itself a word that had to be coined in 1945 to describe what the Nazis had attempted to do and almost succeeded in doing to the Jews). The heroes and heroines of the story are German-speaking "borderline" people—converts from Judaism and Protestantism such as Oesterreicher, who were able to see both sides of key theological and social issues. I was struck, however, by the fact that even these great thinkers were fully able to free themselves from the presumptions (and prejudices) of the centuries-old Christian teaching of contempt against Jews and Judaism through direct dialogue with believing Jews whose existence challenged the abstract categories of that teaching.

As one who has spent a lifetime studying and implementing *Nostra Aetate*, I can only express my deep gratitude to Connelly. I knew and worked with many of the participants in the drama that was the conciliar debate over the document in my thirty years at the bishops' conference, so knew much of what he has to say. But I also learned much. I did not know, for example, the pioneering work of Karl Thieme whose contributions Connelly rightly calls "forgotten" (p. 190) by many of us in the field.

I will leave it to my colleagues Thomas Stransky and Susannah Heschel to comment on the accuracy of the behind-the-scenes narrative about the development of the document that Connolly presents, concluding with a couple of clarifications for the record. First, Connolly perpetuates the misnomer about so-called Vatican “ratlines” (p. 27; p. 309n80). In fact, that term was used by the U.S. secret service of the time, not the Holy See, to indicate the former’s routes of assisting Nazis to escape Europe after the war. Further research may be needed on the implications of this fact. Second, Connolly gives a major role to Rosemary Radford Ruether’s *Faith and Fratricide* (New York, 1974). In fact, the book was not well researched or received, its sole value being to precipitate a number of good studies criticizing the author’s overstated claims such as the idea that Matthew’s gospel is filled with “anti-Judaism”; in fact, it is marked with a polemic against the Pharisees, not Judaism as such, which reflected Matthew’s difficulties with the Jewish community of his time and was in fact an internal Jewish discussion.

**Comments of Thomas Stransky, C.S.P. (original staff member, the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, which held the *De Iudaeis* portfolio during the period 1960–65)**

So many influences of thought and persons flowed into the genesis of *Nostra Aetate* that even fifty years later Second Vatican Council historians continue to differ on the subject of the degree of their strengths and interrelatedness. In this well-written, thoroughly researched, and original study, Connolly highlights those few theologians, biblicists, and philosophers from Germany, Hungary, and Austria, almost all of them Jewish converts who personally experienced the mad mix of racism, nationalism, and antisemitism in the Nazi ruthless enforcement of anti-Jewish laws. His list of names is long. (He wrongly labels the Benedictine Leo Rudloff, a *Nostra Aetate* drafter, as Jewish [p. 179].) Without these converts, the Catholic Church “would never have ‘thought its way’ out of the challenges of racist anti-Judaism” (p. 287). Perhaps more than anyone else, Oesterreicher “incorporated the Church’s journey from past to present,” as reflected in *Nostra Aetate* (n4), of which he was among the principal drafters (p. 287). One of Connolly’s unique contributions is his narration pertaining to Johannes Oesterreicher—his experiences, zigzagging developing thought, argumentative personality, and friends and sparring partners (especially the ever-prodding German Lutheran convert Karl Thieme, and Gertrud Luckner’s “Freiburg Circle” and its *Freiburger Rundbrief*).

Connolly’s focus, in my judgment, is too strong. It overshadows—almost crowds out—other European “circles” of very few converts. First is the equal, if not more influential, preconiliar role of the French L’Amitié judéo-crétienne, founded in 1948 after the pivotal Seelisberg meeting, and its ten points on antisemitism. Unlike the Freiburg Circle, L’Amitié co-engaged Jews, Catholics, and Protestants. It had a biblical pastoral orientation, with several hundred members such as philosopher Jacques Maritain, theologian Henri du



Lubac, historian H.-L. Marrou, Hungarian biblicist and Jewish convert Paul Démann, catechists and liturgists, and several Second Vatican Council leaders such as Cardinal Achille Liénart, Cardinal Joseph-Marie Martin, and Archbishop Charles de Provençères. Démann joined Jules Isaac in analyzing anti-Judaism in French-language catechetical materials, missals, and liturgical commentaries. The 1952 study offered Seelisberg criteria for corrections. It prompted the hierarchy to require changes in official texts—all this in the 1950s. Lastly, L'Amitié compiled a memorandum of documents for the trip to Rome of its honorary president, the eighty-one-year-old Isaac. His one-to-one conversation with John XXIII on June 13, 1960, prompted the pope to mandate "The Jewish Question" on the Council agenda, through Bea's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (SPCU).

Another circle of influence was the informal Basle/Fribourg think tank: Charles Journet (for J. B. Montini [later Paul VI], "my theologian") and Dominican Jean de Menasce (Egyptian Jewish convert), Karl Thieme, Oscar Cullmann, Karl Barth, and Jewish philosopher Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich—the latter the steady friend of Oesterreicher and the European B'nai B'rith representative at the Second Vatican Council. Barth ("our Rabbi") was the first (in 1930) to interpret Paul vis-à-vis his kinfolk—the irrevocable living covenant of God's merciful love and blessings (Rom. 9:4; 11:29). This controversial exegesis became the major affirmation in *Nostra Aetate* (n4). Through Journet, the group expressed its general Jewish concerns in the 1959 *votum* of the University of Fribourg's faculty of theology: *De antisemitismo a Christianis impugnando* (ADS II/IV/2, pp. 284–86).

These Austrian-German, Swiss, and French circles of Jewish/Christian studies were not enclosed cocoons, but formed a permeable group that shared research and debate as well as authors and articles in L'Amitié's journal *Sens* (1949), Démann's *Cahiers Sioniens* (1936), and *Freiburger Rundbrief* (1948). In the six successive conciliar schemata, one can find their direct influences; the indirect are untraceable.

Corrections are needed for Connelly's narrative of the original *De Iudaeis*. John XXIII's mandate to Bea was not to draft a schema (p. 240). Initially, the SPCU was empowered to write only working papers for the appropriate commissions. The first draft of the working paper was not solely Oesterreicher's work (p. 243) but also that of the chair, Rudloff; Gregory Baum; and George Tavard, A.A. They had in hand not only the Apeldoorn memorandum (p. 243) but also the 1959 *votum* of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, *De antisemitismo vitando* (ADS I/IV/1, pp. 131–32); the Fribourg *votum*; Oesterreicher's Seton Hall memorandum involving twelve scholars; and L'Amitié's memorandum for John XXIII and Bea. The final first draft (November 1961) was the work of an enlarged committee that was chaired by then-Monsignor Johannes Willebrands and included Bishop Émile-Joseph De Smedt, H. F. Davis, and myself. Thereafter, the drafting committee never returned to only four, and neither Rudloff nor Oesterreicher ever chaired it.

All the SPCU members and consultants had to face their admittedly divergent exegesis, differing interpretations of the dominant church teaching, and the critical quest for a new language. Connelly accurately catches the tensions and nuances because of his access to the primary source—the Minutes (*Verballi*) of the preparatory plenaries. Once the five-chapter *De Oecumenismo* (also inter-Christian church relations and religious freedom) had reached the floor in *aula* (November 1963), the SPCU could no longer confine the debate to itself. It became the servant-instrument of the Fathers by evaluating their oral *interventiones* and their more detailed written *animaversiones*. For these materials in the complex process Connelly did not use a primary source—the indispensable *Acta Synodalia* that include the secretive discussions of the Central Coordinating Commission and the decisions of the general Secretariat. Most helpful for his *Nostra Aetate* narrative would have been the *Expensio modorum*—the SPCU's reasons to the Fathers for accepting or rejecting their demands.

For this reviewer, Connelly's best provocative chapter is his last. He confronts the following question: Is there a particular Christ-mandated mission to the Jewish people for the sake of the Jews and Christ's Church? Here one always excludes vulgar proselytism—unethical means of enticements and organized convert-making campaigns. I am not convinced *Nostra Aetate* or official postconciliar statements resolve the neuralgic issue.

"No longer missionary but ecumenical witnessing to the Church's own conversion" oversimplifies. What is the God-mandated mission of the Church to the covenanted Jewish people and the Jewish mission to the Church, and what is the Jewish/Christian shared mission to all peoples in today's troubled world as it is now and is called to become? My last long chat with Oesterreicher in 1988 seemed to indicate that an unresolved dialectic privately lingered in his serene twilight years.

### Comments of Susannah Heschel (Dartmouth College)

Rarely has any religious community engaged in as profound a theological reorientation as the Second Vatican Council in reconsidering Roman Catholic teachings regarding Jews and Judaism. Connelly's brilliant reconstruction of the history of the theological debates demonstrates the revolutionary nature of the Second Vatican Council's teachings. He begins with an important examination of European Catholic teachings during the years of the Third Reich, demonstrating the appeal of racial theory to theologians. Like other historians who have examined Catholic theology during those years, Connelly demonstrates the presence of racial ideas in the writings of prominent Catholic theologians, including Karl Adam, who spoke of the "blood unity" of the German Volk, and the Jesuit Georg Bichlmair, who proclaimed "from the pulpits of Vienna that Jews carried special defects in their genes for the historic sin of rejecting Christ" (p. 5). Affirming that baptism did not erase race was the

same position articulated by the pro-Nazi Protestants who called themselves "German Christians."

Given that background, it is no wonder that the Vatican Declaration was spearheaded, as Connelly tells us, by a remarkable group of Catholic theologians who had converted from Judaism, particularly Johannes Oesterreicher. Their own experience of racial prejudice within the Church spurred their postwar efforts.

The scandal that racism trumped the sacrament of baptism during the Nazi years—that baptized Jews were not accepted as Christians—was a theological scandal that became a key motivation, Connelly tells us, for the Second Vatican Council's reconsideration of Judaism. For race to trump baptism was a triumph of the secular, wholly unacceptable, so that *Nostra Aetate* was not only a statement concerning Jews but also an effort to reaffirm and purify Catholic theological teachings.

For Connelly, *Nostra Aetate* is a revolutionary statement that repudiates centuries of negative teachings about Judaism, but it is so thoroughly grounded in foundational Christian texts (such as Romans 9–11) that the distinguished Jesuit Stanislaw Musial, a courageous opponent of antisemitism, could argue that *Nostra Aetate* seemed to contain nothing new.

However, it was not only revolutionary but also was as much a response to Catholic theological issues as to the situation of Jews after the Holocaust. Connelly points out that after the war, Catholics needed an explanation for Auschwitz that would not implicate the Church: "If the history of the Jews was a series of trials sent to punish them for failing to accept Christ," (p. 6), then nazism could be understood as God's tool to push the Jews into conversion—an "obscene" (p. 7) position to take after the war, he writes.

After the Nazi murders, efforts at converting Jews to Christianity were perceived by many Jews as a continued attempt at annihilation. It calls to mind the declaration of my father, Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, that he would rather go to Auschwitz than give up his faith. After Pope Paul VI met privately with him in September 1964, he was told that the pope crossed out the line of the statement regarding conversion of the Jews.

Some personal memories may be appropriate to mention here. The declaration was the result of the intellectual changes that Connelly outlines, to be sure, but also of personal encounters between Catholics and Jews. It was a surprising experience for Christians in those days to discover they could learn something about God from a Jew, that the theology of a Jew could make them better Christians. Many thought that had not happened for 2000 years, since Jesus and Paul. When I was a child, it seemed to me that the nuns who came to our home for a visit were on a pilgrimage, coming home to the Judaism that was the womb of their own faith. These occasions often were

the first Shabbat dinner or Passover Seder that many nuns and priests had ever attended. Some were tentative at first, but they quickly responded to my father's gentle humor; others such as Félix A. Morlion, O.P., from Rome regaled us with jokes and theological banter. "My friend," my father would say, putting his hand on his guest's arm, "would you like to learn the prayer for bread, the hamotzi?" And then he would teach the guest the Hebrew words. Often, toward the end of the meal, in a quiet voice, my father would conclude the evening's theological discussions by asking, "Do you really think it would be *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* if there were no Jews, no Jewish prayer, no Sabbath, God forbid?" And then came a pause, a smile from the guest, and a nod. "What will save us?" my father asked, when speaking at a gathering in honor of Augustin Bea. "God and our ability to stand in awe of each other's faith, of each other's commitment."

**Comments of Alberto Melloni (University of  
Modena/Fondazione per le Scienze Religiose Giovanni XXIII,  
Bologna)**

*Nostra Aetate* is a turning point for the Roman Catholic Church and for Christianity at large to a certain extent. The representation of other churches at the Second Vatican Council made it "ecumenical" in a new way—not an imperial council supported by the state administration, as occurred during the first millennium, nor the idea promulgated by Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine of a Council simply summoned by the Roman pontiff. Rather, it was conceived as an unusual and iconic manifestation of the communion. "A banquet of grace," said Pope John XXIII, who gathered it—one open to all, so open that the proposal to host Israeli observers at the Council created serious controversy.<sup>1</sup> For this reason, *Nostra Aetate* has wider implications beyond Roman Catholicism; and its history and effects are still the subject for research.

Connelly's book is a major piece of research in this rapidly changing panorama. *From Enemy to Brother* examines one aspect of those involved in the genesis, draft, and revision of *Nostra Aetate*. Many of them were Jews who had converted—people historically subject to persecution and thus pressured by civil and ecclesiastical authorities to show zeal. Connelly discusses Baum, Rudloff, Peterson, and Jaeger, but centers his analysis on Oesterreicher, an Austrian theologian who was part of an intellectual circle that included Thieme, Maritain, and Isaac. As far as the reconstruction of this informal community is concerned (chapters 1–7), Connelly's book is full of interesting discoveries and observations. His discussion of mission and conversion of the Jews as something that was abandoned only with pain and resistance also is quite sound.

<sup>1</sup>Alberto Melloni, *Papa Giovanni. Un Cristiano e il suo concilio* (Torino, 2009), p. 297.



However, the chapter that reconstructs the debate at the Second Vatican Council shows an unfortunate conclusion that can result from research drawing on Council archives: Almost all individuals who had a significant role at the Council believed that they played the most important one. They did find their own ideas in the phrasing of *Nostra Aetate* and felt that they had avoided great clashes or disasters. However, in the majority of cases their conclusions are not accurate. The assembly by its nature amplified these emotions as well as the desire of those who had participated only through entities to register a more personal role.

It is true that the pope and Isaac wished to insert a *De Judaeis* into the agenda. It was the conservative elements of the Roman Curia (as discussed in my *L'altra Roma* [Bologna, 2000]) who passed the document to the Arab ambassadors so as to create a counter reaction that would force Cardinal Amleto Cicognani to drop the scheme. Much more important were the roles of Bea and his Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity—the “verbali” of the latter provide significant insight.<sup>2</sup> The idea to dilute the document on Jews within an overarching document on “Religions” did not placate the minority who could not move beyond tradition and old prejudices.

Thus the insistence on the “religious” character of *Nostra Aetate* does not reveal the intention of Bea or Cardinal Giacomo Lercaro (not a Franciscan, as Connelly writes), nor fully explain the reasons for the continuing attacks on the document. My research and the work done by Uri Bialer show that even among Israeli diplomats, the idea of a “religious” document was too little, too late, in light of the Shoah and the establishment of the State of Israel. But disparate individuals such as Maurice Fischer, Nathan Ben Horin, and Raya Kagan on one side, and people such as Bea and Willebrands on the other, recognized the need for a change first envisioned by Osterreicher—one that is at the core of Connelly’s book and signifies the most dramatic turnabout of the Council.

### **Response of John Connelly (University of California, Berkeley)**

I thank the reviewers for their generous readings and corrections (which will inform any translations of the book), but for reasons of space I will direct my response to some of their critical remarks that address issues of broader interest.

Johannes Oesterreicher would have endorsed Eugene J. Fisher’s assessment of Rosemary Ruether’s work, although some respected theologians indeed embraced much of her argument (for example, Gregory Baum). Ruether projected anti-Judaism as a necessary implication of the gospels rather than the poisoned fruit of interpretation, and that went against the life

<sup>2</sup>*Dialogo e Rinnovamento*, ed. Mauro Velati (Bologna, 2011).

project of Oesterreicher. But recently I have been shocked to find anti-Judaic interpretation in work published after the Council. Looking for a readable discussion of Matthew's Gospel by a major Catholic theologian I turned to the much-praised *Vision of Matthew* of John P. Meier (New York, with imprimatur and *nihil obstat* issued in September 1978; repr. 1991). In this interpretation, "the Kingdom of God is taken from this people [the Jews, JC] and given to another people, the church, which will bear its fruits (21:43)." "A fundamental choice," Meier writes, "involving the confession or the denial of Jesus as Messiah, leads to a fundamental change in the identity of the people of God. The fatal decision is made by the whole Jewish people in 27:25." Meier was referring to the infamous scene in which the crowd calls the blood of Christ upon itself. Instead of the open eschatological vision of *Nostra Aetate* (featuring the minor prophet Zephaniah), Meier writes of a second coming in which "Jerusalem and the Jews will be forced to acknowledge and hail the coming one. But on that day he will come as judge, not as the meek king of Zechariah. On that day it will be too late." Meier writes as if the Second Vatican Council had not happened, arguing at times like the opponents of chapter 4 of *Nostra Aetate*.<sup>3</sup>

Daniel Harrington has published work showing how the synoptic gospels can be "set free" of anti-Judaism (by arguing, for example, that the wicked vintners in Matthew 21:43 represent not the people but the leaders of Israel and that the new "nation" referred to does not imply the Catholic Church).<sup>4</sup> Yet Harrington also supplied a generous endorsement of Meier's book. So did Paul Achtemeier, former president of the Catholic Bible Association, who calls *Vision of Matthew* "[o]ne of those volumes every student of the Gospel of Matthew needs to own." Raymond Brown calls Meier's book "excellent, supplying a very intelligible approach. It is basic enough to be used as a text in college courses, and yet has quality scholarship so that it can be warmly recommended to seminary and more advanced students of the New Testament." The upshot is that laypersons, looking for a work endorsed by top Catholic authorities, are led straight into the kind of supercessionist anti-Judaism that troubled Ruether—decades after the Council. The church's teaching authority, so vigilant in other matters, seems little interested in this one.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup>In reference to the final lines of Matthew, Meier writes: "... the Jews as a special, separate people have lost their privileged status as chosen people of God. They have been 'declassified' and have become simply one nation among 'all the nations.'" *The Vision of Matthew: Christ, Church and Morality in the First Gospel* (New York, 1991), pp. 166, 200.

<sup>4</sup>Daniel Harrington, *The Synoptic Gospels Set Free: Preaching without Anti-Judaism* (New York, 2009).

<sup>5</sup>The three statements released by the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews (1974, 1985, 1998) say nothing about combating the ideology of supercessionism.

Thomas Stransky is right that I highlight the Oesterreicher-Thieme connection at the expense of much else. Yet I do discuss the catechetical work of Démann and his colleagues in Paris (the converts Geza Vermes and Renée Bloch), as well as the Seelisberg and Schwalbach theses. Discussions about anti-Judaism took place in societies of L'Amitié judéo-chrétienne in France as well as Gesellschaften für christlich-jüdische Verständigung in Germany. Yet at the top were the theologians who strove to find words to speak to Jews after the Holocaust, and here the key role of Karl Thieme was unmistakable. He was the first Catholic theologian to break through to the idea that Jews remained "pleasing to God," and some of his formulations later went into *Nostra Aetate*. But he was definitely a "networker" who used Freiburg, a German city bordering on France and Switzerland, to integrate the work of Christians and Jews from elsewhere. The Apeldoorn meetings of the late 1950s represent a high point of such efforts, and they involved not only Oesterreicher and Thieme but also theologians from Israel, the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, and Italy. Stransky's notion of the permeability of these groups is exactly right.

Striking is the high percentage of converts. There would have been no new Catholic teaching on the Jews without the engagement of individuals who were not born Catholic. Although histories of the Second Vatican Council focus on the bishops, the crucial intellectual work behind *Nostra Aetate* was accomplished by persons who did not belong to the hierarchy or indeed often the priesthood. The trend went back to the 1930s, when Oesterreicher, Thieme, and Waldemar Gurian could not find a single bishop to support their Catholic condemnation of antisemitism.

Susannah Heschel echoes Stransky in noting how much work remains to be done on the origins of *Nostra Aetate*—not only on efforts beyond Germany but also on those involving Christians and Jews, dating in Europe from the late 1940s, but in the United States from the 1920s. She also echoes Stransky in emphasizing the degree of the change accomplished by this brief statement. Before the Council, few Christians would have dared state that learning about Judaism can make one a better Christian. Now the idea seems commonsensical. Heschel describes the new teaching as "thoroughly grounded in foundational Christian texts." Oesterreicher would have agreed, but one friend (the political scientist Tony Levitas) who read my book called the shift to St. Paul a "very clever but clearly willful exegesis" involving "what seems to an outsider a pretty lonely and ambiguous bit of text." Still, *Nostra Aetate*, citing Paul's letter to the Romans 9–11 but not the indeed ambiguous Matthew 21–28, does constitute authoritative church teaching, and it is disheartening (as I argue in chapter 8) that top church officials have recently spoken of conversion of the Jews as if this teaching did not exist.

Heschel points to an odd effect of the new teaching: that in projecting it as rooted in foundational texts, the Church can deflect attention from the

centuries when other texts led to opposite conclusions and in fact fueled contempt of Jews. What I hope is clear from my book is that the road to *Nostra Aetate* took the Church from a place where (religious) anti-Judaism demonstrably fueled (modern racist) antisemitism. Also clear is that the Vatican did nothing to silence the prominent Catholic theologians who sponsored racism in the 1930s.

Alberto Melloni notes how sources structure our research, sometimes causing us to reproduce their biases. Fortunately, I was able to check the records of Oesterreicher against those of Thieme as well as those of Oesterreicher against those of Stransky (who generously permitted me access to his papers housed at the Paulist Center in Washington, DC). Yet Oesterreicher challenges historians for the opposite reason supposed by Melloni. One thing he learned from decades of work in the Church was never to upstage a bishop. In his published work his own role appears minimal and is often described in the passive voice. The archival record helped put him in the picture, but I had to read thousands of his letters to find a single recollection of his argument in the SPCU that the word *Israel* in Romans 9 means the Jews. If Oesterreicher was a proud man, he also, as a good Christian, evidently had learned to examine his conscience.



## BOOK REVIEWS

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### General and Miscellaneous

*The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell: Metaphor and Embodiment in the Lives of Pious Women, 200-1500.* By Dyan Elliott. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. x, 662. \$59.95. ISBN 978-0-8122-4358-1.)

In *The Bride of Christ Goes to Hell*, Dyan Elliott pursues themes addressed in earlier books: *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, 1993); *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1998); and *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitorial Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004). Elliott employs anthropological, feminist, literary, and psychoanalytic perspectives to interpret medieval texts related to female bodies and religious experience. She argues that the metaphor "bride of Christ," as applied to virginal female religious, progresses in a downward spiral from symbol, to text, to embodiment, setting the stage for the eventual condemnation of women accused of mistaking the devil for Christ. Elliott further argues that as women embraced a "spouse of Christ" persona, some began to exhibit behaviors based on literal interpretations of the Song of Songs, behaviors that led ecclesial authorities to become suspicious of, and hostile to, female mysticism. Elliott writes, "This book is in many ways a testimony to the mystical marriage's predatory symbolism" (p. 2).

To build her case, Elliott examines texts from the early church to the late Middle Ages. Key factors in her argument include the development of a burgeoning affective piety, a focus on the human Christ, devotion to the Passion and Eucharist, the erotic language of the Song of Songs, and Mary as the ultimate bride. In each of seven chapters, Elliott examines a central theme, highlighting the complexity and tensions of diverse attitudes toward marriage, virginity, sexuality, and women. She begins with the thesis that Tertullian's use of the bride metaphor functioned to exert control over consecrated virgins. As virginity (and the intact body) acquired more status (second only to martyrdom), patristic authors emphasized modest dress, strict discipline, seclusion, and clerical oversight (St. Cyprian of Carthage, Origen, St. Athanasius of Alexandria, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine). Elliott then turns to the Barbarian invasions and a discussion of the sixth- and seventh-century tension between virginal and nonvirginal brides (Thuringian Queen Radegund; Frankish noble matron Rictrude). Peter Abelard and Héloïse embody the twelfth-century linkage of physical and mystical marriage and the emergence

of monastic heterosexual couples whose spiritual bond simulated the intimacy of an actual marriage. St. Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermons on the Song of Songs* (1135–53) is noted as a major influence on the sensual, embodied, and erotized image of the bride of Christ found in the literature of the Beguines. Elliott concludes that the trajectory of the bride image culminates in a growing suspicion of female spirituality. The final chapter, "The Descent into Hell," argues that texts by John Gerson and John Nider (*Malleus maleficarum*) invert the image of the mystical marriage amidst the rise of charges of magic, sorcery, and witchcraft against women religious. Women's experience of a mystical marriage with Christ was no longer seen as divine revelation but as demonic activity.

Elliott often reads "against" well-established positions and textual readings (p. 195), and her use of literary and psychoanalytical frameworks will likely fuel further discussion about the appropriateness and success of such an approach when applied to medieval texts. For example, when does applying Freudian concepts such as repression, transference, and countertransference shed light on the meaning of medieval texts, and when does it obscure or erase it? Elliott is to be commended for presenting a provocative, complex argument. However, arguing a thesis (rather than simply describing textual content in its context) leads her to a good deal of conjecture (pp. 168, 170, 209, 212), problematic moral judgments (p. 246), questionable imputation of motives (pp. 168, 170, 209), and overgeneralization. For example, Jean Gerson is presumed to have used his considerable scholarly and literary talents to "undermine female mysticism" by "manipulating metaphors and images" in "flexible and subtle ways" (p. 246). No medieval scholar doubts the presence of enormous negative forces against women, but uncovering the meaning medieval people assigned to women, their spiritual lives, their bodies, sexualities, and relationships demands a more tentative approach. In another example, Elliott posits that in intense celibate relationships between a man and woman (what she terms "heteroasceticism," p. 150), "women seemed to have a greater investment." But when the full trajectory of many of these relationships is examined, it is legitimate to ask if this assessment is adequate taken alone. The complexity of deep human relationships—Ss. Francis and Clare of Assisi, Catherine of Siena and Raymond of Capua, Mary of Oignies and James of Vitry—then as now, demands a more nuanced assessment.

A stylistic quibble is the frequent inclusion of "quips" that, for some readers, may function as comic relief in a dense scholarly tome, but others may regard them as inappropriate or condescending (pp. 31, 39, 42, 49, 59, 75, 78, 87, 107). Two examples are the following: "Despite her apparent adulation, however, Margery [Kempe] still exhibited the kind of behavior that one might expect from a new girl in an established harem, striving to advance her intimacy with the sultan" (p. 219); and "So while Christ kept his relations with his fiancée, Bridget [of Sweden], on a formal footing, he invited Margery [Kempe] to snuggle in bed" (p. 219).

This provocative, meticulously documented text (115 pages of endnotes and forty-one pages of bibliography) analyzes a wide range of familiar and lesser-known medieval authors on an important topic. In the end, her analysis is unconvincing, but the journey is engaging and instructive. The book can be recommended for scholars of medieval history, theology, spirituality, women's history, the history of emotion, semiotics, and postmodern literary and psychoanalytical methodologies.

*Fairfield University*

ELIZABETH A. DREYER

*The Lord as Their Portion: The Story of the Religious Orders and How They Shaped Our World.* By Elizabeth Rapley. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2011. Pp. xii, 337. \$24.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8028-6588-5.)

Elizabeth Rapley sets out to recount the story of religious "for those people for whom monks and nuns are only a distant memory, or who have never known them at all" (p. ix). This intended audience determines the mode of her presentation without footnotes or bibliography and only brief recommendations for reading at the conclusion of each chapter. She covers approximately 1500 years of history in six chapters, and includes a helpful glossary and index.

Chapter 1 begins the story in the Egyptian desert; moves to St. Benedict of Nursia; and traces the Benedictine reforms through Cluny, the eremitical reforms, and Cîteaux. The beginnings of the apostolic life movements in the eleventh century, the revival of the canons regular, the origins of military orders, and an overview of monastic women concludes the chapter.

Chapter 2, covering the Middle Ages from 1200 to 1500, chronicles the origins of the mendicants, focusing on the growth of the Franciscan and Dominican orders through the Black Death and the Great Schism. Rapley describes the expansion, the pastoral role in the Western Church (and conflict with secular clergy), and the missions of the Franciscan Order to the Orient through the early-fourteenth century and the crisis of the Spirituals. The Poor Clares are treated briefly, as well as the Cistercian nuns and the *Frauenfrage* in general. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of the "Third Orders" and the Brothers of the Common Life.

Chapter 3 covers the period of the Reformation and its impact on religious life. The Reformers' critique of religious life and the turbulent history of the sixteenth century is the backdrop for the origins of the Capuchin reform and the Jesuits in particular, as well as for the Carmelite reform of Ss. Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross. The growth of new women's orders is presented through the example of St. Angela of Merici and the origins of the Ursulines. This chapter concludes with a description of the missionary endeavors of orders in the Far East and in South America.

The Age of Confessionalism is the subject of chapter 4, in which Rapley describes the role of religious orders in the Catholic regions of Europe, focusing primarily on France. The attempt of religious women to move beyond the requirement of cloister imposed by the Council of Trent is portrayed with the story of Ss. Jeanne de Chantal and Francis de Sales and the foundation of the Visitation. St. Vincent de Paul and the Congregation of the Mission, St. Louise de Marillac and the Daughters of Charity, and St. Jean-Baptiste de la Salle and the teaching brothers demonstrate the importance of the social ministries of charity and teaching. The reform of Armand-Jean de Rancé and the origins of the Trappists conclude the chapter.

Chapter 5 focuses again on France in the eighteenth century. The suppression of the Jesuits is chronicled, as is the preference for the active social works of charity over the contemplative life by the various regimes. The founding of the Montfortian congregations by St. Louis de Montfort and the Redemptorists by St. Alphonsus Liguori are highlighted in this century of revolutions. The final chapter describes the revival of religious life in the nineteenth century. Featured here are St. John Bosco and the Salesians, St. Jeanne Jugan and the Little Sisters of the Poor, the revival of women's communities in France, and the establishment of orders in the new world.

Given the intended audience, Rapley succeeds admirably in telling the story of religious orders throughout Christian history. As she herself admits, there is much more to this story than she could include, but one learns from her work just how integral to the story of Christianity these women and men were and are who took "the Lord as their portion."

*Siena College*

MICHAEL W. BLASTIC

*Food & Faith in Christian Culture*. Edited by Ken Albala and Trudy Eden. [Arts and Traditions of the Table: Perspectives on Culinary History.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 265. \$79.50 clothbound; \$26.50 paperback; \$20.99 e-book. ISBN 978-0-231-14996-9 clothbound; 978-0-231-14997-6 paperback; 978-0-231-52079-9 e-book.)

*Food & Faith in Christian Culture* explores the straightforward notion that food has occupied a significant, though underappreciated role in Christian tradition. Although the editors' assertion of scholarly neglect may be exaggerated, the eleven essays that they have assembled provide an illuminating inquiry into the manipulation of food for religious purposes. They investigate practices across a broad geographic expanse stretching from Europe to the Americas and far beyond to New Zealand. The chronological range is no less impressive; the studies span more than a half-millennium from the late Middle Ages to the present. Still, the principal value of this collection rests on its imaginative themes and innovative approaches.



Some subjects are familiar, even as the authors offer fresh insight. Thus, analyses focusing on the monastic experience bookend the volume. The opening chapter by Salvatore D. S. Musumeci surveys the dietary habits—both conventional and exceptional—among a group of fourteenth-century Florentine monks. Their account books indicate purchases typical of most Florentine households, but the monks consumed these foodstuffs in keeping with the Rule of St. Benedict. In the book's final chapter, Richard D. G. Irvine probes the enduring significance of eating in silence for contemporary English Benedictines. Simply put, how does sharing a meal foster corporate piety?

The volume's coeditor, Ken Albala, fastens on another key issue—the Reformation's reconsideration of fasting—and concludes that fasting remained important for both Catholics and Protestants, although they refashioned its character considerably. A closely related aspect of the "reformation" of food and drink was sumptuary legislation. According to Johanna B. Moyer, French regulations, whether Catholic or Protestant, emphasized food discipline as a vehicle for reinforcing community. Antonia-Leda Matalas, Eleni Tourlouki, and Chyrstalleni Lazarou note a similar stress on the disciplinary dynamics of fasting in the Eastern Orthodox Church. Sydney Watts's study of Lenten observances in France during the Enlightenment takes a slightly different tack. How did theology and new understandings in medical science converge to alter perceptions and practices surrounding Lent?

Turning to the recent American past, Heidi Oberholtzer Lee inquires into the ways that the Brethren in Christ promoted the love feast, a collective ritual with physical and spiritual dimensions, as a means to heal divisions and affirm communal harmony. The book's other coeditor, Trudy Eden, discusses a related topic in American religious history—vegetarianism as a force for spiritual regeneration. She focuses on Charles and Myrtle Fillmore—founders of Unity, a church within the New Thought movement. The ongoing American preoccupation with health, beauty, body, and religion comes together in a delightful essay by Samantha Kwan and Christine Sheikh on Christian weight-loss programs.

Equally engaging and revealing are the chapters that treat Amerindian and Maori associations with and attitudes toward bread, that most basic of European foods. In one case, Heather Martel reflects upon a sixteenth-century Italian adventurer in New Spain who expressed disgust for the way in which indigenous women prepared maize bread and wine. His reaction was part of an attempt to avoid contamination of European Christian identity, here encapsulated in foods commonly associated with the Eucharistic meal. According to Hazel Petrie, missionaries in New Zealand discovered that the indigenous people welcomed the introduction of European wheat bread. Less understood perhaps was the manner by which the Maori incorporated the new staple into a precolonial religious matrix.

Altogether, the essays are topical, well written, and stimulating. They nicely capture the diversity, nuance, and complexity surrounding the place and role of dietary practices in Christian culture.

*University of Iowa*

RAYMOND A. MENTZER

*One Family under God: Love, Belonging, and Authority in Early Transatlantic Methodism.* By Anna M. Lawrence. [Early American Studies.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. viii, 282. \$42.50. ISBN 978-0-8122-4330-7.)

Anna Lawrence's exploration of fictive, yet powerfully felt, kinship relations among early Methodists in Great Britain and North America is timely, arriving in the midst of political and religious debate about the definition of family. Methodism's impact on the development of modern notions about family is relevant, as it was the largest Protestant denomination in the United States for more than a century (from about 1840 to 1950), and it still claims more than 8 million adherents.

Lawrence laments the dearth of scholarship on family relations in the eighteenth century, the period during which financial concerns and parental authority gave way to romantic feelings as the primary criteria for spousal choice. That transition coincided with the rise of evangelical Protestantism—of which the Methodist Movement was a significant part—a contextual connection that previous scholars have avoided. "Evangelicalism was the predominant emergent moral and religious movement of the era," Lawrence points out, "and it brought a new sensibility to the domestic and social ideas of family" (p. 4).

Lawrence's discussion of affective kinships among early Methodists is excellent. The followers of the childless John Wesley referred to him as their father, and he spoke of them as his children. The itinerant preachers formed a brotherhood under his paternal direction, and lay Methodists called one another "Brother" and "Sister." A convert addressed the preacher under whose ministry she came to faith as her "spiritual father," and women leaders were "Mothers in Israel." As Lawrence explains, in the eighteenth century, becoming a Methodist often brought considerable opposition, if not entire alienation, from the believer's birth family. Converts turned to their new Methodist family for the affection and support the religious change had cost them. For the enslaved, who had been ruthlessly ripped from their families and cultures, fictive religion-based kinship was invaluable. Methodist societies, classes, and bands became not only their sacramental home but something far more.

Courtship and marriage practices among Methodists may have contributed to the cultural notion that spouses should be chosen for amorous attachment rather than for parental or economic reasons, although

Methodists looked for spiritual partnerships, not romance. Wesley's own disastrous marriage strengthened his insistence that "it was necessary to enter into a union with the utmost caution and to find a mate who was equally devoted to the Methodist mission" (p. 145). Methodists looked to their spiritual family to vet potential spouses; then, only after much prayer and, perhaps, a sign of God's approval, would they say "I do."

Her effective discussion of courtship and marriage, however, leads Lawrence to overemphasize Methodist encouragement of celibacy. Yes, Wesley and American Methodist leader Francis Asbury both believed that marriage and family distracted the faithful, especially the preachers, but celibacy was never required for theological reasons; rather, it was encouraged for practical ones. Some early Methodist preachers did cease itinerating due to acquisition of wife and children, but at least as many located due to chronic health problems or death caused by the hardships of circuit-riding.

Lawrence occasionally stumbles. She frequently uses the terms *Methodist* and *evangelical* interchangeably. The love feast involved bread and water, not, as she implies, Eucharist. Her assessment of American Methodist polity as egalitarian belies the unresolved conflict between hierarchical polity and egalitarian theology that has riven the denomination more than once.

These modest concerns aside, Lawrence has opened exploration of Protestant evangelicalism's influence on modern family life. One hopes she will pursue it further.

*West Virginia University*

JANE DONOVAN

### Ancient

*Seven Books of History against the Pagans.* By Paulus Orosius. Translated with an introduction and notes by Andrew T. Fear. [Translated Texts for Historians, Vol. 54.] (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. Distributed by the University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 456. \$39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-84631-239-7.)

In Paulus Orosius's *Historia adversus paganos* (c. 418 AD) we possess the only universal history surviving intact from the ancient Greco-Roman world, its narrative starting from Adam himself and ending with the Visigoth king Vallia in 415. To have this monumental work well translated, introduced, and annotated is a timely boon, and not only for historians of antiquity but also for classicists and patrologists. We should not let the previous English translator of the *Historia* go unappreciated, for Roy Deferrari, who rendered a version for the series *The Fathers of the Church* that he edited, was surely one of the great Catholic educators of the twentieth century and a brilliant Latinist. But

Deferrari completed his account later in life (attempting to better Irving Woodward Raymond's efforts in the 1930s), and Andrew T. Fear's translation is tighter, coming also with a more up-to-date knowledge of research into later antiquity that the newly prestigious series *Translated Texts* is meant to purvey.

For every name mentioned in the text, readers are provided with short biographical notes or directions to a relevant prosopographic entry, and with most place names clarifications are provided (often with cross-references to mentions in other ancient authors). Whenever Orosius cites his sources or they can be traced, the relevant details are provided, and occasionally one finds incisive comments on his idiosyncratic interpretations. It is not as if Fear were the first to attempt this—and perhaps attention should have been given to Enrique Gallego-Blanco's and also Rodrigo Furtado's prior forays into this exercise, in Spanish (1983) and Portuguese (2000) respectively—yet the English result is more accomplished. The end product shows the benefits of the massive (largely Anglophone) industry in researching late-antique history over the last half-century.

The apparent chief aim of Fear's enterprise here is to orient readers to Orosius as a source of historical facts. There are a few described events exclusive to Orosius, and at times he offers special additional (although also likely "doctored") material to known accounts. He had access to texts no longer available to us, and as a Galician he made special use of fellow Spaniard and anti-imperialist Pompeius Trogus (*flor.* 40s AD), whose great *Philippic History* has come down to us only through an epitome by Justinus and in various fragments. So there are matters of facticity and slant that interest historians of late antiquity especially, and Fear is above all concerned to tackle these. There also is the question of Orosius's chronological methods, since he covered such a vast tract of time, valiantly setting so many occurrences in their proper temporal order. Fear helpfully shows how a combined use of official Capitoline *fasti*, the Jerome-Eusebius *Chronicon*, and Pompeius's nonextant and Iberian *modus operandi* is crucial for the Orosian achievement, and these relate also to the structuring of the *Historia* into seven books. Whether Orosius's choice to cover history in seven books is affected by any of his predecessors or some other "sentiment" (the biblical Days of Creation or the classical "seven ages of Man") cannot be decided. That the whole outcome, on Fear's account, is "Secular Religious History" (p. 13), not just Christian historical apologetics, is an interesting and well-taken summary of the opus in view.

Because Orosius's historiographical outlook (his retributive logic, providentialism, and supernaturalist explanations) is not Fear's main focus, references to such authors as Hans-Werner Goetz, Kurt Artur Schöndorf, and Lloyd George Patterson are lacking. For the future years in which differing perspectives will be explored, however, this fine translation and its apparatus will stand us in good stead.



*Spätantiker Staat und religiöser Konflikt: Imperiale und lokale Verwaltung und die Gewalt gegen Heiligtümer.* Edited by Johannes Hahn. [Millennium Studies in the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E., Vol. 34.] (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2011. Pp. vi, 227. \$120.00. ISBN 978-3-11-024087-0.)

How did the persecuted become the persecutors? Scholarly debate over Christian persecution of “pagans” has intensified in the last forty years. This volume under review is composed of an introduction by the editor and eight articles (six in German and two in English) by scholars on the state’s role in violence against temples and shrines in late antiquity (especially the third through the middle of the fifth century) at both the local and imperial levels. These contributions developed out of a 2005 conference in Münster as part of the research project *Kampf um Kultstätten. Sakraler Ort und religiöser Konflikt* supported by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*.

Johannes Hahn in the introduction (“Spätantiker Staat und religiöser Konflikt—Einleitende Bemerkungen”) provides a lucid overview of the scholarly debate and of the present contributions. Martin Wallraff examines “Die antipagane Maßnahmen Konstantins in der Darstellung des Euseb von Kaisareia” (“The Anti-Pagan Measures of Constantine in the Portrayal of Eusebius of Caesarea”). This interesting contribution, supported by excellent use of primary sources, reminds the reader to read Eusebius’s description of Constantine’s antipagan measures—such as his alleged law ending sacrifice—with care. Frank R. Trombley turns to “The Imperial Cult in Late Roman Religion (ca. A.D. 244–395): Observations on the Epigraphy” and examines the continuity of the imperial cult up through 395, including the burning of incense at altars under Theodosius I. Giorgio Bonamente examines “Einziehung und Nutzung von Tempelgut durch Staat und Stadt in der Spätantike” (“The Confiscation and Use of Temple Property by the State and City in Late Antiquity”) in a well-documented study and analyzes Constantine’s motivations for the liquidation of temple property as well as later such confiscations through 435. In a dynamically written contribution with close attention to sources, Eckhard Meyer-Zwiffelhofer analyzes the role of provincial governors in the suppression of pagan cults (“*Mala desidia iudicum?* Zur Rolle der Provinzstatthalter bei der Unterdrückung paganer Kulte [von Constantin bis Theodosius II.]”) and concludes that governors often played no active role because of their sensitivity to local elites. Ulrich Gotter turns to the role of the Roman Empire in religious violence (“Zwischen Christentum und Staatsraison. Römisches Imperium und religiöse Gewalt”) and argues that the Christianization of the empire contributed to the use of violence at the local level. In “Für die Tempel? Die Gewalt gegen heidnische Heiligtümer aus der Sicht städtischer Eliten des spätrömischen Ostens,” Hans-Ulrich Wiemer presents a thorough study of Libanius’ oration in defense of the temples (Or. 30). Bryan Ward-Perkins explores archaeological evidence for the end of Roman paganism (“The End of the Temple: An

Archaeological Problem”) and concludes that this approach is problematic and the window of time is too narrow for effective analysis. In “Gesetze als Waffe? Die kaiserliche Religionspolitik und die Zerstörung der Tempel” Johannes Hahn concludes the volume with an analysis of legal sources for imperial policy toward religion and the destruction of temples (especially the constitutions preserved in *CTb* 16.10) and ultimately argues that the context of the early-fifth century influenced the compilers of the *Theodosian Code* in the way they edited and compressed laws to fit the headings in the code.

The volume presents some very interesting studies that should provoke discussion over our understanding of the nature of state and religious relations in late antiquity (although it looks like little was added to the contributions since the 2005 conference). Each contribution has its own bibliography. The volume as a whole has a select index of names, places, and topics as well as a source index. This work should be intriguing to audiences interested in late-antique politics and religion and would be a useful addition to any research library.

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ROBERT M. FRAKES

*Medici et Medicamenta: The Medicine of Penance in Late Antiquity.* By Natalie Brigit Molineaux. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America. 2009. Pp. xviii, 325. \$39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7618-4429-7.)

This is an ambitious work by an author whose imagination takes the reader far beyond the late antiquity of her title. Eighteen pages of impressively diverse bibliography place the standard literature familiar to historians of penance in wider contexts (for example, contemporary theological study or the history of scholarship). An unfortunate cutoff date of 2000 excludes important work—for example, Sarah Hamilton’s *The Practice of Penance 900-1050* (Rochester, NY, 2001) and fourteen contributors to *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Boston, 2008). Nevertheless, the territory covered is vast.

The book is divided into two parts. The first examines the historiography of penance from the Reformation to 2000; the second, penance from the pre-Christian era to late antiquity. The introductory chapter’s sweeping survey of the study of religion—from the Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, and romanticism to contemporary anthropology, psychology, sociology, and philosophy—is designed ultimately to establish penance and its manifestation in confession as universals across time and culture, evidence of “natural religion,” “a religious *a priori*” (p. 3). The remaining seven chapters examine the historiography and the actual evolution of ritualized penance. She will not, she warns, settle for a conventional institutional narrative; she will explore deep roots in pre-Christian religion, the Judaic background, and the desert Fathers. Her favorite mode of analysis identifies dichotomies at the heart of

scholarly reconstructions: from 1520 to 2000 as described in the second to fourth chapters; and even more pronounced dichotomies in the four final chapters (c.1650 BC–650 AD), where she contrasts the penitential cultures of eastern and western Christianity.

It is difficult to assess this ambitious undertaking. One cannot help but admire her expansive definition of this history (for example, the massive cataloguing of comparative penitential practices by Rafaele Pettazoni and Paul Ricoeur) or her eye for the salient detail (pre-Christian antiquity's widespread connection between sin and disease, contamination and suffering; Babylonian laying-on of hands to heal and exorcise; Egyptian priests' certificates of innocence to accompany the dead to the next world). Her most interesting chapter elevates, at the expense of the Celts, the contribution of eastern monasticism—through St. John Cassian—to the “monasticization” of ritual penance in the west (pp. 210–32). And it will be an unusual reader who does not become acquainted for the first time with new literature—primary and secondary—as she explores penance from pre-Christian antiquity to the present.

So it seems ungenerous to criticize a work that provides so many ways to think about penance and accumulates so much information about so many disputed moments in the long history of penance. But problems abound. Proofreading should have eliminated the many typos, garbled titles, and inadvertent grammatical lapses. Footnotes go astray at pages 88 and 177. There also are factual errors. It is not quite accurate to say that God's judgment in Genesis 3:16 *ff.* “entails a dissolution or disintegration of the soul” (p. 151). Peter the Chanter and William of Auvergne were not fourteenth-century authors (p. 122). Alexander Murray's examination of confession before 1215 was not a challenge to “the conventional notion that the *Omnis utriusque sexus* decree had successfully affected [*sic*] the change from public to private confession” (p. 116). The account of procreative purpose in John T. Noonan Jr.'s history of contraception is confused (p. 105). Indicative absolution is not an issue at Lateran Council IV (p. 91). The Council of Trent does not confine Matt. 16:19 solely to Peter (p. 175)—it extends that verse's power of forgiveness to all priests, even those in mortal sin (Trent Sess 14, chap. 6; *cf. ibid.*, can.3).

More important than these lapses, however, is a tendency to oversimplify. Thus the contrast between the medicinal penance of the Christian East and the judicial, bureaucratized, legalistic penance of the West (pp. 188, 194, 199, 280–81; but *cf.* 200) ignores the persistence of medical imagery in medieval Europe (including the text of *Omnis utriusque sexus*). Reducing empirical debate to ideological “proclivities,” she associates Henry C. Lea with Protestant historiography, whereas Lea dismissed Augustinian grace theology as “a deplorable theory” founded on “the strange utterances of St. Paul”—citing Rom. 8:29–30, Rom. 11:5–6, and Eph. 1:3–11. Similarly, there is little appreciation that Bernhard Poschmann and Paul Galtier, the main opponents on the practice of confession in the ancient church, were both Catholic

priests, even though she correctly observes that Poschmann's refutation of traditionalist claims eventually triumphed (pp. 89, 173).

Nevertheless, the virtues of this massively researched volume outweigh flaws that could have been corrected by a thorough editing. Natalie Brigit Molineaux suggests new ways to think about the history of penance and provides an abundance of places to look for answers to the many questions she raises.

*University of Michigan*

THOMAS N. TENTLER

*Christianity's Quiet Success: The Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection and the Power of the Church in Late Antique Gaul.* By Lisa Kaaren Bailey. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. x, 278. \$34.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02224-2).

The Eusebius Gallicanus collection consists of seventy-six sermons, originally composed in late-antique Gaul (text in CCSL 101-101B). Some are for holy days; some commemorate saints such as Genesius of Arles, Honoratus of Arles, and Maximus of Riez; others deal with moral issues or questions of doctrine. Most of the sermons appear to have been addressed to lay congregations, but a significant minority was addressed to monks.

The collection gained its name from its attribution in some manuscripts to an (apparently fictional) Eusebius, and until now almost all scholarship on the collection has been concerned with trying to establish its authorship. Lisa Kaaren Bailey's monograph, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, is the first full-length study of the collection and for most of the sermons the first scholarly work to examine them except in relation to the authorship question. Bailey's opening chapter discusses the function of preaching within the increasingly Christianized society of fifth-century Gaul, and the way in which sermon collections provided material for preachers less able to produce their own. The second chapter discusses the question of authorship, concluding that the sermons (originally the work of several authors from mid- to late-fifth-century Gaul) were assembled and edited by a compiler to provide just such a collection of model sermons to be used or adapted by preachers.

The next three chapters examine the ways in which the sermons address lay congregations, dealing with the attempts of preachers to promote unity within their congregations and civic communities, with their strategies for explaining the Bible and Christian doctrine, and with the ways in which they attempted to counteract sin. Bailey argues that in all these areas a major concern was to create and maintain a sense of community, with the preachers emphasizing consensus, and stressing the unity between themselves and their congregations, rather than claiming a position of leadership (pp. 51-54). Similarly, Bailey characterizes their approach to scriptural exegesis as "con-



trolled, safe and simple" (p. 73), avoiding the discussion of difficult or potentially controversial passages. When addressing the issue of sin, the sermons avoid confrontation and denunciation: Bailey emphasizes again the ways in which they attempt to find consensus and to shift responsibility for addressing sin to members of the congregation by means of introspection and penance.

In her examination of the sermons addressed to monks (chapter 6), Bailey argues that these share most of the presuppositions of those addressed to lay congregations. As with sermons to the laity, the preachers stress their position within the congregation rather than above it. Any feeling of ascetic superiority is counteracted by emphasis on the greater demands which are made on ascetics because of their religious commitment and the consequent greater danger of failure (a position that owes much to St. John Cassian).

Throughout the book, Bailey illustrates her discussion with abundant translated quotations. She discusses points of comparison with other sermons from the period, focusing particularly on those of St. Augustine and, most of all, St. Caesarius of Arles, whose aggressive, confrontational stance is contrasted with the consensus-based approach of the Eusebius Gallicanus preachers. Simply by providing an exposition of such an important, but hitherto almost ignored, collection of texts, Bailey has provided a service to scholarship. However, her analysis of the sermons and of what they imply about Gallic Christianity, both in secular and monastic settings, is extremely convincing throughout. Her work is a significant expansion of our knowledge of Christianity in late-antique Gaul.

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DAVID LAMBERT

## Medieval

*The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity.* Edited by Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 364. \$89.50 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-31-14826-9; \$29.50 paperback, ISBN 978-0-231-14827-6; e-book, ISBN 978-0-231-52739-2.)

Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly have brought together fourteen essays to "explore the liturgical, exegetical, and pastoral expressions of the Bible in physical, textual, and aural forms and the way these shaped contemporary understanding of the Bible's contents and its place in Christian society" (p. 6). It is a tall order and one only partially achieved. The book includes an introduction by Boynton and Reilly and essays by Boynton (on liturgy), Richard Gyug (on Beneventan), Isabelle Cochelin (on monastic Bibles), Jennifer Harris (on Bible and history), Reilly (on lectern Bibles), Lila Yawn (on giant Bibles), Frans van Liere (on twelfth-century exegesis), Bert Roest (on mendicant exe-

gesis), Eyal Poleg (on sermons), Laura Light (on the Paris Bible), Stella Panayotova (on illustrated Psalters); Richard Marsden (on English translations), Clive Sneddon (on French translations), and Emily Francomano (on Castilian translations).

None of the essays is without interest, and some are excellent, but they sit together uneasily. The target audience is unclear—some (indeed, some of the best) essays seem to have been given the brief of a wide survey of their particular field (e.g., Marsden on 1000 years of English Bible translation); others present a much more specialist corner of the landscape. A general reader might want to know how “lectern Bibles” and Italian giant Bibles differ, and why each needs its own chapter. Specialism would not in itself be a disadvantage, were it not for the gaping lack of some huge subjects; for instance, there are essays on the Bible in English, French, and Castilian vernacular translations, but no mention of German, even given the importance of the Old High German version of Tatian’s *Diatesseron*. Again, a glossary contains words such as *cloister* and *psalter*—which suggests an intended nonspecialist audience—but one essay includes *apotropaic*, *Mosan*, *Deësis*, and *palladium* without any explanation. The interested beginner will come away with a rather lopsided view of the wider subject. Nonetheless, some broad points emerge. The first is the variety of texts that might be counted as “the Bible” in the Middle Ages, including a host of vernacular versions. Second, we can see the tolerance—indeed, we might even think encouragement—of medieval people (including church authorities) of this variety. Far from the picture of a single, unchanging, carefully controlled text, the Bible in the Middle Ages was a many-splendored thing.

Harris Manchester College, Oxford

LESLEY SMITH

*A Hermit's Cookbook: Monks, Food and Fasting in the Middle Ages.* By Andrew Jotischky. (New York: Continuum. 2011. Pp. xiv, 209. \$24.95. ISBN 978-0-8264-2393-1.)

This is an engaging volume, written with care and wearing gently a great deal of learning. Its premise is that we cannot comprehend an important dimension of ascetic and monastic practice unless we understand food and its consumption. The link is critical in appreciating notions of self-denial, especially practices that set out to avoid sensory stimulation. Andrew Jotischky takes us to the outset of eremitic and monastic practice, in the deserts of Egypt and Palestine, and its transfer to Western Europe by way of Ss. John Cassian and Benedict. Sources like the *Apophthegmata Patrum* give us flashes of insight into monastic life such as consumption of partly cooked lentils—and St. Jerome’s *Life of Hilarion* notes this as his subject’s diet for three years. Among the religious in the desert, there were those who chose a diet of uncooked food, gathering wild foods in particular. Although dietary practices, particularly abstinence from flesh, are later emblematic of their sub-

ject's virtue, it is argued here that the main ethical reasons were initially a desire not to spend time on practices that diverted energy and time from higher matters, allowing one to preserve indifference to food; and second, that food was the link to original sin and was therefore suspect. One sees similar food practices in the West at a much later date—for example, in the twelfth century, in the *Life of St. Godric of Finchale*—but monastic living could be good, and Jotischky develops his argument by way of a series of vignettes that show the interplay between ethics and food practices. St. Bernard of Clairvaux criticized the Cluniacs for their eating habits and culinary preparations, mutating food into new shapes and forms, away from its “natural” qualities. Cluniac food was alluring to the eye and stimulating to the appetite. It was as impressive in English Benedictine houses such as St. Swithun's, Winchester, where the monks petitioned King Henry II over an attempt to reduce by three the dishes at their main meal—but somewhat shamefacedly had to admit that they were left with ten. Other dimensions of food practice are considered, from plant lore to questions of health and the role of diet in maintaining humoral balance to monastic gardens, the use of herbs, and the link between monks and the growing of food. This last was important, not only in terms of self-sufficiency in the desert but also in Western Europe with its implications for the management of vast estates and regional agricultural productivity. Large monasteries required sophisticated logistics to ensure that all were fed, and woe betide cellarers and cooks who failed ensure that their monks ate well.

The monastic diet was changing. The extremes of ascetic practice were not to be replicated in a monastic environment, and diet increasingly matched that found in upper-class secular establishments. Jotischky points to a shift in dietary patterns in the eleventh century, from a period in which everyone had largely eaten the same food—the wealthy had more of it—to one in which there was much more variety, with the elite having access to a wider range of foods. He sketches a revolution in taste, with the use of expensive spices. These foodstuffs were as desirable in monasteries as elsewhere, and patterns of consumption were negotiated that legitimized even the flesh meat of quadrupeds. This volume is a thoughtful guide to these changes and to an important component in monastic life and practice.

University of Southampton, UK

C. M. WOOLGAR

*Churches in Early Medieval Ireland: Architecture, Ritual and Memory.* By Tomás Ó Carragáin. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 392. \$100.00. ISBN 978-0-300-15444-3.)

This is a marvelous book. It is big and beautiful, with many full or half-page photos of churches and other monuments (obviously taken on Ireland's few sunny days). Although there are plenty of archaeological and architectural details in its pages, the text is no mere catalog of digs and ruins. Instead, in a

persuasive and lively analysis of Christian architecture in early-medieval Ireland, Ó Carragáin fearlessly tackles some of the big questions of Irish medieval history—the kind that used to cause fistfights at Celtic studies conferences. One of the biggest is: Why did the Irish build the same kind of tiny, primitive-looking houses of worship over seven centuries? Tomás Ó Carragáin not only answers this question but also explains how the Irish built their religion, why they chose to build and practice as they did, and how their version of Christianity changed in some ways but not in others during the early Middle Ages.

Ó Carragáin begins in the fifth century when Britons such as St. Patrick first began to preach in Ireland. Previous scholars assumed that the earliest founders of Irish ecclesiastical communities relied on indigenous technologies such as the drystone corbelling used in prehistoric tombs, to build sturdy little stone churches in native style. For instance, the strangely boat-shaped Gallarus oratory in County Kerry, well-known to tourists and recipients of their postcards, was assumed to be a relic of the earliest days of Christianization. As Ó Carragáin shows, however, Christian builders first peppered the island with wood, turf, and wattled churches that they constructed in (what they imagined to be) Roman forms and according to (what they interpreted as) biblical principles. Then, beginning in the seventh century or so, the most prosperous and powerful church settlements (such as Armagh and Kildare) replaced wood churches with mortared stone structures or added new stone churches to the collection of monuments already standing within their circular enclosing walls. Yet even when working in stone, builders stuck to the same familiar rectangular shape, adding steep roofs and old-fashioned antae, because these features recalled the golden age of conversion and saintly foundation. Although other European Christians constantly updated their church architecture, the Irish remained stubbornly attached to their small, unicameral, rectangular buildings well into the second Christian millennium. They favored “authenticity over innovation” (p. 165) in architecture as well as the doctrine behind it. Even when they began experimenting with the Romanesque style in the eleventh century, the patrons and makers of Irish churches remained “faithful to the lineage of structures” that they believed originated with “a simple wooden edifice built by the [founding] saint and his followers” (p. 296).

Ó Carragáin thus completely rewrites the old evolutionary scheme of Irish religious architecture. He further elaborates on this evolutionary scheme in discussions of the royal politics of church building; the social memory at/of holy places; ritual practices in material contexts; and the organization of religious settlements or *civitates*, which were so unlike both parochial churches and monasteries elsewhere in Christendom—although the Irish thought their ecclesiastical centers were little Romes and Jerusalems. In each of these chapters, Ó Carragáin demonstrates his mastery of diverse textual evidence and several secondary literatures as well as his archaeologist’s eye for shape,



space, traffic, and venue. His major points are built on multiple little gems of interpretation such as his examination of baptismal fonts and their use, the placement of subsidiary churches within enclosures, or the plumbing at St. Mullins. Sometimes he strains too hard to promote his larger theses with these interesting discussions. A few examples: the assumption that Christianity was the “dominant religion” in Britain by the fifth century (p. 6); an argument for parochial functions of very small buildings by resorting to Gallican Eucharistic liturgies, when a much simpler explanation might have sufficed (pp. 169–71); and the suggestion that traveling Irish churchmen would have been pleased to know that other ecclesiastics *also* ignored Ottonian architectural innovations (p. 218).

However, the occasional exaggeration or reduction comes from enthusiasm rather than sloppiness and does not diminish the great beauty of this book, which lies not only in its images but also in Ó Carragáin’s ability to understand—and make his readers understand—how medieval Irish Christians themselves interpreted and used what they built. Every student of Irish history, medieval architecture, and material Christianity should read this book and then leave it on his or her coffee table for others to enjoy.

*University of Southern California*

LISA M. BITEL

*A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition.* By Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane. [Critical Issues in History: World and International History.] (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2011. Pp. viii, 319. \$79.00. ISBN 978-0-7425-5575-4.)

The past half century has seen the growth of a vast scholarly literature in a number of languages devoted to the subject of religious dissent and heterodox beliefs as well as forms of ecclesiastical discipline in medieval Latin Christianity. Although most of that literature no longer reflects the confessional or secular ethical perspectives that long characterized its earlier stages, it is not without its own internal contentious disputes, and it is not an easy subject to address for an interested student or nonspecialist serious reader. Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane has now written the most intelligent and lucid introduction to these subjects and clearly explained the character of the problems, methods, and means of interpreting them now available. She also includes a very useful and well-connected chapter on superstition and magic, demonology, and witchcraft (chapter 6), setting her articulate and intelligent history fully and intelligibly into the context of our best current understanding of all the relevant facets of the broad, complex, and rapidly changing society of early Europe from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries.

Deane’s introduction briefly and efficiently describes the patristic origins of the term *heresy* and concentrates on the problem of defining it, according to her definition of “the contours of authority” (p. 1) that involves the nature

and methods of using the sources as well as the use of language and labels. She conducts a frank and nonpartisan discussion and synthesis of different scholarly perspectives, presents a brief but illuminating overview of the nature of change in Europe from 1050 to 1300, and concludes with the central question of the book—What did it mean to live as a Christian in such a world? And who said so?

The subsequent chapters trace the problem of the eleventh- and twelfth-century debates over the *vita apostolica* (chapter 1) and the emergence of dualist beliefs; the role of poverty and lay preaching among the Poor of Lyon (chapter 2); and the various forms of juridical and pastoral discipline that responded institutionally through popes, mendicants, and inquisitors of heretical depravity (chapter 3). Deane is very good at identifying the centers and specific controversies that triggered occasions of dissent and describing the problems of dissent through the eyes of both dissenters and prosecutors. Chapter 4 deals with the problem of poverty among the Franciscans; and Chapter 5 treats mysticism, lay religious women, and the vexing problem of ecclesiastical and spiritual religious authority. Chapter 6 places magic, demonology, and witchcraft squarely in their chronological place from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Chapters 7 and 8 treat the problems of Lollardy in England and Hussitism and the lay chalice in Bohemia. Short sections on further reading at the end of each chapter indicate the most useful scholarship and collections of (translated) sources, and eleven pages of notes indicate Deane's sources without overburdening the reader who, by the time the notes are reached, has learned a great deal of very complex history, lucidly and masterfully explained. Deane, whose own research has focused chiefly on the upper Rhineland and eastward, treats virtually all of Latin Europe with immense competence, great clarity, and manageable compass.

This is a valuable book about a controversial subject. It is never easy to write about individuals and institutions possessed of great disparities of force and passion debating about how to define and engage the world around them. Deane's individuals are vividly depicted, whether dissenters or investigating prosecutors, and her institutions are never as solid and timeless as they often liked to profess.

*University of Pennsylvania (Emeritus)*

EDWARD PETERS

*Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe/Strukturen bischöflicher Herrschaftsgewalt im westlichen Europa des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts.* Edited by Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven. [Prinz-Albert-Forschungen/Prince Albert Research Publications, Vol. 6.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 2011. Pp. 226. \$135.00. ISBN 978-3-11-026202-5.)

This collection of essays opens with a now classic piece by Timothy Reuter, warmly canonized by the editors as a "patron saint of research on bish-

ops, power and kingship in the tenth and eleventh centuries" (p. 12). Reuter published "Ein Europa der Bischöfe: Das Zeitalter Burchards von Worms" shortly before his untimely death in 2002, and it has become a standard point of reference for scholars of medieval ecclesiastical and political history in the central Middle Ages. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven have made available Reuter's own English translation of his essay (pp. 17–38), updating it with additional references to recent scholarship. Anglophone readers will surely welcome their effort.

Körntgen and Waßenhoven's inclusion of "A Europe of Bishops" reminds us how effortlessly Reuter's work bridged England and the Continent. Reuter's spirit infuses this volume in another respect. Influenced by Benedict Anderson, several of Reuter's late essays urged scholars to think of medieval dioceses as "imagined communities," polities having both an institutional and, still more important, a conceptual existence that centered on the bishop's person and rituals connected with the episcopal office. Reuter argued that bishops across Europe's continental core shared by the year 1000 a standard range of experiences; they were rather like chess pieces possessing similar powers but operating independently of one another and of the other pieces on the board.

The editors' stated intention (p. 13) is to "compare political situations, actions, communications, individual protagonists, specific resources, rules of behavior and so on in order to get a better understanding of the practice and the construction of [episcopal] power" in the Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian kingdoms. Essays by Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Dominik Waßenhoven, and Catherine Cubitt do this by examining bishops' actions during monarchic succession crises—namely, that of 1035–42 in England, and those of 983/84, 1002, and 1024 in the Ottonian-Salian reichs. A fourth essay, by Pauline Stafford, explores the interventions of the royal women Emma and Ælfgifu following the death of Cnut in 1035. These essays read best as pairs. Hehl's "Bedrängte und belohnte Bischöfe. Recht und Politik als Parameter bischöflichen Handelns bei Willigis von Mainz und anderen" (pp. 63–87), perhaps the most detailed study here, argues persuasively that succession crises, rather than providing opportunities for episcopal agency, entailed a great amount of risk that could just as easily limit bishops' options for action. This was certainly the case in 1002, when individual bishops' tolerance for risk was a crucial determinant of their actions in an uncertain political environment. Conditions in 1024 differed; here, the electoral assembly at Kamba permitted episcopal solidarities to emerge that led to their taking a more direct role in elevating Conrad II. Waßenhoven, "Swaying Bishops and the Succession of Kings" (pp. 89–109), is cautious not to extrapolate from the very meager evidence patterns of episcopal intervention during such crises.

Cubitt's "Bishops and Succession Crises in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England" (pp. 111–26) and Stafford's "Royal Women and Transitions. Emma and

*Ælfifu* in 1035-1042/1043" (pp. 127-44) work hard to keep their essays from overlapping, and it comes at a cost. Stafford reduces her treatment of bishops' roles to two paragraphs (pp. 139-40), and Cubitt combines her discussion of the bishop's influence in royal successions with loosely connected overviews of the episcopal *cursus honorum* and the politics of monarchic succession (pp. 118-26) in Anglo-Saxon history.

Given the volume's gravitational center around the role of bishops in royal succession crises, the remaining essays feel like orbital outliers. Monika Suchan considers episcopal norms of "Monition and Advice as Elements of Politics" (pp. 39-50) in the Carolingian period. In "Two Anglo-Saxon Bishops at Work" (pp. 145-61), Joyce Hill explores the life of a single manuscript (Cambridge Corpus Christi College Ms. 190) shared by bishops Wulfstan of York and Leofric of Exeter and sees their interventions in the codex as evidence of their shared pastoral aims and interests (p. 161). Finally, Theo Riches examines "The Changing Political Horizons of *gesta episcoporum*" (pp. 51-62), arguing persuasively that the texts of this genre shifted purposes in the tenth century, from conceptualizing dioceses and their bishops as appendages of the Carolingian court and its public functions to turning inward and viewing external powers through the lens of their own self-referential histories.

The authors do not always agree methodologically (Suchan and Riches stand in stark counterpoint) nor do their approaches always conform to the book's stated goals. The essays do expose the challenge of integrating Reuter's observations about shared episcopal experiences around the year 1000, with the wide range of contingent behavior driven by unpredictable events; personal idiosyncrasies and agendas; and local customs, needs, and circumstances.

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JOHN S. OTT

*Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse.* By Jay Rubenstein. (New York: Basic Books. 2011. Pp. xiv, 402. \$29.99. ISBN 978-0-465-0929-8.)

The scattered apocalyptic texts relating to the First Crusade naturally attracted attention as the year 2000 approached. There were very few that could be identified with certainty, and interest in them soon appeared to wane. Nevertheless, some historians have continued to maintain that the course of the crusade masked a widespread conviction that the expedition itself and the events surrounding it foretold or contributed to the end of time, or at least to the conclusion of one of the ages into which time was eschatologically divided. Jay Rubenstein sets out to treat the First Crusade as an example of apocalyptic warfare. He is not deterred by the fact that he has comparatively little direct evidence on which to base his thesis. Although he never clearly defines his terms, he equates *holy war* with *apocalyptic war*.



Battles—even quite minor ones—turn out to be “of apocalyptic scale” (p. 203). Heavenly portents are intrinsically apocalyptic. So are the visions experienced by some crusaders. So are warfare atrocities and massacres. So are the terms of a letter from the crusaders calling hyperbolically on the pope to come to Syria and unite the Church. It is tempting to conclude that to Rubenstein, who suggests implausibly but ingeniously that Godfrey of Bouillon could have been thought to be “the last Emperor” (pp. 299–301), *apocalypsis* means whatever he wants it to mean.

He applies his flexible approach to definition to a narrative of the First Crusade. It could be argued that his case might have been more convincing if compressed into a learned paper, although the weakness of its evidential foundations would have been more apparent. He has chosen a technique—the rewriting of the same story from a slightly different point of view—which has been employed by a number of historians in the last few years. His book joins what has become a procession of narrative accounts of the crusade—so many, indeed, that it must be hard for an interested reader to decide which one to buy. Feeling, perhaps, the need to make his case as attractive as possible, Rubenstein has opted for a popular approach. His account contains almost as many set-piece constructions as those for which Sir Steven Runciman was famous, although Runciman’s were much better written. So the crowd at Clermont in November 1095 “roared its approval” (p. 29) and “the furor to go to Jerusalem grew still more heated” (p. 30), in spite of the facts that a relatively small number of nobles were present and, as Rubenstein acknowledges, the bishops did not take the occasion very seriously. In southern Italy “by the hundreds they abandoned Amalfi and the surer money of Roger of Sicily for the uncertain prospects of Syria, Palestine, and Jerusalem” (p. 38), whereas we know that Bohemond of Taranto’s contingent turned out to be small. Rubenstein describes the nobles of the French royal domain early in 1096 as “two-bit warriors spinning fantasies of world domination” (p. 44). After the battle of Dorylaeum the crusaders “mourned, they sang songs . . . They also told stories to one another, celebrating their victory and fictionalizing it” (p. 132). He wants us to believe that before the fall of Antioch Bohemond “remained strangely calm, even chipper” (p. 189).

The use of creative imagination and colorful language is, of course, appropriate to a popular account of the First Crusade, but it is unlikely to persuade fellow historians to take a thesis seriously.

*Emmanuel College, Cambridge*

JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH

*Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity.* Edited by Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager. [Rethinking Theory.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 284. \$65.00. ISBN 978-1-4214-0425-7.)

In common with the majority of their peers, historians of the crusades have recently become interested in how memory was shaped and reshaped,

in its transmission across the generations and its reception in radically different milieus. For all medievalists, study of this process is complicated by the partial and selective nature of their surviving sources, the fact that these usually served a number of purposes, and the difficulty of gauging their impact. For scholars of crusading, an additional complication is the longevity of the movement, which meant that throughout the period when collective memorialization of the great expeditions to the East was taking place, men and women continued to be exhorted to take the cross. This was bound to affect their attitude toward what they heard and read about their crusading ancestors. To the best of this reviewer's knowledge the present collection of essays is the first to address the range of questions surrounding the formation of a collective memory of crusading, and for that reason among others it constitutes a welcome addition to the literature.

The collection has its origins in a 2008 conference held at Fordham University. Eleven papers appear in the book, grouped into three parts: remembrance and response, sites and structures, and institutional memory and collective identity. Among the texts surveyed are travel writing, narratives, liturgies, sermons, poems, trial depositions, and Lambert of Saint-Omer's indefinable *Liber floridus* (c. 1120). The volume's editors are justified in their claim that it is multidisciplinary and cross-cultural; it includes essays by historians of art, making use of standing buildings, manuscript illuminations, and seals. There are essays representing the ways in which Jews and Muslims as well as Latin Christians passed on the memory of crusading in the east. A major strength is the broad profile of the collection's contributors. Several are well-known and distinguished historians of the crusades, but there are others who are new or relatively new names. The quality of contributions is naturally variable, but all of the authors have interesting things to say, and they write accessibly.

In years to come this collection is likely to be viewed as a snapshot of where research into crusading memory stood in 2008–12. One thing that is clear is that a large amount of research remains to be done on the transmission of the texts that formed the crusading canon. In the past far too much has been taken as read. Another is that although there were no doubt good reasons why Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager confined their attention to the Latin East, parallel inquiries need to be undertaken about other crusading theaters, both before and after the final collapse of the states in Latin Syria in 1291. That is for the future. For the moment, editors and contributors alike deserve praise for a timely and closely knit collection that shows what can be done in this new field of inquiry.

*Erinnerung—Niederschrift—Nutzung: Das Papsttum und die Schriftlichkeit im mittelalterlichen Westeuropa*. Edited by Klaus Herbers and Ingo Fleisch. [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, neue Folge, Band 11; Studien zu Papstgeschichte und Papsturkunden.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 2011. Pp. x, 272. \$150.00. ISBN 978-3-11-025370-2.)

The Iberian arm of the Papsturkunden project, which aims to publish registers of all known papal documents before 1198 (see <http://www.papsturkunden.gwdg.de>), has lain dormant since the publication of *Vorarbeiten* in the 1920s (Paul Fridolin Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, 2 vols. in 4 pts. [Berlin, 1926–28], and Carl Erdmann, *Papsturkunden in Portugal* [Berlin, 1927]). The *Hispania pontificia* project, now *Iberia pontificia*, was revived in 2006. A first volume of *regesta* has been published (*Dioecesis Burgensis*, ed. Daniel Berger [Göttingen, 2012]); at least eight more are planned. The book under review offers papers presented at a 2007 preparatory workshop in Göttingen that explored questions concerning the creation, preservation, and transmission of papal documents that can shed light on the relationship between the papacy and Iberia. Due to the nature of sources and the project, the chronological focus is on the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

A brief introductory chapter by Klaus Herbers offers a sophisticated hermeneutical framework that distinguishes the roles of perception, interpretation, and memory in the creation and proper understanding of sources, an approach that unfortunately re-emerges only occasionally in the rest of the volume. The threads that may be followed with ease are more basic: When and why were certain documents preserved? What explains the forms of preservation, and what is the internal logic of those forms? And—of principal interest to readers of this journal—what can all of this tell us about papal power and influence in Iberia?

Given the importance of cartularies for the transmission of papal records, they receive the most attention. Individual chapters address the structure of the twelfth-century stratum of the *Liber fidei* of Braga (Maria João Branco); the transmission of papal documents from Astorga in early modern codices (Santiago Domínguez Sánchez); the *Tumbos* and related works from Santiago (Fernando López Alsina); and problematic bulls from the *Liber testamentorum* of Oviedo (M<sup>a</sup>. Josefa Sanz Fuentes). To this group can be assimilated a chapter on two hybrid twelfth-century sources from Santiago, the *Historia Compostellana* and the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (Herbers). A comparative chapter on French cartularies argues well that the placement of papal records in them reveals geographies and rhythms of papal power (Harald Müller). These chapters document the overlap of pragmatic, propagandistic, and memorializing functions of the written word.

The remaining chapters are more varied in focus: the content and uses of (mostly lost) papal registers before the early-thirteenth century and their rela-

tionship to the *Liber pontificalis* (Uta-Renate Blumenthal); the introduction of Romano-canonical procedure into Iberia (Ingo Fleisch); the transmission and effectiveness of papal communications to the dioceses of the Extremadura (José Luis Martín Martín); and the culture of the written word in Catalonia and its relationship to Carolingian, Capetian, and papal developments (Ludwig Vones).

Iberia in the central Middle Ages is a particularly useful laboratory for the study of the intersection of papal power and the written word, in large part because of the peculiar circumstances of the *Reconquista*: the creation or re-establishment of dioceses in newly conquered lands, with attendant disputes over boundaries and primacy as well as conflicts between the various Christian kings, created an opening for an extension of papal authority at precisely the right moment in its history. Add to this the revival of the learned law and the long tradition of record-keeping on the Peninsula, and the veritable explosion of sources that are the subject of this volume makes perfect sense. As the comparative chapters on France and the papacy itself hint, however, these exceptional circumstances can nevertheless illuminate the study of papal power across Europe.

Columbia University

ADAM J. KOSTO

*A Sacred City: Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in Eleventh-Century Italy.* By Louis I. Hamilton. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. Distrib. Palgrave, New York. 2010. Pp. xii, 272. \$89.95. ISBN 978-0-7190-8026-5.

Somewhere in the vast scholarship on eleventh-century church reform, the central issue of consecration has gone seemingly unnoticed. The irony here, as Louis Hamilton's new book on late-eleventh- and early-twelfth-century Italy contends, is that "so much of the controversy surrounding the late eleventh century reforms revolved around the liturgy, in fact a liturgy of consecration" (p. 26). In evaluating this neglected dimension of social, political, religious, and moral reform, the author illustrates how church consecrations were integral to shaping individuals and communities. The powerful symbolism of the dedication liturgy, it is argued, came to reflect "the sacrality and centrality of the Church of Rome and its leadership" (p. 8). Thanks to a handful of influential reformers, church dedications "became an argument for a clear, Rome-centred ecclesiology" (p. 8). To grasp the full development and meaning of this phenomenon, Hamilton delves well beyond the dedication liturgy itself to its broader sociohistorical and contemporary relevance.

The formative power and meaning of the liturgy is central to its interpretation here. Its impact is evinced most clearly through "the experience of the contemporary observer" (p. 56), which demonstrates the liturgy's attraction to a wide spectrum of Italian society, both urban and rural. On the Italian



peninsula as elsewhere, the elaborate rites of consecration give witness to the gathering of high clergy and lay lords, the public assertion of sacerdotal power, and the symbolic and physical creation of a "sacred city" (that is, the church) within the wider religious community. The civic and religious expectations surrounding church consecrations were understandably imbued with moral and spiritual significance, the meaning of which varied from place to place, church to church, and individual to individual. But it is precisely the expectations among the community, as Hamilton shows—experiences formed through personal interpretations of the miraculous, aesthetics, and eschatology—which accredit the dedication liturgy with its contemporary value. In other words, the sacrality of a church building was more than just an ephemeral experience; the liturgical rites of consecration were shaped by a communal identity whose understanding, behavior, and experience provided meaning and context to a momentous event.

The significance of church dedications was not lost on political opportunists. Extant legal traditions and exegetical commentaries show how deliberate efforts were taken to shape religious communities in Italy while heavily promoting the issue of papal (that is, Roman) primacy and authority. St. Peter Damian, for example, used his dedication sermon on the feast of St. Mark (at Venice) to promote his concept of church renewal (*renovatio*); St. Anselm of Lucca harnessed this political allegory into a legal tradition that explicitly favored apostolic control over church dedications. These altogether "Gregorian" ideals played out under Pope Urban II, whose pontificate "inherited a growing tradition of papal dedications" (p. 135). But the "high point of the use of the dedication rite," as Hamilton argues, "in both its practice and its interpretation" (p. 162), came in the late-eleventh century with St. Bruno of Segni, whose extensive commentary on dedication (*De laudibus ecclesiae*) "repeatedly asserted in an innovative manner a coherent and reforming ecclesiology that included personal reform, scriptural exegesis and liturgical meaning" (p. 185).

With this study, the liturgy's expansive meaning in church dedications is fully realized; its rightful place in the history of a turbulent period is consequently guaranteed. Drawing especially from the works of Damian, Anselm, Bruno, Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino, and Popes Urban II and Paschal II (chapters 3–5), this book manifests consecrations as a cogent mechanism of church control. The result is a fresh perspective on a stale historiographical tradition, a vivid portrait that evokes the true power of consecrations in reforming Italian society in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries.

*Odiosa sanctitas: St Peter Damian, Simony, and Reform.* By William D. McCready. [Studies and Texts, 177; Mediaeval Law and Theology, 4.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 2011. Pp xii, 321. \$85.00. ISBN 978-0-88844-177-5.)

St. Peter Damian has long been acknowledged as an ardent champion both of monastic and clerical reform in the eleventh century but also as a man who struggled to balance the demands of his conflicting roles as cardinal-bishop of Ostia in the service of the reform papacy and as prior of the eremitical community of Fonte Avellana. This new volume by William McCready looks to re-examine Damian's life and thought by focusing on a key controversy—that of Pietro Mezzabarba, bishop of Florence, who was accused of simony and was finally deposed after a trial by fire at Settimo in 1068 proved his guilt. The case of Mezzabarba brought into confrontation a range of protagonists: Pope Alexander II, Vallombrosan monks, and Damian himself, all of whose different reform principles and methods meant that the ramifications of the case would reverberate long after the events.

The volume opens with a short introduction that justifies the focus on the Mezzabarba controversy for exploring the development of Damian's thought on the issues of simony and the promotion of ecclesiastical reform. Chapter 1 sets out the sociopolitical and religious context of Florence at this time, and covers the key events of the controversy: the election of Mezzabarba; the campaign promoted against him by the Vallombrosans that resulted in an attack on their community at San Salvi; and the subsequent Roman synod of 1067, where Damian argued against the monks in support of Mezzabarba. Chapter 2 assesses the role of Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia and Damian's relationship with him, exploring the earlier contention that this may have conditioned Damian's position on the controversy. Chapter 3 focuses on Damian's position on simony and the validity of sacraments performed by simoniacal clergy as against more radical positions developed first by Humbert of Silva-Candida that were taken up by the Pataria and the Vallombrosans. In chapter 4, McCready turns to assess competing eleventh-century monastic ideals, against which he sets both Damian's belief in a hierarchy of monastic practice and his antipathy to active roles for monks. In chapter 5, he explores what has been characterized as Damian's increasing pessimism and disillusionment with the world, which McCready links to the outcome of the Mezzabarba affair. Chapter 6 addresses the resolution of the conflict by the trial by fire at the Vallombrosan house of Settimo, and chapter 7 explores Damian's views on ordeals and miracles.

This well-researched and fluidly written book offers a measured account of a complicated controversy based on a thorough reading of the contemporary sources and underlines the often subtle differences both in the ideals but especially the methods of the reformers by the 1060s. The analysis of Damian's position on simony and the validity of sacraments is set against the

sharpening political realities that led more radical reformers to advocate policies of action that Damian deemed inappropriate. McCready does well to draw together different aspects of Damian's thought to help elucidate why he acted as he did in the Mezzabarba case. It is thus surprising that there is little direct engagement with more recent historiography (apart from Nicolangelo D'Acunto) on the Mezzabarba affair, on the conflicts among the reformers, as well as on the development and transformation of reformist aims and methods from 1049 onwards. Given work by Phyllis Jestice, John Howe, Paolo Golinelli, and even this reviewer, the statement that the Mezzabarba case has only received cursory treatment (p. 2) is problematic, as there is considerable work both on Damian's involvement and rationale and those of the other protagonists. That said, *Odiosa sanctitas* provides a rich account of political and ecclesiastical confrontation in the era before Pope Gregory VII and emphasizes the importance of remembering that reform in this period was far from a unified process.

Keele University

KATHLEEN G. CUSHING

*Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law and Jewishness in Marian Legends.* By Adrienne Williams Boyarin. (Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer. 2010. Pp. xii, 217 \$90.00. ISBN 978-1-84384-240-8.)

Adrienne Williams Boyarin's book is a welcome and erudite contribution to Marian scholarship. Its chronological coverage is broad and necessarily patchy, given her chosen subject and the diffuse, varied, and sporadic nature of the sources for it, including Latin and vernacular texts, and illustrations in manuscripts and stained-glass. Out of these miscellanea, ranging from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, whose randomness the author convincingly asserts is a key aspect of their value as evidence, emerges the argument for an enduring "Marian paradigm" in English religious culture. This is characterized by Mary's repeated associations, inflected in different ways at different times, with having dominion over texts; possessing an expertise in legal texts, procedure, and judgment; and—through her moral and theological distinction as both Jew and mother of Christ—having an enduring narrative value in the service of antisemitic Christian polemic.

The "Miracles of the Virgin" genre was an English innovation of twelfth-century Benedictine monks, the legendary and disparate nature of whose contents distinguished it from conventional miracle collections more grounded in institutionally oriented and historicized miracle collections. Their literary and miscellaneous qualities spurred what Anthony Bale has called the "exemplary imagination" (qtd. on p. 17) of vernacular clerical culture in the later medieval period—certainly from the end of the thirteenth century, when they surface in the *South English Legendary* and take their authority from the Anglo-Norman moment of their monastic invention. In

fact, Boyarin traces these stories to Anglo-Saxon liturgical and homiletic precursors, demonstrating continuity in the themes and motifs explored by Ælfric in his *Catholic Homilies* and those of Anselm of Bury, Dominic of Evesham, and William of Malmesbury's Marian collections, through the *South English Legendary*, John Mirk's *Festial*, Geoffrey Chaucer's "The Prioress's Tale," sermon cycles, the Vernon manuscript, the thirteenth-century de Brailes Book of Hours, a fifteenth-century religious miscellany, and ultimately to Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam's satirical take on the shrine of St. Mary at Walsingham. The power of these stories, Boyarin contends, is in their very exemplary and flexible properties, which made them irresistible points of recurring reference where enduring themes could be repeatedly played out in different versions and combinations. Three particular landmarks in English history are broadly evoked as contexts against which these "versioning" processes occurred: the legal innovations of late-twelfth and thirteenth-century England, the expulsion of the Jews in 1290, and the Reformation. The book is an entertaining and convincing accumulation of readings of Mary, who appears sometimes merciful, often fiercely judgmental, but always powerful (occasionally to the point that her relative status to God becomes controversial). A marvelous instance of symmetry to emerge out of this miscellaneous material—which Boyarin uses to affirm her central thesis—is the way that Erasmus's satirical colloquy on the cult of St. Mary of Walsingham really "nails" this distinct, legalistic, textual, and antisemitic aspect of English Marian culture. After learning in chapter 2 of Ælfric's association of Mary with St. Jerome as *legislatrix* of the Christian biblical canon and disposer of Marian apocrypha and the old Hebrew law, we discover in the final chapter that Erasmus's gift to the Walsingham shrine of Greek verses in honor of Mary was misconstrued by the English canons there, for they "call Hebrew anything they don't understand" (p. 166).

*University of Birmingham*

SIMON YARROW

*Hugh of Amiens and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance.* By Ryan P. Freeburn. [Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2011. Pp. xiv, 276. \$119.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-2734-6.)

Hugh of Amiens does not figure prominently among the intellectuals associated with the "Twelfth-Century Renaissance." Born c. 1085, monk of Cluny from 1112 and prior of Cluniac houses at Limoges and Lewes before his appointment as abbot of Reading in 1123, he served as archbishop of Rouen from 1129/30 until his death in 1164 and was somewhat on the sidelines of the intellectual ferment of his times. He participated in some of the church councils where theological disputes were played out and challenging ideas put under scrutiny. He also wrote, leaving a range of texts that reflect the contemporary debates and academic developments, even if at something of a distance from the energy of the schools.



Hugh has not attracted much previous academic attention, yet Ryan P. Freeburn considers him worthy of a monograph—"he played a much more central role in the twelfth century than many people realize, especially in the early development of systematic theology" (p. 2). It is a striking claim; whether it is substantiated is a matter of opinion.

The writings provide the core for Freeburn's treatment. There is a first, short chapter outlining Hugh's life and career; thereafter, the remaining chapters deal with his works. The book is not a full biography. Most noticeably, it offers no real examination of Hugh's career within the church and activities as archbishop. Others have dealt with these, and Freeburn is largely content simply to mention their theses and publications and then focus on his own priorities. This does mean, however, that the works seem to float a bit, detached from their author as a career ecclesiastic deeply involved in the real world.

Essentially, chapters 2 to 10 work through the corpus, in something like chronological order. As the surviving works covers a range of topics, this allows one chapter for each, each in turn on a different theme, although the poems are all treated together (chapter 3). Accordingly, for instance, chapter 4 (the longest in the book, but only by a couple of pages) deals with "The *Dialogues* and the Early Stages of Systematic Theology," chapter 6 with "A Saintly Crusader and Hermit: The *Vita Sancti Adjutoris*," and chapter 8 (the second longest) with "Hugh of Amiens and the Heretics: The Polemics of *Contra haereticos*." The texts are duly contextualized and discussed, although both commentary and analysis sometimes feel insubstantial, suggesting that there is more waiting to be said. Perhaps here the fact that Hugh cannot be portrayed as someone closely and actively embroiled in the debates is a factor; although Freeburn locates Hugh's ideas in relation to the debates, there is little indication of proactive participation in them. This, perhaps, is the major weakness for the analysis and for the assertion of Hugh's centrality. Notably, although the twelfth-century renaissance is evoked in the book's title, it scarcely appears in the text. True, episodes are there, but there is no real sense of an ongoing "movement" or "phenomenon"—whatever this "renaissance" was—in which Hugh is actively involved. The Renaissance may be assumed, but that assumption is not clearly expressed. Likewise, the varied themes of the individual chapters are never consolidated—the brief conclusion (pp. 223–25) is essentially an epitaph. The opportunity is missed to give reality to the title's "and" by integrating all the strands as facets of this renaissance.

Nevertheless, this is a useful volume. Its approach shows signs of its origin in a doctoral dissertation, but it offers a good introduction to the surviving works of Hugh of Amiens.

*Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and Its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne.* By Anne E. Lester. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2011. Pp. xxiv, 261. \$45.00. ISBN 978-0-8014-4989-5.)

Like those who participated in the women's religious movement elsewhere in Europe, the pious women of thirteenth-century Champagne aspired to lives of penitential asceticism coupled with service to the sick and the poor, the *vita apostolica*. Their earliest communities in Champagne, like those created by *mulieres religiosae* in other regions, were informal and unaffiliated with any monastic order—facts that garnered their members a share in the hierarchical suspicion generally accorded these groups. But unlike their counterparts in Italy and in the Low Countries, the women of Champagne left behind neither hagiographical texts extolling an exceptional leader (they had no St. Clare of Assisi or Mary of Oignies) nor a body of regulatory literature that might shed light on their collective aims and goals. To explore the evolution of this regional variant of a broadly based and influential type of piety, Anne Lester has used what the women of Champagne and their patrons *did* bequeath, and in some abundance. By analyzing charters, and petitions, along with the receipts of sales and donations, she deftly tells an untold story of the “lived experience of religious ideals and reform at work” (p. 4).

Given the traditional historiography concerning the Cistercians and religious women, Lester's story has a surprising twist. Scholars have long argued that the Cistercian statute of 1228, which effectively banned the creation of new female houses, forced quasi-religious women to turn instead to the “new orders” for spiritual oversight. As Poor Clares, Dominican penitents, or tertiaries, these women brought vital spirituality to their institutions, whereas existing thirteenth-century Cistercian nunneries became increasingly decadent and devoid of religious idealism.

In contrast, Lester finds that the ideals of the women's movement in Champagne meshed so well with those of the Cistercians that informal communities of women were consistently transformed into Cistercian nunneries: “With rare exceptions, nearly all of the Cistercian convents founded in the county of Champagne between 1226 and 1239 trace their beginnings to earlier communities of unaffiliated religious women” (p. 19). The order displayed a commitment to manual labor and charity, as did the women whose hospices and leper houses became Cistercian convents in the 1230s. Cistercian identification with, and prayerful support for, the crusading movement also appealed to the pious women of Champagne.

Cistercian ideals were so compatible with their spirituality in fact that petitions for incorporation into the order steadily increased even after the promulgation of the 1228 exclusionary statute. But, as the author is quick to note, that watershed did mark the end of an era. The flexible, readily modified strategies that had been employed in forming associations with women would give way to a new formalism in the next decade: “After 1228, religious

zeal had to contend with the administrative realities of building fabric, gifts, endowments, rents, taxes, and all the matters of daily life that ensured stability, regulation and clausturation" (p. 96). Indeed, the seriousness with which affiliated nunneries took Pope Boniface VIII's strict cloister regulation of 1298 appears to have contributed to their decline in the disaster-ridden fourteenth century.

*Creating Cistercian Nuns* explores the nuanced relationships that made it possible to establish austere, exemplary, and permanent monastic communities for women in thirteenth-century Champagne. Lester goes beyond legislative rhetoric to describe the vital links forged between Cistercian monks and quasi-religious religious women—bonds based on kinship, friendship, or simply (and perhaps most tellingly) a common spiritual identity.

Texas State University

ELIZABETH MAKOWSKI

*Between Christian and Jew: Conversion and Inquisition in the Crown of Aragon, 1250-1391.* By Paola Tartakoff. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2012. Pp. xiv, 209. \$55.00. ISBN 978-0-8122-4421-2.)

This engaging, lively, and well-written study focuses on a single inquisition trial, the record of which is preserved in the archive of the Cathedral of Barcelona. The case in question is related to a sensational occurrence of 1341 in Calatayud, a town in the Kingdom of Aragon, wherein a converted Jew, Pere (Peter), was sentenced to death as a relapsed heretic and sent to the stake. Pulled from the flames as they lapped around him by a local inquisitor, the story he told gave rise to a complex investigation into an alleged network of Jews who were pressuring converts not only to return to Judaism but also to openly blaspheme, so that they might be condemned to death and die as Jews. The kingdom was part of the dynastic aggregate known as the Crown of Aragon, whose realms were home to a numerous, wealthy, dynamic, and well-connected Jewish community that had close relations to the ruling Barcelona dynasty.

The study plays out in three parts—"Before the Tribunal," "At the Font of a New Life," and "By the Fire"—each consisting of two chapters. The first two chapters, "Defending the Faith: Medieval Inquisitors and the Prosecution of Jews and Converts" and "From Resistance to Surrender: Jewish Responses to Inquisitorial Prosecution," recount in detail the narratives that emerge from the interrogations under torture and the trials of the principal accused—Pere and three other Jews of Calatayud (Jucef de Qatorze, Janto Almuli, and Jamila Almuli) who were hunted down and arrested. With single-minded determination, and using the techniques and approaches perfected over the previous century, the inquisitor Bernat de Puigcercós set out to secure guilty verdicts, glibly trampling legal procedure and undermining the attempts of the

accused to use royal influence (and bribes) to secure their freedom. All four were convicted—de Qatorze was sent to the stake, and the others were sentenced to life in prison.

The third chapter, "Between Doubt and Desire: Jewish Conversion, Converts and Christian Society," delves into the pressures—personal, social, economic, and cultural—that could lead to conversion and the anxieties it generated among both Christians and Muslims in its wake. However, many may have converted out of inspiration; others were led to the font to keep marriages (to converts) intact, to escape marriages (to Jews), and to pursue a host of economic motives. Next, "Homeward Bound: The Fates of Jewish Converts" surveys the fates that commonly awaited new Christians. Shunned by their former communities and distrusted by their new one, many were reduced to indigence, and forced to live from alms. Others became preachers, and turned their knowledge of Judaism against the faith of their former community.

Finally, "Apostasy as Scourge: Jews and the Repudiation of Apostates" and "Recruiting Repentance: The Re-Judaizing of Apostates" investigates the action taken by Jews to preserve their community in the face of conversion. Jews vilified and ostracized former Jews because the latter were seen as traitors and a danger to the Jewish faith or instruments of divine punishment; in addition, associating with apostates, particularly those who wavered, could bring charges of Judaizing. Hence, it was Jews themselves who frequently reported backsliders to Christian authorities. On the other hand, some Jews clearly did encourage converts to return to the fold. This gave rise to a discrete but vitriolic current of anti-Christian polemic as well as the development of rites and strategies for the reconversion of former Jews. A brief conclusion recapitulates and summarizes the body of the book.

In sum, this is a tight, document-driven study, which draws on a range of archival and secondary material not only to analyze in detail the case study that acts as the frame of the book but also a series of illuminating contextual studies. The book is well researched both in terms of local studies (although the work of Motis Dolader is not referenced) and broader themes. Tartakoff knows the history of Jewish-Christian interaction in the Latin West well, and draws parallels and comparisons from across Western Christendom. Although she does not directly confront the historiographical problems associated with inquisitorial records, her careful use and open interpretation of them reflects a sophisticated, critical approach. In sum, this is a readable, accessible book, whose compact size should disguise its importance, range, and originality.



*Les traductions françaises du De regimine principum de Gilles de Rome: parcours matériel, culturel et intellectuel d'un discours sur l'éducation.* By Noëlle-Laetitia Perret. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Vol. 39.] (Boston: Brill. 2011. Pp. xviii, 465. \$237.00. ISBN 978-90-04-20619-9.)

Over the last quarter-century a growing body of scholarship has started to reveal the profound influence of Giles of Rome, archbishop of Bourges, and his œuvre on the intellectual culture of later medieval and early Renaissance Europe. Of all the vast output of philosophical and theological works ascribed to Giles, however, it was his book of political advice for rulers, *De regimine principum*, that had the greatest impact. Composed originally in Latin c. 1279 and dedicated to Philip the Fair of France, *De regimine* had immediate and long-lasting success, becoming the period's second most copied and translated work of political-advice literature after the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*. *De regimine's* skillful use and adaptation of Aristotle's moral philosophy and *Rhetoric* made the Latin original a veritable bestseller among learned clerics, but it also secured a large lay audience—especially among the rulers and aristocrats to whom it was ostensibly directed. To satisfy these readers' demand, several vernacular translations were made in almost all the languages of Western Europe.

Nowhere, it seems, was lay demand greater than in France, the birthplace of *De regimine*. Here, as Noëlle-Laetitia Perret demonstrates in what is the first major study of the French *De regimine*, the text was first translated by Henri de Gauchi at the request of Philip the Fair and proliferated in thirty-six (extant) copies. It was followed by six translations (each surviving in a single manuscript) over the next 180 years or so. Perret's study is at once a history of textual reception, a *histoire du livre*, and a history of education. Its introductory chapter gives a succinct but useful biography of Giles, followed by discussions of *De regimine's* place in the long medieval tradition of Mirrors of Princes literature, of its contents and structure, and of its importance as a vehicle for the medieval reception of Aristotelian moral philosophy. Part 3 of this three-part study describes the forty-two manuscripts that are the bulk of the raw material used by Perret to fashion the other two parts. These are devoted to, first, a discussion of the translations and their owners and readers, and, second, to a close analysis of Giles's doctrine of education as developed in book 2 of *De regimine* as well as to the seven translators' varied responses to the Latin text and presumably the perceived expectations of their intended readers.

Perret's book will long endure as a key resource for scholars studying the French reception of *De regimine* specifically and Aristotelian practical philosophy more generally. Thus, the author has made a significant contribution to the burgeoning literature on lay intellectual culture of the later medieval period. Perret also reveals the different strategies employed by several translators. Whereas de Gauchi tried to vulgarize Giles's own vulgarization of

Aristotle's philosophy through careful abbreviation, most of the other translators took great care to offer their readers translations of the full text; one example is Jean Wauquelin, who tried to mimic Giles's Latin in his French version. Several translators also were tempted to annotate, sometimes quite extensively, as in the case of one Guillaume, who included favorable remarks about Jewish education in his frequent additions. A different tone is evinced in the glosses of the anonymous translator of Berlin, Staatsbibl. MS Ham. 672, who tried to Christianize what he thought was the too-secular message of the original.

*University of Vermont*

CHARLES F. BRIGGS

*On the Military Orders in Medieval Europe: Structures and Perceptions.* By Jürgen Sarnowsky. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS992.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2011. Pp. xii, 360. \$154.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-2326-3.)

The Variorum Collected Studies Series has proved itself to be invaluable, because it republishes articles that have sometimes originated in journals and conference proceedings that are hard to find. Its success also is a commentary on an extraordinary growth in interest in the military orders. Fifty years ago there cannot have been more than twenty scholars seriously at work on the subject, whereas 238 contributed to a recent *Dictionnaire européen des orders militaires* (Paris, 2009). Jürgen Sarnowsky, who has written a magnificent book on Hospitaller Rhodes, has been one of the leaders of this renaissance, and it is good to be able to read twenty-one of his articles in this volume. Three have not appeared elsewhere. The dates of publication of the others range from 1986 to 2010. Six are in German; the rest are in English. Some deal with the military orders in general, but there is a particular focus on the Knights Hospitaller and the Teutonic Knights, which have been Sarnowsky's particular concern. Although Sarnowsky ranges throughout the period from 1100 to 1600, the bulk of his interests lie in the fifteenth century. The articles are grouped in four sections: general aspects, internal government, external relations (particularly those of the *ordres-états* of Prussia and Rhodes), and the experiences and careers of brothers. The inclusion of an index is welcome.

Sarnowsky, who is one of a new breed of crusade historians who focus on the later Middle Ages, is unusual in his breadth of interests, and it is this that makes his work so valuable. He has researched extensively on both the Teutonic and Hospitaller Orders. The period with which he is concerned witnessed a remarkable political development in the emergence of the "order-states" of Rhodes of the Knights Hospitaller and Prussia of the Teutonic Knights. Having some similarities to the papal patrimonies in Italy and on the east bank of the Rhône, and to the later Jesuit missionary settlements in South America, Rhodes and Prussia were theocracies governed by an elite class of

celibate soldier-religious, who originated from outside the boundaries and isolated themselves from the indigenous populations. Established on Christian frontiers, their policies toward their non-Christian neighbors, although theoretically defensive, were highly aggressive in practice and were exemplified by the *Reysen* of the Teutonic Knights, the caravans of the Rhodian fleets, and the Hospitallers' use of licensed piracy (the *corso*). The sources for the order-states are mostly unpublished, and a historian tackling both Rhodes and Prussia must take into account the differences between religious orders with their own traditions that operated in the distinct environments of the Aegean and the Baltic, relied on their own sources of funding, and experienced external political and ecclesiastical pressures. Sarnowsky can write authoritatively in comparative terms about their states. His special expertise is evident in the articles in this collection on "The Late Medieval Military Orders," "Military Orders and Power," "Ritterorden als Landesherren," "The Military Orders and Their Navies," "The Priests in the Military Orders," "The Legacies and the Bequests of the Masters," and "Gender-Aspekte." This volume is a welcome addition to a very valuable series.

*Emmanuel College, Cambridge*

JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH

*Nicholas of Cusa—A Companion to His Life and His Times.* By Morimichi Watanabe. Edited by Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2011. Pp. xlv, 381. \$134.95. ISBN 978-1-4094-2039-2.)

This volume is a fitting legacy of the career of Morimichi Watanabe, who served for many years as the president of the American Cusanus Society; editor of its newsletter; and unofficial ambassador of Cusan studies in the United States, Europe, and Japan. The volume, which appeared shortly before his death in April 2012, is a collection of sixty-nine short essays, including those by Watanabe and six other authors—Thomas M. Izbicki, Gerald Christianson, Jesse D. Mann, Il Kim, Donald D. Sullivan, and John P. Kraljic. About half began as contributions to the *American Cusanus Society Newsletter* between 1984 and 2007, although they have been revised since then.<sup>1</sup> The volume also contains seven black-and-white figures and three maps, the most helpful illustrating the itinerary of Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus (1401–64) on his papal legation of 1450–52. In addition, there is a grid timeline keyed to Cusanus's works and a chronological, annotated listing of his writings and their availability in various editions.

Watanabe's own interests were the political and biographical aspects of Cusanus; his humble guidance and enthusiasm led others to pursue many

<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that this reviewer was the editorial associate of the *American Cusanus Society Newsletter* from 1999 to 2012 and copyedited earlier versions of some of the essays in the present volume.

other angles of Cusan studies, although they are largely not represented here. The volume, indeed, is not intended as a guide to the breadth of a fifteenth-century man's thought. Divided into three parts, the essays taken together instead represent the biographical, narrative, geographic, and intellectual topography that affected Cusanus and that he, in turn, influenced. Part I, "Ideas and Events," considers canon law, the Great Western Schism, conciliarism, philosophy and theology, spirituality, the fall of Constantinople, and the Congress of Mantua. This grouping might seem eclectic in another context, but here it makes sense, given Cusanus's wide-ranging interests and activities. Part II, "Persons," is comprised of twenty-six bio-sketches ranging from the familiar (Pope Pius II, Cardinal Bessarion of Nicaea, Pope Eugene IV, John of Ragusa, and Juan de Segovia) to the less well known (Peter Wymar von Erkelenz, Eleanor of Scotland, Gregor Heimburg, and János Vitéz). Part III, "Places," offers thirty-two essays representing a travelogue of not only Cusanus but also of Watanabe.

Each entry offers a brief introduction to the topic at hand and concludes with a select bibliography, which makes the book an important one for academic libraries, graduate students, and scholars seeking an entry point into specific subjects. Throughout, we find key quotations from Cusanus's works and often Watanabe's consideration of historiographical shifts—for example, in the essay on Basel. This collection implicitly bears testimony to the development and diversity of Cusanus studies in recent decades as well as to Watanabe's own role in that diffusion. Here and there, Watanabe made suggestions for further research, so it is possible that mentors might benefit from handing this volume to their best students. Because Watanabe walked in Cusanus's footsteps, so can we.

*Kean University*

CHRISTOPHER M. BELLITTO

*Italy & Hungary: Humanism and Art in the Early Renaissance.* Edited by Péter Farbaky and Louis A. Waldman. [Villa I Tatti Series, 27.] (Florence: Villa I Tatti, Harvard University Press. 2011. Pp. xli, 728. \$85.00. ISBN 978-0-674-06346-4.)

This long-awaited volume is the publication of papers given at the 2007 conference at Villa i Tatti, prior to the 2008 exhibition and catalog, "Matthias Corvinus, the King," at the Budapest History Museum. The two books can be taken together as offering an updated and revised picture of the reign of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus (1443–90). These papers are largely art historical in focus and make detailed arguments about small fragments of material, both artistic and archival, which have much broader implications for the period. However, a section devoted to Hungary's intellectual connections with Italian humanism includes worthy essays describing the careers of little-known figures such as Andreas Pannonius (in an essay by Sándor Bene) and Jacobus Piso (by László Jankovits), whereas Angela Dillon Bussi and Jonathan J. G. Alexander study the famous Corvinian library.



Four papers summarize previous scholarship, much of it available only in Hungarian. This is an important contribution for non-Hungarian scholars in understanding the material available to them and the history of the field in general. However, although work by scholars such as Jolán Balogh is foundational in this area, more needs to be done than just making this material available to the English-speaking world. The translation of Balogh's three-volume *Art at the Court of King Matthias Corvinus*, as called for by Gyöngyi Török, would be a gift to non-Hungarian scholars. However, these conference proceedings make clear that a new synthesis of the Hungarian Renaissance is overdue, one that would include material both prior to and after the years of Matthias's reign. The biggest drawback of the Corvinian focus of this collection is that it leaves out important material from the period after Matthias's reign and outside the power seats of Buda, Visegrád, and Esztergom. Even locations as important as the St. George church at Nyírbátor, where Gothic architecture and Renaissance decorative detail co-exist in the manner probably most similar to the destroyed Buda castle, are hardly mentioned. Later works (such as the castle at Sárospatak) and monuments outside of the modern borders of Hungary (such as the Lázoi chapel in Alba Iulia [Gyulafehérvár]) are overlooked entirely.

Several of the papers bring to light new evidence or synthesize material that was previously scattered throughout the literature. Perhaps the most important paper is Louis A. Waldman's study of Alexander Formoser as the agent to Matthias in Florence. Another significant contribution is Daniel Pocs's study of the white marble fragments from Buda castle. Two papers by Péter Farbaky and Gergely Buzás attempt to trace the origins of Renaissance style in Hungarian architecture through the fragments remaining at Buda and Visegrád. Although their conclusions reach further than the evidence will strictly allow, the close examination of this material is valuable. Mikó Arpad discusses the patronage of Beatrice d'Aragona.

The most sensational claim of the book relates to the newly restored Esztergom frescoes. Mária Prokopp and restorer Zsuzanna Wiedrl argue for the earlier date of 1466–67, assigning the commission to Archbishop János Vitéz and the work to a young Sandro Botticelli, whereas Waldman places them in the 1490s as the commission of Archbishop Ippolito d'Este and the work of an unknown student of Filippino Lippi. Although the quality of these figures make the Botticelli attribution implausible, Waldman's dismissal of the frescoes as weak is too severe, and further study is needed.

This richly presented volume is an important new contribution to the study of the Hungarian Renaissance. Although scholars experienced in this area may quarrel with some of the conclusions drawn, it remains a valuable resource for those new to the field.

*Savonarola: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Prophet.* By Donald Weinstein. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 379. \$38.00. ISBN 978-0-300-11193-4.)

Forty years after his landmark and now classic *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1970), Donald Weinstein returns to the fascinating and tragic figure of Girolamo Savonarola with a moving and magisterial biography. The earlier book established the paradigm for modern Savonarola studies, showing that it was Florence that converted Savonarola to the “myth” of its own prophetic and millenarian destiny, not Savonarola who recalled a secular Florence to religion. In this new book Weinstein vividly re-creates the life of the charismatic preacher who, although not a Florentine, dramatically occupied center stage in Florentine politics and religious life for more than three years—from the expulsion of the Medici and creation of the popular republic and Great Council, whose shape he heavily influenced, until his trial and execution in 1498. Utilizing many new studies of the past four decades and ranging widely in the huge corpus of the Dominican’s sermons, letters, and treatises as well as the writings of supporters and opponents, Weinstein has crafted a powerful narrative of Savonarola’s preaching career, his controversial political role, and dire fate.

This splendid book poignantly explores the terrible irony of Savonarola’s relationship to Florence. Denunciations of Florentine luxury and lax piety, accompanied by prophecies of divine retribution, had characterized his preaching before 1494. In a moment of crisis, revolution, and a vacuum of power, however, many (but certainly not all) Florentines pushed Savonarola into the role of a divinely ordained civic prophet who merged republican renewal and religious purification. Although Savonarola accepted his new role willingly, he was sometimes beset by doubts and misgivings and had to be drawn back into the fray by supporters who looked to him for inspiration and guidance. As Weinstein puts it, Savonarola was “propelled . . . by the needy adulation of his audiences” (p. 285).

Initially his preaching was perfectly orthodox, his moral austerity echoing an accepted tradition of mendicant asceticism. But the addition of the political agenda urged on him by the Florentines made for a volatile mix. When traditional prophecies of punishment for sin metamorphosed, at the end of 1494, into a millenarian vision of Florentine power, liberty, wealth, and leadership in the renewal of Christianity, Savonarola began to attract the Church’s threatening skepticism. When he took Old Testament prophets as his models and insisted that the Almighty had revealed to him that the Church itself required a scourging and renewal, he drew down on himself the pope’s implacable wrath. Savonarola’s open criticism of the corrupt papacy of Alexander VI put Florence in danger, and the austere moral reforms he urged on the Florentines finally exhausted even his followers’ considerable thirst for pure and uncompromised religion. Many who had venerated Savonarola

turned against or away from him and let his enemies, in Florence and the Church, use trumped-up charges of heresy to subject him to ghastly torture and public execution. Weinstein's eloquent account of the friar's physical and psychological destruction is harrowing.

One small correction: in Machiavelli's first *Decennale*, the "capon" whose "voice was heard amongst a hundred roosters" is not Savonarola (p. 311), but Piero Capponi, who famously threatened Florentine resistance to any French attack. This and a few inaccuracies regarding the pre-Savonarolan political context do not diminish this reader's admiration for Weinstein's mastery of Savonarola's writings and sermons and of the religious culture that underlay them, as well as for his nuanced assessment, at once empathetic and discerning, of how Savonarola was drawn by the Florentines into an ultimately untenable role.

Cornell University

JOHN M. NAJEMY

*Gender, Honor, and Charity in Late Renaissance Florence.* By Philip Gavitt. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 280. \$90.00. ISBN 978-1-107-00294-4.)

Philip Gavitt's scholarly reputation was fully established with the publication of *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410-1536* (Ann Arbor, 1990), a pioneering and moving work in the field of Florentine philanthropy, civic responsibility, and state building. In the years since, he has extended his analyses on these vital issues and has published a number of excellent articles on them. His latest work incorporates revised and strengthened versions of some of these articles, as well as important new contributions to his chosen fields. It consists of an introduction that also serves as a platform for the presentation of the theoretical principles informing his approach to the various issues discussed in the book and six chapters, each tackling different issues, but each contributing to the formulation of a coherent and valuable assessment of the place of philanthropy in the development of the Florentine state. The book ends with a short but highly informative and somewhat controversial conclusion.

Not surprisingly, some of these chapters are based on evidence drawn from the hospital of the Innocenti. Outstanding in this regard is chapter 1, in which the relationship between the Innocenti and the Medicean state is analyzed. The central figures in this chapter are Vincenzio Borghini, the administrator of the Innocenti but also one of the most learned scholars of the period, and the Florentine grand dukes Cosimo and Francesco. Under the stewardship of Borghini, the Innocenti contributed in a number of different ways to the strengthening of the state and to the entrenchment of the Medici in power. Whereas the efforts of the government and of Borghini himself to deal with the intractable problem of the abandonment of children are clearly

set out, so, too, is the exploitation of the hospital's resources and therefore indirectly also of the children, by the regime. This is also a theme in the fifth chapter, in which the focus is placed on the girls of the Innocenti and on the other five major Florentine institutions created to care for them. Once again, the commendable original objectives of caring for these girls is shown to have been somewhat tainted by poor execution and by outright exploitation.

The other major theme tackled in the book is the exploitation of ecclesiastical and charitable institutions by Florentine families of middle to high rank. Of particular interest here are Gavitt's arguments regarding the strategies employed by these families to enhance their standing and future well-being. He rejects the argument that "a strictly patriarchal model governed gender relations" (p. 93) in the whole Mediterranean world, arguing instead that it was concern for the survival of the lineage that required the institutionalization of scores of young women and men. A great deal of evidence, spread over three major chapters, reinforces this view. Although the argument is sound and timely, it is perhaps somewhat overdrawn, especially when one considers that a vastly greater number of women than men finished up in institutions, and that of the men who did, only a minute number could be assessed as "enclosed." Possibly too much is made, further, of the compliance of charitable as well as religious and quasi-religious institutions to the pressures of patrons with family interests at heart and their own agendas to fulfill. Given the number and vulnerability, both financial and structural, of such institutions, it is not surprising that such interference could occur. Whether it was widespread, especially after the reforms of Cosimo and of the Council of Trent in particular, is open to question.

These are minor observations, however, not intended to detract from this invaluable contribution to important and controversial fields of study. The book represents a very ambitious project with many objectives in view, some of them particularly difficult to fulfill given the variety of themes and problems raised. *Gender, Honor, and Charity in Late Renaissance Florence* is of great importance for our understanding of the city in an especially difficult period of its development and as such is destined to become an essential source for all future studies in the selected fields.

University of Western Australia

LORENZO POLIZZOTTO

### Early Modern European

*The Reformation: A Brief History.* By Kenneth G. Appold. [Blackwell Brief Histories of Religion Series.] (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. 2011. Pp. xi, 203. \$84.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-1-4051-1749-4; \$29.95 paperback, 978-1-40511750-0.)

Not long ago, a prominent German historian of the Reformation lamented that "we have lost the Reformation." In fact, a search for new books on the sub-



ject reveals that it is more than holding its own. At least nineteen general studies have appeared in English since the mid-1990s, plus another thirteen in German. Most eschew both the nineteenth-century elevation of Martin Luther as the godfather of Western civilization and the twentieth-century defense of Luther's theology as a metahistorical vision. In 1995 Bernd Moeller reminded theologians that "history makes no somersaults, and Luther was no miracle-worker who fell to earth."<sup>1</sup>

Many of the new works share a view of Luther and his Reformation as not the dawn of modernity but the fruition of medieval Christendom. Just as prominent is the tendency to replace the classic (Protestant) singular—"The Reformation"—with a concept of plural reformations—Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic. These changes reveal a shift of focus from theological ideas to religious practice and a setting of the Reformation less in European history and more in the general history of Christianity.

Each of these shifts is visible in *The Reformation: A Brief History* by Kenneth G. Appold of Princeton Theological Seminary. The Reformation occurred, he writes, "within a larger dynamic driven by the Christianization of Europe" (p. ix). Its agent was a church that was neither static nor backward, driven by the dialectical movements of its two heritages: the Roman legacy of hierarchical institutionalization and the Celtic "ethical" drive toward "the moral and spiritual transformation of individual lives and communities" (p. ix). Medieval Christendom experienced an immense evolutionary dialectic between an aim to manage the world and a desire to overcome it.

The downshift from such great landscapes to the person and thought of Luther is a stock device of general works on the subject. Here Appold does not disappoint, as his second chapter bores into Luther as a "phenomenon" (p. 43) composed of heritages, actions, personality, and theological and other ideas. Although its rhetorical color and strong narrative make chapter 2 the book's liveliest chapter, there is no appeal to Luther's "genius" as the moving force. Rather, Luther's reformation comes as an acceleration, not a negation, of the medieval dialectic and brings both successes and failures. Appold explains the most fateful of the latter, the German Peasants' War, by Luther's formation in an urban world that was climbing for economic hegemony over the vast landscapes of traditional, rural Europe. The same social environment made possible the rapid spread of Luther's ideas via the printed word and the increase of literacy, which made Luther's career utterly unlike those of his university teachers. The motor of Appold's narrative is thus social rather than intellectual.

<sup>1</sup>Berndt Hamm, Berndt Moeller, and Dorothea Wendebourg, *Reformationstheorien: Ein Kirchenhistorischer Disput über Einheit und Vielfalt der Reformation* (Göttingen, 1995), p. 23.

The two succeeding chapters are heavily descriptive, as can be expected, given the book's brevity. Chapter 3 undertakes in a bit more than fifty pages to describe the political establishment of Lutheran religion in the Holy Roman Empire, together with a generous account of Anabaptism. Appold marches through the thicket of the Empire's political structures and culture with relatively few stumbles, none of them serious.

The heavy labor of making "what happened among the Germans" into a European story falls to chapter 4. The first and larger of its two parts portrays the coming of mastery over the religious movements into the hands of kings, princes, and (in the Empire) magistrates, which makes the Reformation part of the late-medieval shift toward stronger local governance. The finest passages of this part examine lands whose reformations are commonly marginalized. There is a very fine, clear account of the reformations in the Scandinavian kingdom(s), followed by a masterful picture of the extremely complex religious changes in the Hungarian kingdom. The subsequent part on John Calvin and Geneva is, by contrast, a fairly conventional, if competently informative, account of a standard subject.

In the final part of chapter 4 Appold takes the most adventurous step in the current literature, the incorporation of Roman Catholic reforms as a distinct reformation. In only ten pages he does justice to both the similarities to and the very pronounced differences between Catholic and Protestant reform. Here he also makes effective use of his opening argument about medieval ascetic Christianity to highlight the contemporary resonance of the new religious orders. Appold's only significant slip is to see in Catholic reform a recent discovery, whereas in fact it goes back to nineteenth-century Germans who studied with Leopold von Ranke.

Appold has presented us with an introduction to Reformation history that is brief, clear, up-to-date, and blessedly free of exaggerations. Appold's intellectual temper reminds this reviewer of Ernst Troeltsch, and his sense that experience of the presence and anticipation of the future must necessarily change our judgments of the past is an important one. Those who take up Reformation history today should begin here.

*University of California, Berkeley*

THOMAS A. BRADY JR.

*The Real Luther: A Friar at Erfurt and Wittenberg: Exploring Luther's Life with Melancthon as Guide.* By Franz Posset. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing, 2011. Pp. xxii, 195. \$39.99 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7586-2685-1.)

Throughout his career, Roman Catholic Reformation scholar Franz Posset has worked to recover the crucial role that St. Bernard of Clairvaux played in Martin Luther's earliest theological development. Luther's initial insights into the nature of justification came from within the broader catholic tradition

and especially from Bernard. The present volume makes this claim based on the work of Luther's closest colleague in Wittenberg, Philipp Melanchthon, who shortly after Luther's death penned a preface to the second volume of Luther's Latin writings, in which he sketched Luther's life. Apart from a confused discussion of the much-debated reference to the posting of the Ninety-five Theses on the Castle Church on October 31, 1517, Posset argues convincingly, although disjointedly, that Melanchthon's account contains other useful and accurate information about Luther, especially Luther's recollection that an old Augustinian friar in Erfurt assured him that God expected him to believe that his own sins were forgiven and showed him a reference in Bernard's first sermon on the Annunciation. Posset's thesis needs be taken seriously.

Historical analysis has two sides: a strong thesis and proper evidence. It is here that *The Real Luther* falls short. Factual, logical, grammatical, and translation errors litter the book. The author seems unfamiliar with the latest and most important scholarly work on Melanchthon and consistently misdates documents. Thus, in a single section from pages 139 to 145 (where he tries to prove Melanchthon's increasing respect for Bernard from 1521 to the 1530s—itself questionable), he misdates Melanchthon's German translation of the *Loci communes* and his lectures on 1 Timothy, claims that Melanchthon preached on the Feast of the Annunciation in 1544 (he *never* preached), and leaves the impression that Melanchthon's 1546 theses attacking Petrus de Malvenda centered on Bernard's sermon. Instead, Melanchthon used Bernard as he used other church fathers: to defend Lutherans against attacks on their catholicity.

The last twenty pages offer a translation of Melanchthon's preface—a well-intentioned contribution. Unfortunately, the translation is riddled with errors, as the following demonstrates. Posset translates:

And [the friar] proved [to Luther] that this interpretation is confirmed by a saying of Bernard, and he showed him the *locus* in a sermon on the Annunciation. . . . Luther said that he was not only strengthened by this voice [of the senior friar] but that he was also reminded of Paul's entire sentence [Rom 3:24-28] who so often inculcates this *dictum*: "by faith we are justified." Since he read many expositions on this he saw the vanity of their interpretations that were en vogue then. [The insight in such vanity] was based both upon the words [of the senior friar] and upon the fact that Luther felt the consolation of mind after having noticed their faulty interpretations. (pp. 154-55)

But the sense of the Latin (confirmed by the German translation of 1554) should read:

And [Luther] said that this interpretation was strengthened by a saying of Bernard and the place in the sermon on the Annunciation was shown [to him]. . . . By this word, Luther said, he was not only strengthened but also reminded of Paul's entire way of thinking, who so often emphasized this saying: "we are

justified by faith." *Concerning this* [text of Paul], *when* he read the expositions of many, then, based both on the words of this person and on the consolation of his mind, Luther realized the *false*ty of these *well-known* interpretations.

Such inattention to accuracy mars the book and thus obscures the "real" Luther.

*The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia* TIMOTHY J. WENGERT

*Mary I: England's Catholic Queen.* By John Edwards. [Yale English Monarchs Series.] (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011. Pp. xviii, 387. \$35.00. ISBN 978 0 300 11810 0.)

This is a thoroughly researched biography of Mary I that gives due weight to the queen's international situation and Spanish heritage. Mary's international connections and later marriage alliance with Philip II of Spain made her into a cosmopolitan figure. Unlike her half-sister Elizabeth, who boasted of being "mere English," Mary took her place on the European stage as the linchpin in the restoration of England to the rest of Catholic Christendom. It is, however, hard to identify the specific audience for this work. It is a bit technical and verbose for a popular audience while too little engaged with recent Marian scholarship to be of much use to specialists.

John Edwards sees many parallels between Mary's political career and that of her maternal grandmother, Isabel of Castile. They were blood relations, female monarchs in patriarchal states, and married to men who were kings in their own right. All this is certainly true. Yet it is hard to see how these similarities provide any insight into Mary's situation. After all, she shared these similarities with her Scottish cousin, Mary Stuart; yet there is little to be gained by noting this. Mary did not publicly identify herself with Isabel, nor did she even bother to learn enough Spanish so she could converse with her husband in his native tongue. The one lesson that Mary appeared to have picked up from her Spanish mother, Catherine of Aragon, was to cherish her Habsburg relatives but identify her interests and future with that of England, not Spain.

This biography is reminiscent of H. E. M. Prescott's inexplicably influential *Mary Tudor: The Spanish Tudor* (London, 1940). Prescott described Mary as a simple housewife at heart, and Edwards concludes that such an assessment "is not wide of the mark" (p. 345). This assessment runs counter to recent scholarship noting Mary's humanist education, complex rhetoric, and astonishing near success in restoring England to the Catholic fold.

That Edwards borrows a little of Prescott's misguided confidence is understandable. Mary resists easy assessment and the biographer's art. As princess, she advised the imperial ambassador to burn their correspondence, suggesting she may have habitually destroyed hers. Unlike Elizabeth, Mary's decisive



actions rarely match her nihilistic rhetoric. When Elizabeth declared she would rather remain single but would marry if God placed a suitable candidate before her, she followed through by remaining single but also vigorously pursuing a match with a French prince. Whereas Mary assured her subjects during the Wyatt rebellion that she would only marry after consulting the privy council, she had, in fact, already privately sworn to marry Philip regardless of the council's views. Mary deployed the rhetoric of wifely subordination and dependence in her letters to Philip when he was away to lure him back, yet she failed to seriously pursue the one course of action that would have brought him instantly to her side—arranging his coronation as king of England.

Despite Edwards's laudable practice of varying the narrative pace so that royal ceremonies in which Mary participated unfold slowly in rich detail, Mary remains elusive as a personality. Perhaps the questioning nursery rhyme hits the mark when it asks: "Mary, Mary, quite contrary/How does your garden grow?" Although Edwards includes an exhaustive bibliography and index, his biography is no closer to answering the rhyme than Prescott was in 1940. This reader was left with the following question: How does one chronicle the lives of subjects whose actions belie their words?

*University of Tennessee at Knoxville*

JERI L. McINTOSH

*Into the Lion's Den: The Jesuit Mission in Elizabethan England and Wales, 1580-1603.* By Robert E. Scully, S.J. [No. 23 in Series 3: Scholarly Studies Originally Composed in English.] (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2011. Pp. xvi, 468. \$32.95. ISBN 978 1-880810-78 1.)

Robert E. Scully's *Into the Lion's Den* is the first in-depth inquiry into the early years of the Jesuit Mission in both England and Wales, placing it in context of the development of the Society of Jesus and its worldwide missionary efforts in the sixteenth century. What was, Scully asks, the impact of this relatively small, underfinanced, and understaffed mission to the history of the English Reformation and the history of the Catholic Church more broadly?

To address this question, Scully draws heavily from traditional sources such as Henry Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, the writings and correspondence of organizational leaders such as William Allen and Robert Persons, and autobiographies penned by Jesuit missionaries such as William Weston and John Gerard. He describes and contextualizes the origins of the mission; the creation of the English colleges; English Jesuit writings; the clandestine nature of the mission based in the manor houses of the gentry; women's recusancy and support of the mission; the dangers to Catholic laypersons and clergy; and the conflicts arising among Jesuits, the Elizabethan government, and Catholic secular clergy. Of particular interest are

plates from the *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea* (1584), a series of thirty-five engravings detailing English Catholic history and martyrology.

When discussing these familiar sources, Scully uses a broader interpretive framework than did earlier scholars such as Philip Caraman and William Bangert who published on the English Jesuits. In particular, he focuses special attention on Wales and the Marches. Such attention is justified, Scully argues, since Allen and Persons identified Wales early on as key mission territory. Scully contrasts English recusancy patterns with those in Welsh and Marcher lands and highlights divisions among the English and Welsh students at the English colleges based on perceptions of cultural and perhaps racial difference. Scully's analysis differentiates between the religious worldviews of Catholics residing in different regions of England and Wales and also addresses issues such as sacred space and material culture. With a lesser degree of success, Scully attempts to weave the contributions of women and lower ranking Catholics into his narrative of the Jesuit missionary endeavors. Scully includes much that is valuable about women and the poor but little that is new.

When evaluating the success or failure of the Jesuit Mission, Scully enters existing debates begun by historians such as John Bossy and Christopher Haigh by asking scholars to assess the mission not as one monolithic effort but in terms of the different groups involved. Jesuit missionary efforts, Scully argues, succeeded better than those of other groups because of the Society of Jesus's more developed organizational and financial structures and the unique spiritual mission of the society. Moreover, adding to recent scholarship that distinguishes English Catholicism from continental post-Tridentine Catholicism, Scully highlights how innovative and flexible Jesuit missionary strategies in the officially hostile regions of England and Wales look different from Jesuit evangelization approaches in more welcoming environs worldwide. Scully ultimately credits Jesuit efforts as instrumental in making a modest success of the Elizabethan Mission, encouraging the "unexpected tenacity and even resilience" of a minority Catholic community that had staying power in an increasingly Protestant Northern Europe (p. 435).

Overall, Scully uses a generally balanced approach that does not shy away from addressing the challenges and conflicts as well as the accomplishments of the Jesuits. Although not groundbreaking, *Into the Lion's Den* is a solid text that draws together a wealth of information useful to scholars of English Catholicism or who want to compare and contrast the Elizabethan mission with other Jesuit efforts worldwide.

*Friars on the Frontier: Catholic Renewal and the Dominican Order in Southeastern Poland, 1594–1648.* By Piotr Stolarski. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2010. Pp. xvi, 265. \$124.95. ISBN 978-1409-40595-5.)

The gist of Piotr Stolarski's argument lies in the underappreciated (if not forgotten) role of the mendicant Orders, especially Dominicans, and the overestimated role of Jesuits in the Counter-Reformation of Poland-Lithuania. For Stolarski, the mendicant Orders—more than the Jesuits—should be credited with bringing the genuine spiritual renewal that ushered in consensual and internalized conversion of Protestants to Catholicism. Jesuits, he argues, were actually less effective, as they were generally perceived as arrogant, intolerant, manipulative, and supportive of absolute monarchy; and thus they were distrusted by the freedom-loving Polish *szlachta*.

The advantage of the mendicants, Stolarski argues, was in their longevity (they predated the Council of Trent and the formation of the Society of Jesus), theological realism, religious irenicism, and openness to mixed monarchy. He also mentions miraculous healings credited to the intercession of friars and humble piety expressed in vows of poverty—both of which made the mendicants better-equipped agents for the genuine spiritual renewal that encouraged reconversions of Protestants back to Rome.

Certainly, this book is to be valued for bringing to the surface the role of the Dominicans, which has been sorely neglected, and for seeking continuities with the pre-Trent role of the mendicants in Poland-Lithuania. The author's commitment is to look into Catholic orthodoxy "on its own terms"—carefully avoiding interpretive frameworks that are unhelpful (especially for Poland-Lithuania)—thus bringing greater complexity and understanding to the post-Reformation period. Further, religious historiography of early-modern Poland-Lithuania (both Polish and English) is insufficient, and Stolarski fills gaps, offers analysis of interesting primary sources, and provides a provocative thesis that will galvanize a much-needed discussion on the issue.

However, the book has some serious drawbacks, especially when commenting on Reformed theology. For instance, the author shows unfamiliarity with the Protestant realist tradition, equating Protestantism with nominalism (pp. 39, 190). Furthermore, when Stolarski comments on the writings of Fabian Birkowski, he fails to mention how the Dominican preacher misrepresented Protestant theology (p. 127), giving the impression that Birkowski accurately presented Reformed teaching. Similarly, when the author comments on Dominican-Jesuit disputes over the doctrine of grace (pp. 39–40), he seems unaware of the doctrinal proximity between the Reformed Scholastics and Dominicans, who both took a stance against Alfred Molina's Middle Knowledge. Finally, Stolarski seems unable to differentiate between the terms *Calvinist* and *Reformed*. These should be used and defined carefully, as Henrich Bullinger, Jan Łaski, and others greatly influenced the Polish

Reformed Church, not simply John Calvin. Broadly speaking, the author's general notion that the victory of Polish Catholicism is due to its spiritual vibrancy and doctrinal coherence alone is overstated. The fall of the Polish Reformed Church was more complex than that, partially owing to the schism it suffered that resulted in the emergence of the anti-Trinitarian Polish Brethren (later known as Socinians or Unitarians). The schism weakened the Polish-Lithuanian Reformed Church from within and made it a feeble rival, compared to the Reformed Church in the West.

Despite these drawbacks, the book may help to further discussion and achieve a more balanced view of the reasons behind the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Reformation.

*Grand Rapids, MI*

DARIUSZ M. BRYĆKO

*The Chronicle of Le Murate.* By Sister Giustina Niccolini. Edited and translated by Sandra Weddle. [The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: The Toronto Series, 12.] (Toronto: Iter, Inc., and the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. 2011. Pp. xiv, 361. \$32.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7727-2108-2.)

The chronicle of the Florentine convent of Le Murate, composed in 1598 by the Benedictine nun Giustina Niccolini and still unpublished in Italian, has now been translated by Sandra Weddle into English as part of the outstanding series *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe*. It will allow students and scholars who do not read Italian access to a text of great importance, not only to the history of female convents but also to the history of the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Church. Using sources ranging from older chronicles to the convent archive and the memories of other nuns, Niccolini retells the history of her institution over a period of 200 years from its foundation around 1400. The single most striking facet of the chronicle is Niccolini's urge to communicate innumerable, disparate pieces of information about Renaissance convent life, thereby leaving a treasure trove for historians. From the point of view of possible subject matter, chronicles in this respect resemble private letters. No topic is considered too mundane—or, indeed, too secular—to be included, so written *ex-votos* and references to vomiting blood are mentioned alongside donations by secular women patrons and visits by ecclesiastics enforcing the Tridentine decrees. The importance of visual and material culture in convent life is readily apparent from the nun's narrative. The simple style of the chronicle, unfailingly enfolded within a religious outer coating, betrays its origin in the spoken language, as it was composed as a dictation. Given the emphasis on obedience and self-effacement of nuns, being a nun chronicler (especially during the Counter-Reformation years) was a risky choice of occupation, which is why Niccolini feels obliged to describe herself as "an ignorant and coarse woman" (p. 45) when the opposite seems more likely; the presumption of



authorship has to be buried under the rhetoric of religious conformity. Of course, religion permeated many aspects of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century convent life, so Niccolini's narrative is populated by devils, saints, and angels as well as popes, bishops, and confessors; nuns live surrounded by the religious paraphernalia of relics, altars, altarpieces, bells, and prayer books; and religious rituals and customs are a focal point. This translation will consequently be useful for anyone with interests in any of these areas, allowing a sixteenth-century nun who also was an author the possibility of circulating her precious information to ever-expanding audiences.

The introduction by the editor, which takes the form of a literature review, is a missed opportunity for something more challenging and original, as there is a great deal of excellent recent work, especially in Italian, on nuns' chronicles in general and on individual chronicles. In addition, as Weddle herself allows (p. 2), "scores" of scholars have already analyzed and commented on various facets of *Le Murate* and its chronicle. Now would therefore have been an ideal time to use this material as a springboard to present a critique of *Le Murate*'s chronicle as an example of its genre, instead of repeating already well-established and picked-over information. One omission in relation to the textual apparatus is also bizarre. The manuscript from which the transcription has been taken and the translation has been made—Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale II II 509—is inexplicably not divulged until a footnote on page 52, even though the "original manuscript" (without further identification) is mentioned on page 38.

*Queen Mary, University of London*

KATE LOWE

*Das Bistum Würzburg, 7: Die Würzburger Bischöfe von 1617 bis 1684.*

Edited by Winfried Romberg. [*Germania Sacra: Die Kirche des Alten Reiches und ihre Institutionen: Dritte Folge 4: Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Mainz.*] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 2011. Pp. xiv, 599. \$210.00. ISBN 978-3-11-025183-8.)

This volume, about the bishops of Würzburg in the seventeenth century, is the latest in a venerable series that has been published since the early 1900s. This volume thoroughly addresses the goal of this project, which is to provide scholars of local and regional history with a careful presentation of the sources and basic information about the history of German dioceses. This volume, like all the recent volumes, contains a detailed bibliography of both archival and secondary sources. Würzburg in the early-modern period was one of the largest and most important German prince-bishoprics, and the quantity of material gathered in this volume shows that there is much more research that could be done here.

The volume is structured around the episcopacies of the bishops of Würzburg. Each bishop receives a section, whether he served for thirty years or two years, a structure that sometimes seems a bit artificial. Each section fol-

lows a similar pattern, describing the person of the bishop as well as his foreign policy, administrative work, and religious policy and developments. These sections are quite catalog-like, presenting various events, laws, regulations, and the like as they appear in the sources. A short description of the historiography of each episcopate appears at the end of each section.

The strength of this volume is in the mass of information assembled from various archives and, to a lesser extent, from secondary sources. The weakness is a structure that is imbedded in the most traditional of German *Kirchengeschichte* (church history). By structuring the volume around the bishop, it is almost impossible to present long-term trends, whether in foreign policy, state-building, or religious affairs. The editor, Winifried Romberg, attempts to address this issue in an introductory chapter, but this, too, is quite traditional, focusing on institutional developments and explicitly avoiding broad social and economic developments. This weakness is compounded by the fact that the bibliography exclusively references German-language scholarship, ignoring, among other works, important English language scholarship on witchcraft, the social history of religion, and cultural history.

In the end, this volume does what it sets out to do. It gathers together the historical sources available to scholars about the Bishopric of Würzburg, lists the secondary works produced in German, and outlines clearly the role of the bishops. It is a useful addition to the vast compilation of the *Germania Sacra*.

Connecticut College

MARC R. FORSTER

*Histoire des Filles de la Charité, XVII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. La rue pour cloître.* By Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée. (Paris: Fayard. 2011. Pp. 690. €30,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-213-66257-2.)

The Filles de la Charité, or Daughters of Charity, were founded by Ss. Vincent de Paul and Louise de Marillac in 1633 and grew into the largest female religious community serving the poor and ill in Ancien Régime France. In 1789 the community had approximately 3000 members and was associated with approximately 420 hospitals and parish charities (indeed, one nursing sister in three in 1790 was a Daughter of Charity [p. 300]). The women took annual rather than perpetual vows and were not cloistered but lived "in the world" in a way that transcended the general Tridentine move toward claustration. As the book's title proclaims, the cloister of a Daughter of Charity was the street. Although there has been considerable continuity in the community's work up to the present day, the first two centuries of its existence were fundamental in both establishing the character of the group through the inspiration of its founders and in developing a highly centralized management structure that allowed its expansion throughout France and was copied, often in precise detail, by many other female communities. By the time of the French Revolution, the group was widely admired across the political and religious divide. Temporarily dissolved as an institution in the

Revolution, it was reestablished by the late 1790s and endorsed by Napoleon. A new and more global chapter in its history opened up in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1965 there were more than 45,000 sisters in 4000 institutions, although its membership has fallen since then.

The Daughters of Charity have a quite extraordinary history that has been almost wholly neglected, partly because the community has been more committed to aiding the poor and ill than to considering the archiving and writing of their own history. This state of affairs also may have endured because of an overdeveloped sense of discretion about the origins of cofounder St. Louise—only in 1958 was it publicly acknowledged that she was illegitimate (p. 19). Only within the last two decades have their central archives been opened, allowing a far richer coverage than that previously available via the archives of the Congregation of the Mission, the Archives Nationales, and the numerous institutions in which they served. Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée is the first historian to have immersed himself in those archives, and he has emerged with an absolutely exemplary study of the history of the community from its origins to the French Revolution, which sets out both a framework for understanding the community and conveys a unique sense of the texture of its members' lives (for example, there are superb sections on the material culture of life as a Daughter of Charity).

The basic requirement for a Daughter of Charity, according to an eighteenth-century internal circular, was a "good spirit, a good body and good will" (p. 272). Quite how women of this sort, far more of whom were from lowlier social backgrounds than other women religious, were educated, trained, and incentivized to serve their lifetime in what were base and menial tasks is a key part of the story. Brejon de Lavergnée rightfully places emphasis on the unusually centralized yet supply-management structure that emerged following the "watershed" (p. 231) of the death of the founders *c.* 1660, in facilitating the passage from charismatic to more bureaucratic organization styles (while maintaining spiritual motivation). Adaptation to an outside world is another important feature of the history—the late-eighteenth century in particular highlights some significant issues of morale. By this fine study, Brejon de Lavergnée puts all historians of religion in his debt and also provides the raw materials that will now need to be digested by historians of women, work, medicine, and relief of the poor.

*Queen Mary, University of London*

COLIN JONES

*Judging Maria de Macedo: A Female Visionary and the Inquisition in Early Modern Portugal.* By Bryan Givens. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 255. \$48.00. ISBN 978-0-8071-3702-4.)

In late February 1665, Maria de Macedo found herself before the Lisbon tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, accused of falsely claiming to be a

visionary. In response to the judges' questions, she confirmed that since childhood, she had experienced visions of mysterious "enchanted Moors" from a "Hidden Isle" (p. 116). The strange visitors brought her to the island, where she encountered figures such as the prophets Elijah and Enoch, St. John the Evangelist, and King Arthur. She also met Sebastian, Portugal's legendary king who had been lost in battle in Morocco in 1578 and whose supporters, known as *sebastianistas*, awaited his imminent return to restore Portugal to greatness. Sebastian's arrival in Lisbon, said Macedo, would be marked by "revolutions and punishments" (p. 68) and sunshine at night. He would bring "different laws, of which there will only be five, written by his hand and confirmed by Our Lord Jesus Christ" and would "reform the World, conquer the Moors and Turks, convert the heretics, put everything right, and, being the Hidden One, would go to the Holy House [of Jerusalem]" (pp. 68-69, 127). Sebastian would rule until his death at age 120, after which his son would rule until the coming of the Last Judgment.

In *Judging Maria de Macedo*, Bryan Givens explores Macedo's visions within their social, political, and intellectual contexts and examines the proceedings against her. He takes a microhistorical approach, unpacking the ideas embedded in her visionary experiences, tracing their roots, and comparing her cultural values to those of the inquisitors who judged her. He devotes special attention to a manuscript pamphlet of her visions that Macedo dictated to her husband. This unusual source, included in the trial record but created some fifteen years before her arrest, allows unusually direct access to Macedo's voice, unmediated by inquisitorial personnel. The translated pamphlet text appears in full within the text; a transcription of the Portuguese original is included in an index. Givens's reading of Macedo's ideas as expressed in the pamphlet and in her interrogation is careful and sensitive. Using small details as a means to opening up the cultural strands within her visions, he examines Macedo's folkloric and millenarian sources. Overall, his analysis is convincing, although there are places where a more expanded discussion of Macedo's cultural context could have lent greater nuance. The interventions of Macedo's husband in the redaction of the pamphlet and his defensive rhetorical strategies also deserve examination.

For the most part, Givens avoids a simplistic division between "popular" and "elite" religious belief and practice, preferring to speak of "cultural recycling" (p. 185)—the circulation, appropriation, and transformation of ideas among elites and non-elites. He sees Macedo as a member of the "middling sorts" (p. 3), receptive to cultural influences from above and below. Her judges, however, ascribed very different values to the ideas she cherished. Macedo was convicted not for the *sebastianista* content of her visions, but for falsely claiming to have had visions at all. Her visions seem to have curiously little overt political content. Instead, Givens's analysis grounds Macedo's visionary experience in her deep personal piety and her identity as a Catholic Christian. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the case of Maria de Macedo



is not her unusual visions but the very typicality of the views and values to which she adhered. This book will be of interest not just to readers interested in Sebastianism and millenarianism as well as in the workings of the various early-modern Inquisitions but also to those interested in the devotional life of the laity in the changing climate of Counter-Reformation Catholicism.

*University of California, Davis*

A. KATHI HARRIS

*By Force and Fear: Taking and Breaking Monastic Vows in Early Modern Europe.* By Anne Jacobson Schutte. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011. Pp. xiv, 285. \$45.00. ISBN 978-0-8014-4977-2.)

The *communis opinio* in literature and history says that since the Middle Ages many young women have been forced into a convent for various family reasons (most often with the intention of preserving the family's patrimony), where they would be compelled to live as if in prison. In Italian, the phenomenon is called "*monacazione forzata*" (henceforth MF), or "forced monasticization" in English. Anne Jacobson Schutte challenges this *opinio* with good arguments based on the petitions in the archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Council (SCC), which are in the Vatican Archives. By studying 978 petitions to the pope (almost half of them recorded without a decision) from all over the Roman Catholic world and spanning the period 1668 to 1793, she is able to show that MF "was not ... predominantly a female problem," because 82.5 percent of the petitioners were men and that "sexual urges ... did not constitute the main reason" for leaving a convent (p. 4). She insists that hers is not "a numbers-crunching book" (p. 13), although she presents much statistical material in chapter 9. Rather, she prefers the anthropological approach—what she calls "thinking with cases" (p. 13)—which she explains rather lengthily in chapter 1. The procedure before the SCC became rather expensive for the petitioners and could easily amount to more than 100 ducats, as Schutte demonstrates from a list of charges from 1694/95 (p. 103). Although the author denies it, undoing MF through the SCC became without doubt an upper-class phenomenon.

Hundreds of unwilling religious sent petitions to the pope long before the author's starting year of 1668. Schutte did not look into the registers of the Papal Penitentiary now accessible to researchers. Had she done so, she would have noticed that many of the types of MF cases she presents from the SCC documents were decided by this papal tribunal, normally without a lengthy procedure. Leaving a monastery for the secular priesthood, for example, became a quite frequent step for many male religious (especially those with a higher education) from the end of the fourteenth century, as petitions printed in the *Repertorium Poenitentiarum Germanicum* (1995–) show. That premature profession was the simplest way for parents and other relatives to rid themselves of a child is widely confirmed by the Penitentiary supplications as well. "*Vis et metus, qui potest cadere in constantem virum*"

("Force and fear, which can affect a steadfast man")—the juridical maxim taken from the *Digest* (4.2.6) and repeated in the Decretals (X 1.40.4 and 4.1.15)—was the standard argument (*fiat in forma "Qui caderet in constantem"* [let it be done in the form "*Qui caderet in constantem*"]) for almost all religious who wanted to leave a monastery or a convent, men and women alike. The "steady man" plea was common (as John Noonan showed), but the formulary of the Penitentiary also uses "*constantem mulierem*" ("steadfast woman") or "*constantem puellam*" ("steadfast girl"; RPG IX, 1056 and 1920. "*Vis et metus*" also could be the vehicle to escape a forced marriage; see, for example, RPG VIII, 3272 and 3273). Procedure in the Penitentiary tended to be much cheaper than before the SCC; around 1500 the standard *taxa* amounted to 7 ducats. Schutte has succeeded in showing that the old opinion about the purposes of MF is not consistent, but one hopes that she might write another book on MF that extends from the later Middle Ages and uses the supplications to the Papal Penitentiary.

Rome, Italy

LUDWIG SCHMUGGE

*Beginning to Be a Jesuit: Instructions for the Paris Novitiate circa 1685.*

Edited and translated by Patricia Ranum. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2011. Pp. xii, 239. \$29.95 paperback, ISBN 978-188081076-7; \$36.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-188081075-0.)

The seventeenth century was a period of remarkable growth and influence for the Society of Jesus, and yet it also was a time of growing hostility to the Jesuits from various groups—Jansenists in particular. This book offers a close-up view not of Jesuits in tension with their opponents, but of how Jesuit recruits were trained in their first two years of religious life. Patricia Ranum translates a manuscript found in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, a manuscript that is a fascinating set of instructions dated c. 1685 for the Jesuit novitiate in Paris. On facing pages she includes the original French text and her English translation along with helpful explanatory footnotes.

The daily life of a Jesuit novice was prescribed in great detail, from rising at 4 a.m. on ordinary days to set times for such things as spiritual reading, physical exercise, examination of one's conscience, and bedtime at 9 p.m. There appears to have been as much emphasis on civility and good manners as on more specifically religious matters such as prayer. Thus incivility and bad manners—for example, the taking of salt with one's fingers—were to be rooted out with no small zeal. The fork, a relatively recent addition to table accoutrements in that era, appears in these instructions as a kind of civilizing instrument. But "excessive daintiness" (p. 111), as in removing the crust from one's bread, is condemned. At the same time, these instructions exhort novices not to think too much about food while at table; rather, they should eat in silence while listening to some historical or devotional text read aloud, or they should think about all the "wretched meals" (p. 115) that Jesus

ate in Nazareth and during his itinerant ministry. How French Jesuits know about Jesus in his alimentary and gustatory suffering remains unexplained. Do they think that the Virgin Mary was a bad cook? Rather than ask such questions, Jesuit novices are to pray the rosary daily and to wear it at the cincture, "so that everyone can see it" (p. 141). At recreation times, they are expected to engage in agreeable and edifying conversations with each other, as a "sort of apprenticeship and practice for . . . conversations with people outside" (p. 133).

Dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit novitiate prepared Jesuits not for an enclosed monastic life, but indeed for a life "outside" and in the world. The first of Jesuit missionaries, Xavier had gone to India and elsewhere in Asia, and died while seeking entrance to China. He and other saints are proposed to the novices as role models of "heroic virtues" (p. 95) and of endurance in the face of hardships. The instructions prescribe for novices the daily recitation of litanies of the saints and of the Holy Name of Jesus. Any novices inclined to complain about excessive heat or cold are exhorted to consider that uncomfortable extremes of weather are a penance sent by God for sin and that the Jesuit missionaries in Canada must accustom themselves to everything.

The only issue in an otherwise superlative translation is Ranum's use of "take" Communion for *communie* or *communier* (pp. 55, 67); "receive" Communion would seem more apt, at least for a Roman Catholic rendering of this French verb. But this is a small point, and Ranum's overall accomplishment is large. This book will be very useful to a broad range of scholars and students, including historians of French history, cultural historians, historians of daily life, and church historians.

*College of the Holy Cross*

THOMAS WORCESTER, S.J.

*Silent Music: Medieval Song and the Construction of History in Eighteenth-Century Spain.* By Susan Boynton. [Currents in Latin American and Iberian Music.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xxvi, 208. \$39.95. ISBN 978-0-19-975459-5.)

In 1749 the ministers of the Spanish king, Ferdinand VI, set up the Royal Commission on Archives. This was one of many such bodies established directly by the Crown or at its instigation beginning during the final years of the murderous Spanish civil War of the Succession. They were commissions, committees, societies, and academies that brought together scholars, scientists, artists, engineers, amateur enthusiasts, and government officials. Whatever their particular tasks, their members engaged in research, observation, and analysis of the world around them; they explored nature, geographical space, culture, and the past; they produced studies, reports, works of art, and sometimes lasting and influential institutions; they helped enlarge the intellectual world of Spaniards of the mid- and late-eighteenth century. It

is this slowly expanding cultural world that Susan Boynton explores in her new book.

Of course, the kings' ministers and ordinary members of these bodies had complex and occasionally incompatible aims. Ferdinand VI's ministers wanted the Archives Commission to uncover documents that would help strengthen their hand in diplomatic dealings with the Roman Curia. This was at a time when Ferdinand's government and the ministers of Pope Benedict XIV were negotiating what turned out to be the transfer, defined in the Concordat of 1753, of vast Spanish ecclesiastical patronage from the Quirinale to Madrid.

Wisely keeping the diplomatic negotiations in the background, Boynton focuses on a few of the Commission's scholars. Her chief protagonists are the Jesuit scholar and educational reformer Andrés Marcos Burriel and his colleague, the highly skilled calligrapher and palaeographer Francisco Xavier de Santiago y Palomares. Beginning in 1750, this pair, immersing themselves in the archives of Toledo cathedral, made major discoveries and provided important reinterpretations of Spain's Visigothic liturgical and more broadly cultural legacy.

Boynton is an award-winning historical musicologist who specializes in medieval Roman Catholic liturgy. Her study of the scholarship of Burriel and Palomares, however, takes its greatest value from the cultural and political context into which she plants it. She briefly but skillfully analyzes enlightened Spanish understanding of the nation's history. She demonstrates the bare survival of Visigothic liturgical traditions in the later Middle Ages and beyond. She shows us that one of Burriel's achievements was to underline the independence of Visigothic ecclesiastical culture—its autonomy from Roman influences—until the triumph of Chlunac and Gregorian reform in the late-eleventh century combined with Castilian political docility. The Roman liturgy, by papal order, replaced the ancient Visigothic one almost everywhere. The latter was permitted to survive in just a handful of ancient Toledan parishes where the so-called Mozarabic rite could then still be found. This was the Visigothic liturgy practiced for many generations by Arabized Spaniards living in Islamic principalities. The historical lesson, served up by Burriel, of a successful Roman assault on "Spanish" institutions would have constituted a powerful warning to many Spanish thinkers, already suspicious and resentful of papal prerogatives in the mid-eighteenth century.

As a musicologist, Boynton is perhaps most enthusiastic in her discussion of the notational systems that accompanied these and later manuscripts—including the Toledo codex of some of the famous *Cantigas de Santa Maria*—400 or so songs celebrating the Virgin Mary composed in the later thirteenth century under the aegis of the great scholar-king Alfonso X of Castile. Both Burriel and Palomares took enormous care to study and reproduce the ancient neumes they found in the liturgical and other documents.



They sought out scholars and musicians who might help them interpret the notes, without success—even at a court as musically sophisticated as that of Ferdinand and his queen, Barbara of Braganza. Presumably the queen's friend and music teacher for three decades, Domenico Scarlatti, also was of no help.

Boynton will never be able to make this silent music sing for us, and neither she nor other scholars can convey precisely what we have lost. She has, however, given us a very fine analysis of the Spanish cultural worlds of the late-eleventh and mid-eighteenth centuries—times when papal politicians first smashed and Spanish scholars much later tried to preserve and understand the ecclesiastical culture of a long-lost Visigothic world.

*New York University in London*

CHARLES C. NOEL

*Vertheidigung der katholischen Religion. Sammt einem Anbange von der Möglichkeit einer Vereinigung zwischen unserer und der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche (1789).* By Beda Mayr. Edited and introduced by Ulrich L. Lehner. [Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, Vol. 171; Brill's Texts and Sources in Intellectual History, Vol. 5.] (Leiden: Brill, 2009. Pp. xc, 354. \$149.00. ISBN 978-90-04-17318-7.)

The German church historian Ulrich Lehner, an associate professor at Marquette University, is a scholar of the Catholic Enlightenment. He is to be congratulated on his edition of Beda Mayr's work *Defense of Catholic Religion*. Mayr (1742–94), who became a Benedictine in 1762, was a professor of philosophy and an intellectual who searched for a way to reunify the divided Christian denominations. In 1778 he wrote *Der erste Schritt zur künftigen Vereinigung der katholischen und der evangelischen Kirche* (*The First Step toward Future Reunification between the Catholic and Protestant Churches*). Five years after the work was published, it was placed on the Roman Index of Forbidden Books. The *Defense of Catholic Religion* (1789) was the third volume in Mayr's *Defense of Natural, Christian, and Catholic Religion* (consisting of three volumes published in four parts). It is this part of Mayr's main work that Lehner edits in this volume.

Lehner presents the unabridged text in the original German language and the orthography of the late-eighteenth century, with Mayr's footnotes (350 pages). He adds an introduction (sixty-six pages), a list of Mayr's works, a bibliography (eleven pages), and a combined index for Mayr's work and his own text. Lehner comments on the Catholic Enlightenment and monastic erudition in general and discusses the reasons for the lack of acknowledgment of Mayr's contributions:

The reason that Mayr never achieved the fame of Febronius or others is connected to the late publication of his main work, more specifically the second and third volume, in the year the French Revolution started. The events in France finally crushed the German Church. (p. xiv)

He discusses monastic enlightenment and ecumenism as well as the influence of Christian Wolff and Immanuel Kant. He also provides an overview of the life and work of Mayr and a special survey of Mayr's work on the *Defense of Natural, Christian, and Catholic Religion*; examines the ecumenical desire; and discusses the reception of and the resistance to Mayr's work. It is interesting that the famous prince-abbot Martin II Gerbert, O.S.B., of St. Blasien felt that Mayr's *First Step* book failed, especially in its criticism of infallibility (p. xxxiii). Infallibility was, in Mayr's view, the most important obstacle to reunification. Lehner examines this topic in the context of eighteenth-century discussions as well as discusses the beginning of historical-critical scholarship (Jean Mabillon and others) and its influence on Mayr. Finally, he notes Mayr's compromises in dogmatics designed to obtain reunification: "All teachings that are accepted only by Catholics" do not "necessarily belong to the order of salvation"; "the church does not force these teachings on Protestants as directly revealed teachings"; "if the teachings are only speculative character, the Protestants should have a free choice to believe them"; "even if the Protestants do not accept these doctrines and do not exercise the actions which are connected with them, they cannot be called heretics" (p. lxxi). For example, Mayr's view of the sacraments seems designed to effect reconciliation:

When, for example, the Council of Trent declared the Seven Sacraments to be directly instituted by Christ, whereas Protestants accept only baptism and Eucharist as sacraments because of their biblical foundation, Catholicism could regard the latter two as directly revealed teaching, the other five as indirectly revealed through Christ in the Church. (p. lxiv)

Mayr himself expressed doubt (p. 10): "Eine baldige Vereinigung erwarte ich aber gar nicht. Daran ist noch sehr lange nicht zu gedenken. Die politischen Hindernisse einer Vereinigung sind noch viel zu gross. Und diese können alle Theologen zusammen nicht heben" ("I, however, do not await a speedy unification. It is premature to consider it. The political obstacles to unification are still too great. And all the theologians together cannot remove these").

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HARM KLUETING

### Late Modern European

*The Latin Clerk: The Life, Work, and Travels of Adrian Fortescue.* By Aidan Nichols, O.P. (Cambridge, UK: Lutterworth Press. 2011. Pp. 308. \$50.00 paperback. ISBN 978-07188-9274-6.)

Adrian Fortescue (1874–1923), a priest of the Archdiocese of Westminster, was a defining figure in English Catholicism. A prolific author and speaker, Fortescue's writings on liturgy and Eastern Christianity helped to shape

public perceptions of both subjects. Aidan Nichols's biography, *The Latin Clerk: The Life, Work, and Travels of Adrian Fortescue*, provides a glimpse into the innermost life of the man as well as his scholarship. It details Fortescue's achievements as a liturgist, orientalist, historian, and pastor.

The book starts by chronicling Fortescue's formative years, with an emphasis on those events that molded his outlook. It tells of his father, prominent Anglican clergyman Edward Bowles Knottesford Fortescue, who made the difficult decision to convert to Roman Catholicism before Adrian's birth, and how this choice affected the future of his family. Forever conscious of his status as a member of England's Catholic minority, Fortescue sought to defend his faith against Anglican critics. As a result, he became renowned as an apologist for the Catholic faith and a defender of the papacy.

The focus then shifts to Fortescue's preoccupation with Eastern Christianity. As a young man, Fortescue was greatly influenced by Greek Catholic monks in Grottaferrata, Italy. He was so captivated by the beauty of their liturgy and spirituality that he decided to dedicate himself to studying the Christian East. This led Fortescue to disguise himself as an Arab and to travel extensively throughout the Levant. During his adventures, he became familiar with the ancient churches of that region and occasionally defended himself from robbers in shootouts.

Nichols's book presents an overview of Fortescue's writings on Eastern Christianity and highlights recurring themes found within them. It paints Fortescue as an ecumenical pioneer who, despite occasional polemics, worked to build understanding and unity between Western and Eastern Christians. It also touches on his unfulfilled desire to transfer to the Melkite Church.

Fortescue's liturgical scholarship also is explored in detail. Among English-speaking Catholics, Fortescue was primarily known as an expert on ritual and rubrics. It is ironic that he loathed addressing these subjects. Nichols lays out the theological reasoning behind Fortescue's liturgical perspective as well as his practices as a pastor.

The most fascinating aspect of this biography is how it chronicles Fortescue's emotional turmoil during Pius X's antimodernist crusade. It provides a portrait of a dark time in Catholic history, during which theologically orthodox priests such as Fortescue fell under suspicion simply for being too intellectual. It was painful for Fortescue, who had defended the papacy so vigorously, to watch the See of Peter become a perpetrator of indiscriminate oppression. Fortescue was so disturbed by Pius's actions that he contemplated leaving the priesthood.

This biography is both enlightening and entertaining. It illuminates Fortescue's key insights, many of which remain just as true today as they were

during his lifetime. But it also paints a vivid picture of Fortescue and his greatness. From reading Nichols's book, it becomes clear that Fortescue was a brilliant, eccentric, and colorful character. The account of his battle with cancer and premature death is surprisingly moving. Overall, *The Latin Clerk* does an impressive job of capturing both the essence of the man and a particular epoch in Catholic history.

Mount Aloysius College

ANTHONY DRAGANI

*Cattolici a sinistra. Dal modernismo ai giorni nostri.* By Daniela Saresella. [Quadrante Laterza, 178.] (Rome/Bari: Editori Laterza. 2011. Pp. x, 285. €22,00 paperback. ISBN 978-88-420-9785-3).

Italian Catholics who identify with the political Left have had a difficult time of it over the past century, a dilemma that Daniela Saresella chronicles in her even-handed and well-researched work, *Cattolici a sinistra. Dal modernismo ai giorni nostri*. A professor of contemporary history at the University of Milan, Saresella has emerged over the past decade or so in the top rank of scholars of modern Italian Catholicism.

*Cattolici a sinistra* begins at the start of the twentieth century with Pope Pius X's crackdown on the modernist controversy that, in Italy, was identified with activists such as Romolo Murri and Ernesto Buonaiuti. The two urged Catholics to involve themselves in politics, although such a move deeply troubled the pontiff. The ascent of Benito Mussolini and his Fascist government after World War I, however, changed the playing field, and—despite misgivings from Pius XI—the new situation prompted more and more of the faithful to engage, some in favor of the regime and some in hostility to it. This opposition inevitably led to contacts and then, during World War II, to antifascist alliances with Marxism. Some of these alliances were so strong that, toward the end of the war, certain groups, most famously some from Roman high schools (*licei*), began to coalesce as Christian Communists. The Holy See quickly squelched these attempts, and in 1949 the Holy Office issued its famous *Responsa ad dubia de comunismo* that prohibited any Catholic allegiance to communism. Nonetheless, Catholic-Marxist dialogue continued with well-meaning men and women on both sides, their hopes cresting (and crashing) with the “opening to the left” in the 1960s and the failed “historic compromise” in the 1970s.

Saresella extends her investigation through the 1990s and into the twenty-first century when the collapse of the Marxist Left and of Christian Democracy (the D.C.) as well as the rise of Silvio Berlusconi, added more twists to the story. The emergence of what became known as the Democratic Party facilitated the journey for many Catholics on the Left. As the former communists and socialists reformed through the 1990s and tried to shake their Marxist pasts, they changed their identity and name more than once



until the ex-Christian Democrat Romano Prodi surfaced in 2007, perhaps ironically, as their leader, the head of the Democrats.

While benefiting from Saresella's clear and scholarly arguments, the reader might question modernism's role in the history of the Catholic Left. Some, like Buonaviti, could easily be read as figures on the Left, whereas others—particularly Murri—ended up flirting with Mussolini's regime. By the Left, furthermore, Saresella focuses mostly on Marxism, although, as she indicates, until Catholics and Marxists (or some of them) forged their antifascist alliance—that is, long after the modernist controversy—ties between them were scarce. Indeed, she proposes that a true Left Catholicism did not exist before Fascism made it necessary. In a sense such questions enhance this book, which succeeds quite well in provoking thought.

Leading a 2011 student trip to Italy, this reviewer encountered many of the issues raised in *Cattolici a sinistra*. The students enjoyed a discussion with members of a Democratic Party branch in Rome. Ex-communists constituted one group of Democrats, whereas others came from among the old D.C.—a mix that triggered a lively debate on the “essence,” and the Catholic role, of the new party. It was evident that the ideas found in Saresella's fine study are still very much alive.

*University of Scranton*

ROY DOMENICO

*El clero en la Segunda República: Madrid, 1931-1936.* By José Luis González Gullón. (Burgos: Monte Carmelo. 2011. Pp. 483. €19,23 paperback. ISBN 978-84-8353-356-7.)

This ambitious work on the clergy in the Diocese of Madrid during the Second Republic provides a rare study of the clerical rank and file in a period of political upheaval and intense popular and official anticlericalism. Between 1931 and 1933 the new republic ended historic ties between church and state, suppressed the Society of Jesus, curtailed the role of the Catholic Church in education, and introduced a variety of measures designed to convert Spain from a confessional to a secular state. The 1933 general elections gave the Church a limited respite from such policies, a situation that changed dramatically for the worst following the Popular Front electoral triumph in February 1936. This study is based on extensive archival sources—particularly those of the Madrid diocese—and a wide range of supplementary materials, personal letters, diaries, and clerical publications. It provides a convincing account of how the secular and regular clergy responded to the twists and turns of official policies with respect to the Church during these years. Although vaguely sympathetic to the monarchy, the clergy followed papal and episcopal instructions to accept the Republic following its proclamation in April 1931. This cautious optimism soon gave way to apprehension in view of the regime's secularizing policies and the wave of church

burnings that swept through Madrid in early May 1931. These fears never dissipated during the Republic's short history. Indeed, they deepened following the assassination of thirty-four priests and religious in Asturias during an attempted rising against the conservative ministry then in power and resurfaced with a vengeance following the Popular Front electoral victory that brought with it a revival of official anticlericalism and popular violence against Church and clergy.

The discussion of clerical reactions to the Republic is sound. It confirms in abundant detail prevailing interpretations among historians. But the greater part of the study focuses on subjects that will be of greater interest to those interested in the role of the Church and its clergy during this conflictive time. The author discusses the complex organization of the diocese, clerical demography, and what might be termed *pastoral sociology* to draw a grass-roots picture of the clergy unmatched by any other study. He focuses on the approximately 700 members of the diocesan clergy, although recognizing the educational and pastoral role of the religious orders.

The administration of the diocese rested with Bishop Leopoldo Eijo y Garay, appointed in 1923. The bishop ran a tight administrative ship, but maintained close contacts with his priests. He proved adept at fund-raising efforts needed to compensate for the massive reduction of the subsidy traditionally provided by the state until the Republic. Although later a fervent supporter of General Francisco Franco, he adopted a prudent stance in reaction to government policy. On one occasion, for example, he resisted pressure from right-wing Catholic politicians and the Holy See itself to take action against a republican priest who had won election to parliament as a deputy of a strongly anticlerical party. He also was aware of the need to promote the pastoral and cultural energy of his priests through the organization of conferences and spiritual exercises.

Eijo was generally satisfied with the quality and commitment of the diocesan clergy. But he also recognized that serious structural problems obstructed effective pastoral work. None was more important than the imbalance between the well-staffed parishes of the city's historic core and the inadequate number and staffing of parishes serving the working-class suburbs where an ever growing population lived in desperate conditions. Efforts to remedy the situation were largely unsuccessful both for financial reasons and the unwillingness of priests to accept appointments to areas where anticlerical currents ran deep.

There were other problems. For centuries, Madrid, even before becoming a diocese in 1885, experienced a constant flow of priests from other dioceses seeking to improve their lot by obtaining positions in the city's numerous religious and charitable foundations. Although the bishop tried to control the situation through a rigorous system of canonical licenses, there were

still approximately 400 priests from other dioceses living in the city during this period. The parish clergy was, moreover, an older clergy with an average age of 51.8 in 1931 versus 29.1 for the population as a whole, whereas 92 percent were not natives of Madrid in contrast to 68.6 percent for the general population.

It is evident from this study that the Church in Madrid managed to survive the Republic reasonably well. To be sure, a decline in baptisms and religious funerals took place, but a substantial majority of the population continued to observe these rites of passage. Parish priests were paid a decent salary in spite of the massive reduction in the government subsidy, although parish assistants and priests in rural areas did not do as well. Even in education, the Church managed through legal stratagems to keep schools functioning in spite of the draconian 1933 law forbidding teaching by the religious orders. The elections of February 1936 opened, however, a new and more dangerous phase for the Church and clergy in Madrid.

The author also provides extensive discussion of Catholic associational activity during the Republic, including lay groups such as Acción Católica and the Catholic press. There is occasional repetition of some themes, but, on balance, this is a well-researched and comprehensive study of a diocese and its clergy.

*University of Toronto (Emeritus)*

WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN

### American

*A Cry for Justice: Daniel Rudd and His Life in Black Catholicism, Journalism, and Activism, 1854-1933.* By Gary B. Agee. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2011. Pp. xv, 237. \$39.95. ISBN 978-1-55728-975-9.)

This biography of Daniel A. Rudd, an Afro-American Catholic who rose from slavery to become an important figure in nineteenth-century Catholicism, is based on a doctoral dissertation that Gary B. Agee completed for the University of Dayton, and it reads as such. As the author acknowledges, it builds on earlier scholarship of Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., and others.

Agee calls attention to material in the *American Catholic Tribune*, the journal edited and published by Rudd, that has not been discussed in print. Among this material are comments on employment opportunities for blacks and the emergence of the "New Woman." In addition, he fills in some details about Rudd's life from the demise of the newspaper to his work on the biography of Scott Bond, a wealthy black Arkansas farmer and merchant. The picture of Rudd is enriched as we see him described as an inventor, businessman, lumber mill manager, accountant, and teacher, as well as a writer, political activist, and publisher. Finally, Agee records Rudd's participation as a speaker

in a Cleveland meeting of the NAACP in 1919 and notes his good relationship with Bishop John B. Morris of Little Rock. On the other hand, he does not indicate that some who were initially close to Rudd found him contentious.

The words *conceivable*, *plausible*, and *perhaps* occur throughout the text. Sometimes the conjectures seem fair, but they are educated guesses. Others seem less than plausible. For example, on the basis of the fact that Elizabeth Rudd and her children were listed as mulatto, he suggests that she or her mother may have been victims of sexual violence (p. 8). There is no indication in anything that Rudd ever wrote that such may be the case. In commenting on the marriage of Elizabeth and Robert Rudd, he mentions that legally the master could dissolve a marriage, but he does not qualify the statement by noting that a sacramental marriage could not be dissolved in the eyes of the Church. Throughout the work there are issues like this one that need more nuance. At the same time, it seems that material extraneous to the main topic is sometimes introduced. For example, Agee devotes a chapter to Archbishop John Ireland. Clearly, Ireland was a great champion of African Americans, and Rudd admired and quoted his words. But a chapter is not necessary to make the point.

In some things Agee is simply wrong. For example, he writes “. . . Rudd appears to have been the initiator of the interracial lay Catholic congress movement” (pp. xiii-xiv). As a matter of fact, Henry F. Brownson made the suggestion for the Lay Catholic Congress, and Cardinal James Gibbons eventually accepted. Rudd was invited to be a member of the Committee on Organization by William Onaham, its chair. By the time of the second congress (1893), Rudd had lost favor with the committee.

In several places Agee speaks of romantic Catholicism in a somewhat pejorative manner. Agee describes the position as holding that “in the Incarnation, the divine nature elevated all of human nature by being united in a single person, Christ. As a result of the Incarnation, a new principle promising to bring progress to society had been released in history” (p. 47). Although not quite accurately stated, it seems that that is precisely what Catholics believe today: that through the presence of Christ in the Incarnation, creation has been renewed, and through incorporation into the body of Christ, the Church is called to work at the creation of a “civilization of love,” which includes racial equality and harmony. Catholics do believe that the Catholic Church through the ages has been “a transnational institution with a universal and diverse membership of people drawn from all races” (p. 45) and that Catholic Christianity has been a civilizing influence in the world. If that is what Rudd held, and this reviewer believes he did, then he believed what Catholic teaching holds today.

Finally, Agee poses the thesis that the development of Rudd’s concept of justice “passed through three identifiable stages” (p. xv): first, an integrationist phase characteristic of his time in Springfield, OH; second, a vision of racial



justice accomplished through the agency of the Catholic Church evident in the *American Catholic Tribune*; and third, an abandonment of his hope in Catholicism for racial justice and appropriation of an “accommodating, self-help approach for racial uplift” (p. xv), like that of Booker T. Washington, clear in his biography of Scott W. Bond.

The thesis is not proved. First, what is called the integrationist phase is clearly evident in issues of the *American Catholic Tribune*. Second, Agee himself remarks that it would not have been acceptable for Rudd to introduce Catholicism into the biography on Bond. Third, he also indicates how integrationist claims are found in the biography. Fourth, during the newspaper period Rudd incorporated a “Washington” style, highlighting successful African Americans as models of aspiration, managing a school for printing for African Americans in conjunction with the *Tribune*, and supporting the Black Catholic Congress’s call for a great increase of industrial schools. Lastly, as Agee recognizes, it is difficult to distinguish between Rudd’s thoughts and those of Bond.

Rudd was a pragmatist with convictions, dedicated to the advancement of African Americans, the cause of racial justice, and the mission of Catholicism. Depending on the circumstances, he used whatever means he could to achieve his goals.

*Chaminade University*  
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JOSEPH LACKNER, S.M.

*Closing Chapters: Urban Change, Religious Reform, and the Decline of Youngstown’s Catholic Elementary Schools, 1960–2006.* By Thomas G. Welsh. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, an imprint of Rowman & Littlefield. 2012. Pp. ix, 321. \$80.00. ISBN 978-0-7391-6594-2.)

That Catholic parochial education in the United States is in decline is self-evident from a statistical profile. In the middle of the 1960s, when these institutions were at their zenith, there were 4.5 million students enrolled in more than 10,000 Catholic schools. By 2012, the number of students in such institutions had dropped to a little more than 2 million in fewer than 7000 schools. Much of the decline has taken place in the heart of urban American Catholicism—the big cities of the Northeast and the Midwest. In this important new book, Thomas G. Welsh provides something of a “morbidity and mortality” report on the decline as it played out in the Diocese of Youngstown.

It will come as no surprise to scholars of American Catholicism that *Closing Chapters* began as a doctoral dissertation. As a resident of Youngstown, Welsh chose to study what he knew—the schools that had educated him during his formative years. *Closing Chapters* is not a memoir, however, but rather a serious scholarly effort to understand why such an important Catholic social institution has collapsed in little more than a generation.

Welsh has traced the decline of parish schools in Youngstown and by inference across the nation to the dissolution of a distinct American Catholic identity in the years after the Second Vatican Council. Once a robust and distinct minority living in homogeneous neighborhoods, American Catholics began something of a transformation in the years after World War II, a transformation that accelerated in the 1960s. They left their traditional neighborhoods and parishes for the suburbs and did not look back. A major casualty of this exodus was the parish school.

Welsh traces this transformation through seven chapters that articulate the social and demographic changes in Youngstown over the last half of the century. Each chapter provides a distinct element to the tragedy. Of particular interest to scholars of urban Catholic education will be the fourth and fifth chapters, which trace the flight of Youngstown's working-class Catholic population from the city center to other parts of the diocese or to other cities altogether. Neighborhoods once teeming with Catholics became African American who were not generally Catholic and lacked the resources to support private schools.

There were other contributors to the decline of these schools, of course. Welsh touches on the sharp drop in religious vocations, the slide in charitable giving to support parish activities, and the internecine conflict between liberals and conservatives over the future direction of the American Church. "This book shows," Welsh notes at the end of the introduction, "that a fuller understanding of the phenomenon of declining urban parish schools can be obtained by examining the ways in which urban change intersected with rising levels of disharmony within the American Catholic community" (p. 16).

*Closing Chapters* is a powerful scholarly analysis of the negative consequences of social and demographic change. As Catholics became less apprehensive about their place in American society, the case for a separate school system seemed less compelling. Welsh's book is something of a challenge to other scholars to study the unique and specific contours of the decline of Catholic education in other dioceses over the past half century.

*Hoover Presidential Library (Emeritus)*

TIMOTHY WALCH

### Latin American

*Maya Christians and Their Churches in Sixteenth-Century Belize.* By Elizabeth Graham. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2011. Pp. xx, 436. \$79.95. ISBN 978-0-8130-3666-3.)

This study in historical archaeology uses ethnohistory, anthropology, religious studies, and church history to reinterpret the religious experience of the Maya in sixteenth-century Belize. The Spaniards maintained loose control over the region, which meant that the people were not subject to the

same level of forced cultural change as experienced elsewhere in Mesoamerica. Graham argues that the Maya in Belize accepted Christianity on their own terms and remained Christian even though their contact with priests was sporadic.

To the author's credit, the book makes a serious attempt to address anthropological theory, which is sometimes underutilized in historical archaeology. She also breaks with the traditional effort to achieve complete objectivity by revealing that her understanding of Christianity is affected by her own experience as a youth growing up Catholic in an Italian-American parish in New Jersey.

Because of her childhood religious experience, Graham reaches the conclusion that one does not have to know much about Christianity to be a Christian. After all, the people in her parish seemed to be more interested in collecting holy cards and in the cult of the saints than in understanding the significance of Christ. This allows her to define Christianity so broadly that it leaves out Christ altogether; if one claims to be a Christian, then that is what one is, regardless of what one believes. A Christ-centered Catholicism, in Graham's opinion, is a theology of bishops and priests (p. 102). She apparently believes that the adults in her childhood parish were clueless about the centrality of Christ to their religion. Given the importance of Lent and Holy Week in American Catholicism, it is hard to give this credence.

The author's broad definition of Christianity allows her to argue a thesis that many scholars would have difficulty accepting. The core of her research is presented in a fifty-page summary of her archaeological work. This reveals that sixteenth-century Maya burials at the sites of Tipú and Lamanai were usually arranged in a Christian manner—head to the west—and that church buildings were in use even in the absence of Catholic priests. Some of those rituals carried out, however, were of pre-Christian origin. Graham somehow thinks this supports her basic thesis that the Maya considered themselves to be Christians. The opposite would seem to be indicated. The author's insistence that "if the Tipú Maya buried their dead according to Christian rules" then "there is no necessary reason . . . to question their adherence to Christianity" (p. 18) ignores other possible explanations that question that conclusion. Graham also undermines her thesis regarding the differences between areas of strong and weak Spanish control by pointing out that many of the people living in Belize (weakly controlled) were originally from northern Yucatan (strongly controlled).

The chapters not based on archaeology consist of theoretical exposition, historical summaries of European church history, demonology, and ethnohistory, based on secondary sources, especially in the case of Belize on the work of Grant Jones. As a historian, this reviewer has to question the value of lengthy summaries of other people's work. Her admitted failure to find the

term *Belize* in Spanish sources (p. 110) suggests that she should have talked to some historians from Yucatan or looked at the façade of the church of Santa Ana in Mérida.

Graham may be correct in arguing that the Maya in sixteenth-century Belize were Christians. However, the evidence supports only an "anything goes" interpretation of Christianity. It does not even prove that the Maya claimed to be Christian.

*University of California, Riverside*

ROBERT W. PATCH

*The War for Mexico's West: Indians and Spaniards in New Galicia, 1524-1550.* By Ida Altman. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2010. Pp. xx, 340. \$28.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8263-4493-9.)

Ida Altman's book on the early military subjugation of central-western Mexico takes a cue from recent histories of the conquest, which emphasize the participation and perspectives of indigenous peoples. Altman's work, however, is far from celebratory. She grimly details violence and dislocation, and the surprisingly immediate resistance of New Galicia's population. In this, Altman's work is both traditional and a needed reminder of the heavy cost of encounter with Europeans for many Mesoamericans.

The victims were not only the residents of New Galicia (encompassing the modern Mexican states of Nayarit, Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, and Jalisco) but also the Spaniards' mostly Nahua allies from central Mexico. Thousands campaigned with Nuño de Guzmán from 1527 to 1537. In contrast with the respect usually bestowed upon them, the Mesoamerican warriors who accompanied Guzmán were considered slaves, and few survived. So poor was their lot that even the locals whose lands they were invading at times took pity on them, going so far as to offer some of them asylum.

Once they had a foothold in the region, the Spanish provoked deep resentments from a population unused to the demands of imperial rule. Altman spends two full chapters on early Spanish settlement in the region, complicated political intrigues, and abuses of the native population. The violence culminated in a co-ordinated regional uprising in 1540 that very nearly threw the Spanish out. Altman draws a sharp distinction between the leadership style of Guzmán and his cohorts and that of the new viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, who curried favor with his allies and succeeded in putting down the uprising. Again, however, Altman's emphasis remains the human costs of this second period of war.

One of Altman's most notable findings is the quick, absolute rejection of Christianity by many of the western peoples. This contrasts with the conversion of central Mexico's Nahua nobility, who would point to their acceptance of the foreigners' religion as proof of their loyalty to the Crown and higher



status amongst colonial-era Indians. Anti-Christian millenarianism, says Altman, contributed to what many still expect from this period of history: that is, interethnic indigenous solidarity against the Europeans.

In the end, however, resistance was futile. A final chapter charts the "transformation of Nueva Galicia" into a thriving colonial mining region whose first inhabitants were permanently displaced by newcomers—not only Spaniards but also Africans and immigrant Mesoamericans. The book's final sentence is elegiac, paying homage to the original founders of towns such as Juchipila, Tonala, and Xalisco, who "survive only in memory" (p. 344).

Although Altman attempts to keep western Mexico's native peoples front and center, the nature of her material as well as her own considerable skill at tracking down the careers of individual sixteenth-century Spaniards sometimes shifts the emphasis back to Europeans. Nonetheless, Altman is to be commended for her judicious consideration of the archaeology of the region and her use of Mesoamerican pictorial documents, in addition to the painstaking work of combing through sixteenth-century judicial cases for the occasional Mesoamerican witness. *The War for Mexico's West* is a thorough recounting of a devastating period of loss in what would become the heart of Mexico's mining economy.

Marquette University

LAURA E. MATTHEW

### African

*Pedro Páez's History of Ethiopia, 1622.* Edited by Isabel Boavida, Hervé Pennec, and Manuel João Ramos. Translated by Christopher J. Tribe. 2 vols. [Hakluyt Society: Series III, Nos. 23 and 24.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing for the Hakluyt Society. 2011. Pp. xxiii, 501; ix, 429. \$195.00 the set. ISBN 978-1-908145-00-0; 978-1-908145-01-7.)

The publication of Pedro Páez's *History of Ethiopia* makes available a most valuable text for an understanding of the history of Ethiopia and of European missionary activity there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It offers a firsthand account of the first two decades of the seventeenth century, an unusually turbulent period in Ethiopian history. The state had shrunk in territory, faced the continuing challenge of inroads from the Oromo people, and experienced the threat of nobles rebelling against its monarchical institutions. Under the influence of Jesuit missionaries, Páez foremost among them, its rulers adopted the Catholic faith and institutions.

Páez had arrived in Ethiopia in 1603 and was soon summoned to the court of King ZāDengel (r. 1603–04), who expressed an interest in Catholicism. ZāDengel's eventual successor, Susenyos (r. 1607–32), went beyond this to support and protect the missionaries. In 1617 Susenyos faced a major rebel-

lion motivated by opposition to his pro-Catholic leanings, during which *Abunä* Simon, the metropolitan and champion of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, died. In 1621 Susenyos formally declared Catholicism as the state religion. This declaration precipitated civil war, which led, in 1632, to a restoration of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries. Although Páez received positive press, which compares favorably his ostensible flexibility and pragmatism with the intransigence of his successor, Alfonso Mendes, his *History* makes clear that Páez viewed the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as deeply in error. He condemned its rejection of the Council of Chalcedon's Christology and a host of its practices, which included observation of the Sabbath and circumcision.

Páez's *History* is one of the most important firsthand accounts of Ethiopia written by a European observer. It was composed over a seven-year period, which ended with the author's death in 1622. Its point of departure was a refutation of Friar Luis de Urreta's *Historia eclesiástica, política, natural y moral, de los grandes y remotos Reynos de la Etiopia* (1610–11). Urreta's book was an ill-founded Dominican attempt to discredit the Jesuit mission to Ethiopia (1555–1632). Its polemical tone must have contributed to the Jesuit Order's decision to leave Páez's text unpublished until the twentieth century, although the order encouraged other Jesuits such as Manuel de Almeida and Balthazar Tellez to plunder the manuscript for their own apologetic histories<sup>1</sup> of the order's activities in Ethiopia.

Aside from its polemical framing, Páez's *History* reflects the conventions of its period and includes informed accounts of Ethiopian geography, customs, religious life and belief as well as history as understood today. It rests on an extraordinary range of sources—earlier accounts by Portuguese and Jesuit authors and Ethiopian texts, both cited extensively, some in recensions now lost—and the author's own observations, which drew on his wide travels in the country and his frequent, extended visits to the Ethiopian royal court.

The translation, which reads well, is based on a critically reconstituted Portuguese text published in 2008. It is richly illustrated with contemporary prints plus a few modern maps and photographs of the ruins of Jesuit-era buildings—a church and a castle. The editors have assigned much of their commentary to an extended introduction and a glossary. The latter is a partial success at best and contains a number of errors. The Oromo are described as “mostly nomadic pastoralists” and ethnically as “Nilotic,” whereas the great majority are settled farmers of Kushitic descent (p. 375). It is not clear that “*bahrey*,” one of the key terms in the Jesuit-Orthodox dialogue concerning

<sup>1</sup>C. F. Beckingham and G.W. B. Huntingford, eds. and trans., *Some Records of Ethiopia Being Extracts from the History of High Ethiopia or Abassinia, by Manoel de Almeida, Together with Bahrey's History of the Galla* (London, 1954); Balthazar Tellez, *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia* (London, 1710).

the Nature of Christ, is accurately rendered as “breath.” The name of Susenyos’s queen, an active supporter of Ethiopian Orthodoxy, is misrendered as Wäldä Sä’ala (a masculine form meaning “Son of the Image”) instead of Wäld Sä’ala (a feminine form meaning “Image of the Son”). Although these irritants may mislead some readers, they do not detract from the great value of the text itself, which at long last is available to English readers. Once again, the Hakluyt Society has placed students of Ethiopia deeply in its debt.

*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (Emeritus)* DONALD CRUMMEY

### Far Eastern

*China’s Saints: Catholic Martyrdom during the Qing (1644-1911).* By Anthony E. Clark. [Studies in Missionaries and Christianity in China Series.] (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press. 2011. Pp. xv, 270. \$75.00. ISBN 978-1-61146-016-2.)

*China’s Saints* is an original and insightful study that examines the transmission and appropriation of martyrologies within the Catholic Church. These martyrologies are very moving from the start, and they are as much concerned about what happened to the martyrs as about the violent world in which they lived. The martyrs came from diverse backgrounds, including the missionaries and converts who were executed by the imperial officials in the eighteenth century, and many innocent church members who were trapped and killed in the chaos of the Boxer Uprising.

This book has contributed to our understanding of Chinese Christianity at several levels. Thematically, Anthony E. Clark builds on the latest studies of Catholic movements by Henrietta Harrison, Lars Peter Laamann, Paul Mariani, Eugenio Menegon, and R. G. Tiedemann to discuss the dialectical relationships between faith and politics as well as between history and memory in the Church. Using martyrdom as an analytical tool, Clark reinterprets the indigenization of Catholicism, the frequent outbreaks of church-state conflicts, and the Catholics’ responses to state persecution. His findings throw light on the production and reception of the martyrologies, and the transformation of Christianity from a heavily persecuted religion into a fast-growing spiritual movement today.

Furthermore, the martyrologies reveal an intrinsic linkage between conversion and identity formation among Chinese Catholics. These accounts appear to be hagiographical and problematic on first sight, portraying the martyrs as moral exemplars who refused to compromise with the anti-Christian officials and sacrificed themselves for the faith. The act of defiance displayed their absolute obedience to God rather than to the Confucian emperor. This image of a victorious enthronement and vindication over the imperial rulers represented the triumph of the soul over the flesh and estab-

lished that martyrdom, as part of the imitation of Christ's Passion, was obligatory and fundamental to Christianity. This theological understanding inspired many believers to overcome their fear of death and to uphold the faith in times of persecution.

In addition, the martyrologies constitute a larger project of religious memory production within the Chinese Church. According to Elizabeth A. Castelli, the brutal violence of religious persecution and its suffering must be infused with new meanings in order for martyrdom to work. Therefore, the contest over whose sense of justice and whose side of the story would prevail lies at the center of discussion.<sup>1</sup> Although the Church presents the martyrologies as spiritual commentaries in line with the exhortation of Christ, the way of reading martyrdom is contingent upon the changing circumstances around us. As the issue of Sino-Vatican relations has become highly contentious in recent years, the pro-Vatican Catholics in Hong Kong and mainland China turn to the history of martyrdom for guidance. Every year, the Church celebrates the feast of the Chinese martyrs on July 9. While commemorating the saints and reflecting on their sacrifices, Catholics see martyrdom as a living experience that continues to inspire them for spiritual growth and social action.

In short, Clark tells the stories of martyrs with great clarity and emotion, making them easily accessible to readers. When reading *China's Saints*, it is hard not to sympathize with these courageous individuals. Its engaging style and readability should appeal to everyone.

*Pace University, New York*

JOSEPH TSE-HEI LEE

<sup>1</sup>Elizabeth A. Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (New York, 2004), p. 34.



## BRIEF NOTICES

Millet, Hélène, and Claudia Rabel. *La Vierge au manteau du Puy-en-Velay. Un chef-d'œuvre du gothique international (vers 1400-1410)*. With a Contribution by Bruno Mottin. (Lyon: Fage éditions. 2011. Pp. 188. €29,50 paperback. ISBN 978-2-84975-228-9.)

The subject of this well-written study is a rare painting on canvas from the early-fifteenth century, discovered in 1850 in the church of Saint-Pierre-des-Carmes in Le Puy-en-Velay, and now preserved in the local Musée Crozatier. It shows the so-called Virgin of Mercy—that is, a representation of the Virgin with a group of people (in this case laypeople to the right, religious to the left) seeking shelter below her mantle. The subject is more complex, however, in that the Virgin is holding the Child in her arms, whereas her apocryphal half-sisters, Mary Salome and Mary Jacobi, are holding up her mantle; their children are shown behind it. The book provides an informative and well-researched study of various aspects of the painting: its critical fortune; the canvas support; the artist (from the circle of an illuminator known as the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin, perhaps to be identified as Jacques Coene) and date (c. 1400–10); the iconography and its meaning; the possible relation with the cult of the three Marias with the Carmelites in Paris; its original destination (the Carmelite convent in Le Puy); the possible patrons (Nicolas Coq, theologian and Carmelite friar in Le Puy, and Armand-Randon X, vicomte de Polignac); the Marian devotion at Le Puy at the time; the people depicted below the Virgin's mantle; and the ecclesiological meaning of the image, perhaps intended as a counterimage to the Great Schism. The volume concludes with a technical study of the canvas. The attribution of the painting is not entirely convincing, and the dating could have been more precise on the basis of the dress of the figures depicted. On the whole, however, this is a fine study of an extraordinary painting and is of interest not only to art historians but also to scholars with an interest in church history in general, and Mariology and the Carmelite order in particular. VICTOR SCHMIDT (*University of Utrecht*)

*Book of Honors for Empress Maria of Austria. Composed by the College of the Society of Jesus of Madrid on the Occasion of Her Death, 1603. A Translation with an Introductory Study and Facsimile of the Emblems Prepared by Antonio Bernat Vistarini, John T. Cull, and Tamás Sajó. [Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series, Vol. 5.] (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press. 2011. Pp. vi, 280. \$65.00. ISBN 978-0-916101-73-2.)*

This translation and study of the book describing the funeral honors for María of Austria (sister of Philip II) is a welcome addition to the scholarly literature on funeral honors of Hapsburg Spain. Published by the Jesuit College in Madrid in 1603 on the occasion of the exequies it held for the recently

departed dowager empress, the funeral book included a description of the church decoration, funeral oration, sermon, hieroglyphs (emblems), and numerous poems. This study is organized into four sections: an introductory essay (which includes a summary table of the hieroglyphs), a translation of the entire text, an index to the hieroglyphs, and facsimiles of the title page and hieroglyph pages. The summary table is particularly interesting, because the authors provide not only clear descriptions of the hieroglyph imagery but also sources for their Latin mottos.

The introduction briefly discusses María's relationship with the Jesuits (which ended with the Jesuits inheriting most of her estate) and the funeral book genre. An in-depth examination of the structure and content of the funeral book (with notes and bibliography) follows. The translation of the *Libro de las bonras* occupies the bulk of the study. It requires careful reading, not because of the translation, but because of the formal and flowery language of the era with many sentences of excruciating length. The authors are to be commended on this effort. Although one might quibble with the translation of a particular word or two, the translations are excellent and readable.

Of particular interest is the translation of the emblematic images with their accompanying verses and explanatory texts. These are fascinating, and as a bonus, the thirty-six emblem pages are reproduced in high-quality facsimiles.

This book will appeal to those interested in historical, art historical, social, literary, or religious aspects of Golden Age Spain. STEVE ARBURY (*Radford University*)

Barruchi y Arana, Joaquín, auth., and Frederick Luciani, ed. *Relación del festejo que a los Marqueses de las Amarillas les hicieron las Señoras Religiosas del Convento de San Jerónimo México 1756*. [Biblioteca Indiana, 30.] (Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert; Mexico City: Bonilla Artigas Editores. 2011. Pp. 199. €24,00 paperback. ISBN 978-84-8489-583-1.)

To those unfamiliar with the history of women's convents in Spain and Spanish America this study of a theatrical performance (and its full text in Spanish) in a mid-eighteenth century convent in Mexico may appear surprising. Theater in a convent? The presumed separation of the consecrated world from the mundane activities of the secular society was more virtual than real. The intellectual tradition of Italian, Spanish, and Spanish American women's convents also included a thespian vocation. Editor and commentator Frederick Luciani surveys historical data pertaining to Mexico and Peru that corroborates the existence of a rich tradition of theater within the conventual walls. As he notes, authorship remained anonymous in many instances, although nuns certainly wrote these works on numerous occasions. They also

provided the scenography, the music, and—along with the girls in the convents—the acting when the audience was exclusively religious. In fact, conventual theater involved all the women in the convent and showcased the talent of some male authors who wrote for the convent.

The 1756 performance in the convent of San Jerónimo in Mexico City was remarkable in that this was the same convent where the notable Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz lived and developed her literary genius (she is remembered in the text). This was the performance of a work written by a convent chaplain who imitated the literary masters of the seventeenth century and sought to entertain a visiting viceregal couple. Luciani's introduction discusses the rich social content of the piece; its characters reflect the racial spectrum of convent residents and colonial society. Black, Indian, and mixed-blood servants speak about their dissatisfaction as lesser members of the community; a young, secular woman cloistered as a nun's companion speaks of her longing for the secular world; a nun's servant relates her mistress's constant demands. Luciani also underscores the author's efforts to include the linguistic peculiarities of the Indian and black servants. His comments ably connect the history of theatrical performances in Spain with the cultural environment of mid-eighteenth-century Mexico. He guides the reader through the complexities of the text to reveal the many meanings of conventual life and deserves rich credit for relating it to the history of church and society in colonial Mexico. ASUNCION LAVRIN (*Arizona State University, Emerita*)

Alfieri, Francesco. *Die Rezeption Edith Steins; Internationale Edith-Stein-Bibliographie, 1942-2012*. [Sondernummer des Edith-Stein-Jahrbuches.] (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 2012. Pp. 513. €39,80 paperback. ISBN 978-3-429-03519-8.)

Francesco Alfieri, O.F.M., is the archivist of Centro Italiano di Ricerche Fenomenologiche and a scholar of Edith Stein (St. Teresa Benedicta of the Cross) and the Husserl School of Phenomenology. Over the past eight years he has worked with painstaking care to assemble this international bibliography, bringing together writings by and about Stein over seventy years. Since the book is chronologically arranged, it is easy for the reader to see the exponential increase in the number of publications from year to year, reflecting the growing interest in Stein research and study around the world. For example, the entries for 1987—the year of Stein's beatification—compose twenty-five pages in this bibliography.

Alfieri has dedicated this volume to Maria Amata Neyer, O.C.D., on the occasion of her ninetieth birthday—an appropriate tribute, since it is she who embodies dedication to the Edith-Stein-Archiv in Cologne over decades of faithful stewardship. It comprises a wealth of information on the life and work of Stein, and this bibliography will likewise serve scholars everywhere from now on. SUSANNE M. BATZDORFF (*Santa Rosa, CA*)

Rudin, James. *Cushing, Spellman, O'Connor: The Surprising Story of How Three American Cardinals Transformed Catholic-Jewish Relations*. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2012. Pp. x, 147. \$18.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8028-6567-0. )

Although this book has no footnotes, Rabbi James Rudin had access to the archives of the Archdioceses of Boston and New York for the lives and works of Cardinals Richard Cushing and Francis Spellman. He combines research with his personal knowledge of Cardinal John O'Connor. He shows how the anti-Catholicism in American history enabled these Irish-American Catholics to relate to Jews and their experience of antisemitism. This accounts for the energy with which American Catholic bishops worked at the Second Vatican Council to further the interrelated causes of religious freedom, ecumenism, and Catholic-Jewish relations.

Rudin shows that Richard Pearlstein, Cushing's brother-in-law, was Jewish, whereas Spellman and O'Connor both had Jewish friends—something relatively rare in Europe and in Catholicism in general—and how this challenged the negative stereotypes of Jews prevalent among Catholics due to the ancient Christian teaching of contempt against Jews and Judaism. They worked with sympathetic European bishops at the Council to reject the presumption of collective Jewish guilt for the death of Jesus, and the theology underlying Christian negative attitudes toward the Hebrew Scriptures and rabbinic Judaism.

Rudin captures well the drama of the Council's deliberations and of its implementation in this country by bishops as such as New York's O'Connor. In the latter category one could add many others such as Cardinals John Dearden, Joseph Bernardin, and William Keeler.

Although there is evidence of serious concerns, particularly about the Holy Places and Jerusalem, expressed by the Holy See over the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, when it came to the 1947 partition vote in the United Nations, more than half of the affirmative votes came from traditionally Catholic countries, especially in Latin America. More was likely involved than an American cardinal. EUGENE J. FISHER (*Saint Leo University*)

Lapomarda, Vincent A. *Portraits of One Hundred Catholic Women of Maine*. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press. 2012. Pp. xii, 177. \$49.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-7734-3914-6.)

*Portraits* is divided into eight sections arranged chronologically: Colonial Era, Nineteenth Century, Sisters of Mercy, French Americans, Irish Americans, Italian Americans, Other Ethnic Groups, and The Contemporary Scene. Many entries are less than one page; the longest, for Senator Margaret Chase Smith, is three pages. To add some context to his arrangement, the author includes an introduction of two paragraphs and a retrospect of one to three pages on



each section. There is a bibliographical essay of fourteen pages that includes three citations of Wikipedia. The selection of subjects in a work of this type seldom pleases everyone. Vincent Lapomarda's criteria include "cultural" Catholics—those baptized but who were Catholics in name only—as contrasted with "practicing" Catholics (p. ix), each of whom made a difference and helped to shape history.

However, many of his selections barely, if at all, meet his criteria, including those whose chief contribution seems to be motherhood: one gave birth to twenty-six children. Among others are the oldest Catholic woman in Maine, a divorcee who married an Italian prince before receiving an annulment from an earlier marriage and subsequently became an outcast from Roman nobility, and the housekeeper who inherited more than \$1 million from her clerical employer. Some of the entries leave the reader asking for more: Lucia Cormier's decisive defeat in her 1960 campaign against Smith is attributed in large part to her Catholicism; yet John F. Kennedy carried the state; the clash between the Sisters of Mercy and Bishop James Healy is followed by the remark that Sister Mary Gertrude "got along well" (p. 27) with the bishop. Included in this group is Dolly Pomerleau, cofounder and codirector of Quixote Center, a national organization founded in the Catholic social justice tradition. Like several others, she is mentioned briefly as an aside in the biography of another subject. Among others who deserve more attention are Kathleen Dalton, "An International Leader of Catholic Women" (p. 71); Margaret Beliveau, "An Advocate of Persons with Developmental Disabilities" (p. 76); and Mary Archambaud, "A Performer Who Sought to Preserve the Culture of Her People" (p. 105). JAMES J. KENNEALLY (*Stonehill College, Emeritus*)

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

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### Meetings

The executive bureau of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire et d'Etude du Christianisme/International Commission for the History and Study of Christianity (CIHEC) held its annual meeting at the University of Tartu, Estonia, on June 13, 2012. The American Catholic Historical Association is one of the three constituent American societies (along with the American Society of Church History and the Society for Reformation Research). Raymond Mentzer (University of Iowa) represents the American commission, email: raymond-mentzer@uiowa.edu.

The CIHEC is a subunit of the Commission Internationale des Sciences Historiques/International Commission of Historical Sciences, which meets every five years. Jinan, China, will host the twenty-second congress of the International Commission of Historical Sciences in August 2015. Traditionally, the CIHEC has sponsored three sessions at the International Commission of Historical Sciences and has requested to hold three sessions at the congress on the following themes: indigenization of Christianity, migration of religious ideas, and religion and science. If there is a positive decision, the American commission will announce a call for proposals later this year.

For further details on the CIHEC, its activities, and the various national commissions, visit the Web site <http://www.history.ac.uk/ciheec>. For additional information regarding the CISH-ICHS, visit <http://www.cish.org>.

A panel discussion on "The Roman Catholic Church and the Holocaust: New Studies, New Sources, New Questions" was held at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, on August 24, 2012. It was designed to identify new and emerging areas of research in some of the most important topics related to church history and the Holocaust. The participants examined the relationship between the Holy See and Zionism, European clerico-fascism and its importation to North America, Vatican diplomacy, and the concept of brotherhood as transformational in post-Holocaust Christian-Jewish relations. The nine presenters came from five countries; the Americans were Charles R. Gallagher, S.J. (Boston College); Jonathan Lewy (Harvard University); Robert Maryks (Bronx Community College, City University of New York); Mark Ruff (Saint Louis University); and James Mace Ward (DePauw University).

A symposium on St. Gregory the Great will be held on November 14, 2012, at the Pontifical Salesian University in Rome in memory of Vincenzo Recchia, S.D.B., and on the occasion of the publication of the *Concordantia del Sacramentarium Gregorianum* (published by LAS [Libreria dell'Ateneo Salesiano], Rome, in the series *Veterum et Coaevorum Sapientia*). In the first session of the program, three professors from Bari will present papers: Domenico Lassandro on "Gregorio Magno e la società agricola"; Grazia Distaso on "Gregorio Magno e Patrarca"; Luigi Piacenti on "L'Epistolario di Gregorio Magno"; and Aldo Luisi on "Vincenzo Recchia 'grammaticus atque rhetor.'" In the second session, three professors from Rome will speak: Roberto Spataro on Recchia as a student of Gregory the Great, and Manlio Sodi and Alessandro Toniolo on the new book. In two musical intermissions, the chorus of the Accademia "Vivarium Novum" will perform. In the afternoon, there will be a visit to the "Fondo Recchia" in the library of the university; papers then will be read by Umberto Roberto on "Il coraggio del Papa Gregorio Magno e la difesa di Roma," by Mario Iadanza on "Gregorio Magno e i Lombardi," by Rocco Ronzani on "La ricerca filologica sui *Dialogi* gregoriani," and by Luigi Miraglia on "Per un uso didattico dei *Dialogi*."

The spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held April 5-6, 2013, at Stonehill College in North Easton, MA. A welcoming reception will take place on April 4.

Proposals for papers and panels will be accepted until January 15, 2013. Proposals should be sent via email to the program chair, Richard Gribble, C.S.C., at rgribble@stonehill.edu.

### Causes of Saints

Pope Benedict XVI authorized the Congregation for the Causes of Saints on June 28 to promulgate several decrees, one of which concerns the "heroic virtues" of nine Servants of God. Among them are Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen and Mother Marie of the Sacred Heart (née Marie Josephe Fitzbach, 1806-85), the Canadian widow and foundress of the Congregation of the Handmaidens of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, known as the Good Shepherd Sisters of Quebec.

### Grants

The National Endowment for the Humanities has announced a matching grant of \$100,714 to the College of William and Mary for the preparation for publication of volumes IV, V, and VI of the papers of Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737-1832).

### Publications

"Inculturation" is the theme of the five articles published in the issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* for winter 2012 (vol. 30, no. 1): "The Concept of

Inculturation in Roman Catholicism: A Theological Consideration" by Dennis M. Doyle (pp. 1-13); "'Take the Word of God to the Heart of the City': Cincinnati's Catholic Bible Center Apostolate, 1964-1971" by David J. Endres (pp. 15-34); "Making Mexican Parishes: Ethnic Succession in Chicago Churches, 1947-1977" by Deborah Kanter (pp. 35-58); "Inculturation as Evangelization: The Dialogue of Faith and Culture in the Work of Marcello Azevedo" by Jorge Presmanes, O.P. (pp. 59-76); and "*Ralliés* and *Réfractaires*: (Anti) Inculturation in Contention" by C. J. T. Talar (pp. 77-89).

Vol. 77 (2011) of *Historical Studies*, the journal published by the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, contains the following articles: "The Forgotten Promises of Vatican II" by Gregory Baum (pp. 7-22); "'Purified Socialism' and the Church in Saskatchewan: Tommy Douglas, Philip Pocock and Hospitalization, 1944-1948" by Peter Meehan (pp. 23-39); and "Miracles and Wonders: Finding Canadian Medical History in the Vatican Archives" by Jacalyn Duffin (pp. 41-58). Also included are a "Historical Note" on "'As a Bird Flies': The Writings of Marie Barbier, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Montreal Woman Religious and Mystic" by Colleen Gray (pp. 59-70) as well as an "Oral History Note" on "Oral Sources for Religious History" by Terence Fay, S.J., Nicole Vonk, and Gwyn Griffith (pp. 71-84). The same volume comprises the *Études d'histoire religieuse, Revue publiée par la Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique*. Seven articles are included: Emmanuelle Friant, "«Ils aiment bien leur chapelet»: le discours jésuite sur la transmission du religieux aux Hurons par l'objet de piété (1634-1649)" (pp. 7-20); Guy Laperrière, "Le congrès eucharistique de Montréal en 1910: une affirmation du catholicisme montréalais" (pp. 21-39); Christian Samson, "La Mission Chinoise Catholique de Québec (1914-1938): prosélytisme et intégration" (pp. 41-54); Amélie Bourbeau, "Les catholiques montréalais et la secularization de l'assistance privée, 1930-1970" (pp. 55-70); Véronique Papineau Archambault, "L'action missionnaire catholique québécoise au Chili (1948-1990): politisation du discours et de l'action sociale des oblats de Marie Immaculée" (pp. 77-83); Dominique Quirion, "Spatialisation du sacré et cohabitation interreligieuse dans l'espace montréalais" (pp. 85-100); and Richard Leclerc, "Les municipalités à vocation religieuse au Québec" (pp. 101-16). Between the English and French sections is "A Current Bibliography of Canadian Religious History, 2010-2011" (pp. B1-B27).

### Personal Notice

Father Michael Roach, chair of the Department of Church History in Mount Saint Mary Seminary, Emmitsburg, MD, received the thirty-seventh annual John Cardinal McCloskey Award from the seminary's National Alumni Association at its last meeting.



## Obituaries

### Morimichi Watanabe (1925–2012)

Morimichi Watanabe, president emeritus of the American Cusanus Society and a forty-year member of the American Catholic Historical Association, passed away peacefully in his sleep on April 1, 2012, at his home in Port Washington, NY. He is survived by his wife, Kiyomi Watanabe, MD; his son, Tsugumichi D. Watanabe of New York City; and his granddaughter, Izumi Watanabe.

He was a retired professor of history and political science from the C. W. Post campus of Long Island University. President of the American Cusanus Society from 1983 to 2008, he also served as editor of the *American Cusanus Society Newsletter* from its debut in 1984 to his death. His research on the historical context of the life and political thought of Nicholas of Cusa (1401–64) set the standard for all work done in this field in the English language.

Watanabe produced three books and numerous articles and reviews. His dissertation (under Paul Oskar Kristeller, among others), *The Political Ideas of Nicholas de Cusa with Special Reference to his De concordantia catholica* (Columbia University, 1963; Geneva, 1963), was published the same year as Paul Sigmund's Harvard dissertation, *Nicholas of Cusa and Medieval Political Thought*. Reviewers accordingly scrambled to show the complementary nature of the two works, and the pure coincidence solidified a life-long friendship between Watanabe and Sigmund. Watanabe's work dug deep into the medieval philosophical roots based on his quest to understand better the emerging and multifaceted points of entry to Western medieval political thought seen through the lens of Cusanus's early writings.

From the beginning, he depended greatly on European scholarship and made it more accessible to a non-European audience. His bonds of friendship and professional exchange with Erich Meuthen, Hermann Hallauer, Hans Gerhard Senger, and Walter Andreas Euler are particularly noteworthy examples of how he utilized the best of European scholarship and commended it to the attention of other scholars in the United States even while continuing to refer to himself as an "outsider" to this world of Cusanus studies. This is not to say that he was just a passive conduit for European scholarship. He approached this world as a highly curious and critically engaged discoverer of a new world of learning. This irenic but resolutely critical spirit is very much a part of his legacy. In print, he showed the utmost admiration for finely crafted exchange of differences, even when spawned by Cusanus's critics. For example, in the preface to his volume *Concord and Reform*, he defends unapologetically his decision to focus on Gregor Heimberg, whom he labels "Cusanus's arch-enemy." "Why not listen to the severest critic of Cusanus?" he writes. "After all, I have often tried to understand other writers and theorists,

such as Marsilius of Padua, Panormitanus and Martin Mair, in conjunction with or in comparison with Cusanus.”<sup>1</sup>

Watanabe’s research grew out of a fascination with the historical shape of Western legal and political theory that started in his childhood in Japan. He straddled these two cultures his whole life. The obituary posted by the Institut für Cusanus-Forschung in Trier correctly opines that what weighs heavier even than the loss of an extraordinary scholar is “the loss of the man Morimichi Watanabe, who in his personality brought into harmony the most charming facets of Japanese and US-American tradition.” This all-too-true statement points nonetheless to a source of tension that Watanabe sensed in his own biography. In *Concord and Reform*, Watanabe posed and answered the question of how a native of Asia became interested in the legal and political thought of a Western cardinal from the late Middle Ages. His answer began with these characteristically simple words: “Born as the second son of a Protestant pastor in the capital of a rural province in northern Japan” (*Concord*, p. xi). The autobiographical account highlights both his father as a convert from Buddhism to the Christianity of German Reformed missionaries and his maternal grandfather, who “had become a Christian after the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1867 as a result of meeting a Dutch Reformed missionary” (p. xi). His mother married a pastor, and his three maternal uncles were all Protestant pastors. This was his world as a child. His father’s library was his introduction to, *inter alia*, both Confucianism and Calvinism. This coincidence of opposites awakened an intellectual curiosity—indeed, a passion—to grasp more deeply the arc of the Western intellectual and religious heritage that had made him and his family rather unique in his mid-twentieth-century Japanese context. He quickly trained a critical eye on the categories with which this missionary intellectual heritage had been traditionally transmitted: “I began to have some doubts about the neat tripartite division of Western history into the exuberant Ancient Times, the dark Middle Ages, and the progressive Modern times after the brilliant Renaissance and the revolutionary Reformation” (*Concord*, p. xi). The intentionally exaggerated adjectives in this sentence point indirectly to the very fissures in existing historiography that eventually intrigued and motivated his study as a scholar.

A distinctive feature of Watanabe’s scholarship was his “following [in] Cusanus’ footsteps,” as he termed it in the June 2000 *American Cusanus Society Newsletter*. These historical essays about the actual locations of Cusanus’s life and career began as contributions to the newsletter and were recently revised and collected together with other introductory essays in the beautiful and useful volume *Nicholas of Cusa—A Companion to His Life and Times* (Burlington, VT, 2011; see review in this issue). The presence of Gerald Christianson and Thomas M. Izbicki as the editors of this work speaks

<sup>1</sup>Watanabe, *Concord and Reform* (Burlington, VT, 2001), p. xvi.

to an intense spirit of mutual collaboration with colleagues in the United States that was nurtured over many decades and in countless other projects. The pieces that began in the newsletter contained original research and extremely useful references to secondary literature. But they also were framed by charming vignettes about bus tours with English tourists, the “spooning white and black smoke” of Mount Aetna in the distance, and black-and-white photographs of “the editor” on location. As scholars, we followed in these footsteps to gain secure knowledge about Cusanus’s context, but we also were drawn not a little bit by the “editor’s” palpable sense of adventure and wit. He will be deeply missed.

*DePaul University*

PETER CASARELLA

### **Ann Miriam Gallagher, R.S.M. (1931–2012)**

Ann Miriam Gallagher, R.S.M., died April 10, 2012, at Mercy Center in Dallas, PA, where she had entered the Sisters of Mercy of the Union (Scranton Province) in 1954. She became a member of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1974 and served on its Executive Council from 1980 to 1982.

Sister Ann Miriam was born in nearby Plymouth, PA, on November 22, 1931. She graduated from College Misericordia (now Misericordia University) with a major in elementary education in 1953. She obtained both her master’s degree and doctorate from The Catholic University of America in 1959 and 1972. Her doctoral dissertation focused on “The Family Background of the Nuns of Two Monasteries in Colonial Mexico: Santa Clara, Querétaro, and Corpus Christi, Mexico City, 1724–1822.” She became expert in the history of women religious in Latin America and did postdoctoral work in Spain and Mexico. Sister Ann Miriam also obtained a diploma in educational management from Harvard University. In the late 1970s, she served as president of College Misericordia. She came to Mount Saint Mary Seminary in Emmitsburg, MD, in 1979 and taught church history for twenty-five years. While at Emmitsburg, she researched the splendid archives of the Daughters of Charity and became well versed in the life of Catherine Josephine Seton, the only long-lived daughter of St. Elizabeth Ann Seton, who became the first candidate of the Sisters of Mercy in New York. Sister Ann Miriam delivered one of the annual Catholic Daughters of the Americas lectures at The Catholic University of America on this topic.

Sister chaired the Department of Church History at the Mount and assisted in formation and spiritual direction of seminarians. She generously served as director of research and planning, performing endless hours of preparation for accreditation reports, and conducted seminars on the Church in Latin America. Sister was particularly beloved by her students for her kindness, openness, and cheerful demeanor. She, however, maintained strict decorum and permitted neither gum chewing nor drinking of coffee or soda in her classroom.

At her Funeral Mass on April 13, 2012, some of her former students from the Archdioceses of Baltimore and Hartford as well as the Diocese of Scranton concelebrated the liturgy. Sister Ann Miriam was a fine daughter of Venerable Catherine McAuley, to whom she had a particular devotion, and a great woman of the Church.

*Mount Saint Mary Seminary*  
*Emmitsburg, MD*

MICHAEL ROACH

### **John W. Bowen, S.S. (1924–2012)**

John W. Bowen, a Sulpician priest, died on May 6, 2012, after a brief illness. He was eighty-seven years old and had been a member of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1978.

Born and raised in Baltimore, he was the eldest of three children born to John and Anna Bowen. He was educated at Mt. St. Joseph High School; St. Charles' College, a minor seminary; and St. Mary's Seminary & University. He was ordained for the Archdiocese of Baltimore in 1949. He immediately entered the Society of St. Sulpice and became a full member in 1952. His first assignment was to teach high school English, history, Latin, and religion at St. Charles' College, where he remained for the next fourteen years. During that time he was sent to The Catholic University of America to earn his licentiate's degree in sacred theology and a M.A. degree in church history. He wrote his thesis on the Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Baltimore, a subject on which he remained the expert for the rest of his life.

In 1963 he was transferred to St. Edward's Minor Seminary in Kenmore, WA, where he served as principal of the high school division (1968–1976). When St. Edward's closed in 1976, he remained to assist with transitioning students, serving on the staff of St. Edward's Hall (a formation program) and teaching at Kennedy High School in Seattle. He became the historian for the U.S. Province of the Sulpicians when he returned to Baltimore in 1980 and joined Vincent M. Eaton, S.S., in organizing the province's archives at its new home in the basement of Our Lady of the Angels Chapel in Catonsville, MD. Together, they transformed it into a model program for religious archives. He soon became noted for his encyclopedic knowledge of the history of the Sulpicians, the alumni of their institutions, and the Archdiocese of Baltimore, which he shared generously with visiting researchers and thousands of others who requested information from him over the years.

He was a frequent contributor of articles to publications of Sulpician seminaries and *Whence*, a newsletter published by the Sulpician Archives. He worked closely with Christopher Kauffman (The Catholic University of America), who was commissioned to write a history of the U.S. Province of the Sulpicians; they forged a close friendship. He retired as archivist in 1995, but maintained an office in the archives, always making himself available



when his expertise was required. Visitors well remember the knee-high piles of newspapers from dioceses around the country that covered the floor in his office. In his role as alumni news editor for St. Mary's Seminary & University for more than twenty years, he spent countless hours going through them in search of announcements and articles regarding the alumni of St. Charles' College and St. Mary's.

He remained actively engaged in ministry until shortly before his death. For more than thirty years, he celebrated daily Mass at St. Mark's Church and the motherhouse of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, both located in Catonsville. Several days a week, he went to Calvert Hall College High School in Towson, MD, to celebrate Mass for the Christian Brothers, and he regularly assisted at several parishes in the Baltimore area. He also was an extraordinary confessor for the seminarians at St. Mary's. He was vice-postulator for the canonization cause of Mother Mary Elizabeth Lange (c. 1784–1882), foundress of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, the first religious community for women of color in the country and a community that has had close ties to the Sulpicians over its history. From 1982 to 2009, he served as priest-moderator to the board of the Mother Seton House on Paca Street, Inc., a group that restored and maintained the Sulpician-owned house where St. Elizabeth Ann Seton lived from 1808 to 1809; it is located on the grounds of the original campus of St. Mary's Seminary (est. 1791). Father Bowen frequently gave tours of the house and the historic site to many visitors.

In honor of his distinguished service, he was awarded the Cross Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice, a papal honor recognizing his distinguished service to the church, and the Olier Medal as an outstanding priestly alumnus of St. Mary's Seminary & University.

He was priest, educator, archivist, and historian. To those who knew him, however, he will be remembered as a good and faithful servant of the Lord, of humble manner and generous spirit.

*Associated Archives at St. Mary's Seminary & University  
Baltimore*

TRICIA T. PYNE

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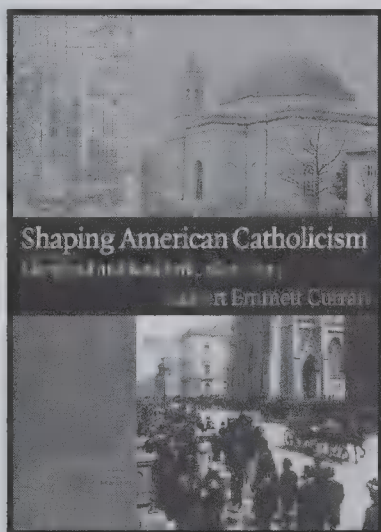
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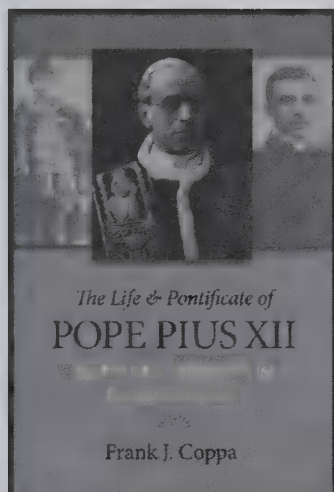
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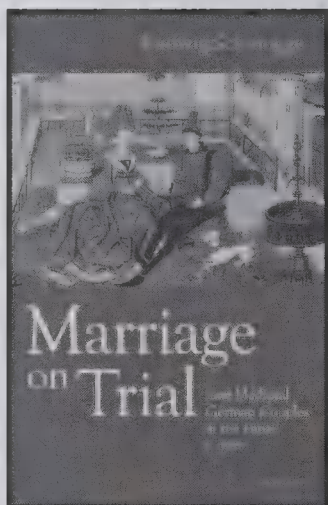


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